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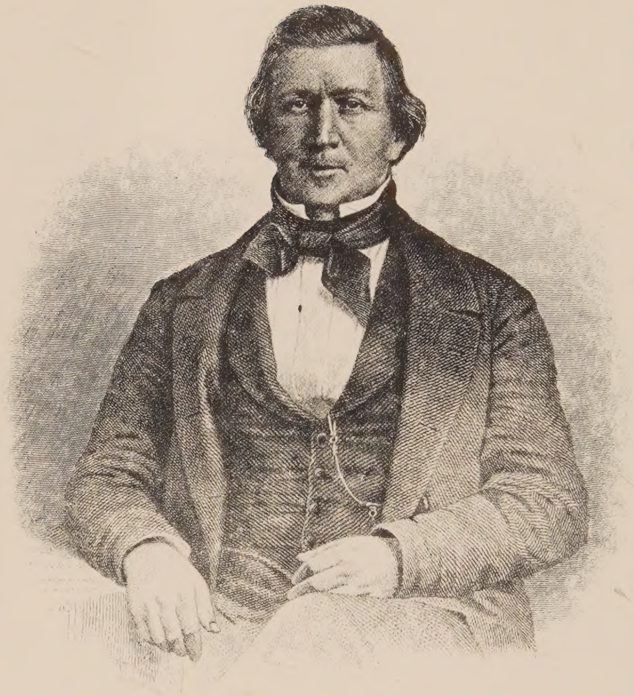

Brigham Young

From a Daguerreotype taken in 1855

Engraved by Chas. E. Hall, N.Y.

BRIGHAM YOUNG

From a daguerreotype taken in 1855; hence nearest the time of his greatest activity.

PEN PICTURE OF BRIGHAM YOUNG

Brigham Young stood about five feet ten inches in height. He was of full form, compactly built, and of stately bearing. The head was massive, the hair light auburn and of soft, fine texture. The forehead was high and broad at the base, the nose slightly aquiline, the eyes full and of a light grey, the mouth well formed, and the whole face expressive of great firmness. He was ordinarily mild and gentle in manner, yet said to be capable of anger that was terrible. In him, indeed, was blended the strong and gentle qualities that go to the making of the highest and truest manhood,—your leader of men.

A
Comprehensive History
OF
The Church of Jesus Christ
OF
Latter-day Saints

CENTURY I

In Six Volumes

By B. H. ROBERTS

Author of—Outlines of Ecclesiastical History; Doctrine of Deity (a discussion); New Witnesses for God (3 vols.); Defense of the Faith and the Saints (2 vols.); Joseph Smith the Prophet Teacher; The Falling Away (16 Radio Addresses, 1929); etc., etc.

VOL. III

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GEORGE E. MAYCOCK

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Exodus

Volume III

The dominant idea of this volume is the *Exodus* of the church of the New Dispensation from Nauvoo—from Illinois—from the United States of America, in fact; for in their great trek of a thousand miles to the Great Basin of the Rocky Mountains, the Latter-day Saints, making up the membership of that New Dispensation church, went beyond the western boundaries of the United States, into the territory of the Republic of Mexico. They were expatriated, not only from Nauvoo and from the State of Illinois, but from their country—the United States of America—the self-boasted "land of the free" and at the time the much vaunted "asylum" of the oppressed of all people—yet expatriating their own, and that on a matter of religious differences!

I put this exodus from Nauvoo, from Illinois, from the United States, on the ground of expatriation rather than on the ground of self-exile, because it was a forced exodus; submitted to after an appeal had been made to the governor of every state of the Union for a place of asylum for the community of the Latter-day Saints, now doomed by conditions made intolerable for them in Illinois. This appeal was met with contemptuous silence, save in one case only,—the governor of Arkansas who in his answer to the appeal expressed sympathy indeed but advised emigration to the western wilderness as a solution to the Latter-day Saint religious community problems. So they must needs go, and they did. As one of their leaders, in after years humorously referring to their presence in Utah's valleys, said: "We came here willingly because we had to!" And the Lord said to the church on the eve of her departure into the wilderness:

"Thy brethren have rejected you and your testimony, even the nation that has driven you out. * * * For they have killed the prophets and them that were sent unto them, and they have shed innocent blood, which crieth from the ground against them. * * * Joseph Smith, whom I did call upon by mine angels, my ministering servants, and by mine own voice out of the heavens to bring forth my work, which foundation he did lay, and was faithful, and I took him to my self. Many have marveled because of his death, but it was needful that he should seal his testimony with his blood, that he might be honored and the wicked condemned. Have I not delivered you from your enemies, only in that I have left a witness of my name!"[1]

Martyrdom (Vol. II) closed an epoch; *Exodus* (Vol. III) opens another; and one full of human interest. It deals with change in the manner of life of the people; a new human leader; a new environment; an epoch of empire founding activities. It will be the story of the march of a people stripped of their earthly possessions constituting themselves an industrial column *en march* through—at first,—a somewhat fruitful wilderness, from the Mississippi to the Missouri—through the now state of Iowa, where they learned to be self-supporting from their industry, exchanging physical strength and industrial skill of hand and mind for food supplies and other means for their strange trek through the wilderness, to the far distant, and somewhat barren and inhospitable land that will become their home.

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[1] *Doctrine and Covenants,* sec. cxxxvi.

It will deal—this Volume III—with the strange episode of the call of a battalion of five hundred chosen men as a military unit to bear the name fastened upon the church of the New Dispensation by popular usage, and misusage, be it said, the "Mormon Church," and hence the "Mormon Battalion." Its march to the Pacific coast is detailed, its service to the country which expatriated the community whence it was drawn; its contribution to the national progress of the United States will be noted; its helpfulness in the fulfillment of "manifest destiny" for the people and the government of the United States, *viz.*, to make the length of their coast line on the "sea west," equal the length of the same country's coast line on the "sea east;" and thus possess under a God-appointed government, the very tenderloin of the old north continent of the western world, as God's chief place for a stage setting on which to carry out his mighty purposes in consummation of many of his bright designs in the last days.

The story of the epoch is continued in the great Pioneer journey across the plains and over the mountains to the eatern fertile crescent region of the Great Basin, to the valley of the Great Salt Lake, and to the valleys adjacent. This will begin the "covered wagon" period of the great movement, which will extend to the year 1869—the year of the advent of a trans-continental railroad into the Great Basin. It will deal with the founding of civil government in that region: to the giving of the grandest concrete object lesson of the rise of civil government from society that is of record, rivaling and outrivaling the same kind of object lesson staged in New England and by the Plymouth and other New England colonies.

Here, too, within the limits of this volume will be recounted the inception of that struggle for the rights of a community to local self-government, in the system of American government, which nowhere else in the history of any of the states of the American Union, extends over so long a period or reaches the emphasis of demonstration as it attains in the history of Utah—the chief *habitat* in that period of the Latter-day Saint community.

Another special feature of this *Exodus* Volume will be found in the Addenda at the close of it, giving what will be a permanent place to the very great work of William Clayton under the title of the *Latter-day Saints' Emigrants' Guide,* etc., St. Louis, 1848. This is a stage by stage—almost a step by step—marking of the old Pioneer trail from Winter Quarters to Salt Lake valley. It is the careful and thorough work of William Clayton, one of the best journalizers of the Pioneer journey, and a methodical painstaking man, as witnessed by this Pioneer journey record; the precise chronicalizing and description of distances—usually from one physical feature to another, level plain or rolling hills or mountainous defiles and ruggedness. The creeks and rivers and springs, the nature of the water, the presence or absence of wood or other fuel; grass or other browsing for teams; desirable camping places, etc., etc. It must have been a wonderful help to those making the journey over the plains and mountains subsequent to the year of the great Pioneer journey, 1847; for here were verbally mapped out all the physical conditions in detail. With this record before him the Plains Captain could know days ahead precisely the physical character of the road that lay ahead, and plan each day's journey in advance, and for days in advance. The value of such a record to the leaders and people of such a movement being then carried on by the Latter-day Saints, and which will extend through years—more than a score of years in fact—was inestimable.

It is of no practical value now, of course, this "Guide," since nearly all the landmarks it indicates are obliterated or changed by the passing of nearly a century, and the changes wrought by a constantly developing country through which it traces the old trail, but it is a faithful record of the way our fathers trod—the way they came into the land of the west—to the Great Basin of the Rocky Mountains, where the Latter-day Saints are to become a great and mighty people. It is a witness of the painstaking way in which our fathers did their work; it is the record of a bit of thorough-going "scouting" which will be an object lesson of such work in all time to come. It is a literary monument of the Pioneer period worthy of preservation to future generations and for that reason is given a place in this *History.*

The copy followed is one that was owned and long in the possession of President Brigham Young; its accuracy, therefore, since the copy is carefully followed, is assured.

A number of charts and maps extant at the time of the Pioneer journey are reproduced in this volume, for the purpose, not only of helping to make them of permanent record, and to show how our fathers were helped to find their way into the promised land of their development into a great and a mighty people, but also to correct certain false impressions that have become more or less current and popular through reckless speech and careless writing. There has been an impression created that the Pioneers of 1847 plunged into a trackless wilderness of a thousand miles extent without chart or map or compass or any pre-knowledge of the land to which they were moving; left to find their way blindly from day to day through the wilderness, save only as they were guided by supernatural inspiration or revelation. The publication of the maps and charts of the western regions from the Missouri river into and including the Rocky Mountains and the Great Basin, showing the location of mountain ranges, the rivers, their names and their courses; their valleys, including the Great Salt Lake itself, and adjacent valleys with descriptions—all of which maps and charts were extant and in possession of Latter-day Saint leaders before their westward journey began, for they make mention of these maps in their *Journals*, and even of copying some of them for use by other companies than their own. The publication of these maps and charts will show how wrong are the claims made that the Pioneers had no such helps to aid them in making their Pioneer journey.

These Latter-day Saint Pioneers were not men of the wilderness in the sense that the hunters and trappers of years before them were, such as Peter Skeen Ogden, or Etienne Provost, or James Bridger or the men of Crittenden's volumes of the northwest. Nor were they "pathfinders" or explorers such as the men of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, or Fremont, or Bonneville, or Jedediah Smith. They were Pioneers but they were Pioneers of the "covered wagon" type and mission. Pioneers of empire founding. They brought with them plows and seeds and families; homemakers, these. They will found settlements, make villages, build towns and cities, create states and civilization. It detracts nothing from their work or fame to say that the Pioneers were not "pathfinders" or "explorers" or men of the wilderness after the hunter and trapper type. To credit men with what they are not detracts from what they are. The thought here is to accredit the men of the Latter-day Saint planting in the wilderness with nothing more than what they were and what they did. This will give them the title of state founders, Pioneer builders of civilization where before it did not exist; making more than "two spears of grass to grow, where but one grew before;" and in such achievement there is enough of honor and of glory for them and for their posterity.

The work they accomplished entitles them to the gratitude of mankind.

A
Comprehensive History
OF THE
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints

Century One

CHAPTER LXX

THE RISE OF NEW MOB FORCES — A STATE'S ABDICATION OF GOVERNMENT

AFTER the departure of the great body of the church from Nauvoo, which, as I have previously said, was accomplished by the latter part of April, 1846,[1] purchasers for the property of such as remained, and also of those who had departed without selling their houses and lands, became fewer, and prices lower, since prospective buyers from a distance and the people immediately surrounding Nauvoo saw no need of purchasing property at a fair price, which inevitably must become theirs at their own price. The result of this condition was that it became impossible for this remnant consisting, for the most part, of the destitute, the aged, infirm and sick, to remove. And surely a people who had still any faith left in humanity, would be justified in the belief that these could remain until an asylum was found for them by their friends who had already gone in search of a new place of settlement. But in this, be it said to the shame of the people of Illinois, they were deceived.

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[1] Governor Ford says: "By the middle of May it was estimated that sixteen thousand Mormons had crossed the Mississippi and taken up their line of march with their personal property, their wives and little ones, westward across the continent to Oregon or California; leaving behind them in Nauvoo a small remnant of a thousand souls, being those who were unable to sell their property, or, who having no property to sell, were unable to get away." (Ford's *History of Illinois*, p. 412).

IMPATIENCE OF MOB FORCES FOR THE DEPARTURE OF THE SAINTS

During the preparations for the exodus, Major Warren, as stated in the previous chapter, had been stationed with a small military force in Hancok county, to keep the peace; but about the middle of April he received orders to disband his force on the first of May,[2] as that was adjudged by "the public expectation," to use a phrase of Major Warren's, when the last of the "Mormons" would have left the state. As soon as it was understood that there were still left in Nauvoo a number of "Mormons" who would likely remain through the summer to continue efforts to dispose of property, an uproar was raised in the surrounding counties, meetings were held and resolutions adopted, demanding that this remnant leave at once, under threats of "extermination."[3] When the governor saw this new furor breaking out, he countermanded his order to Major Warren, and ordered him to hold his position and to preserve the peace until he received further orders.

Major Warren took up his quarters at the "Mansion" in

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[2] "At first this numbered 100 men; during the winter they were reduced to 50; and then again to ten men, which force was continued until the last of May." (Ford's *History of Illinois*, p. 411).

[3] The anti-"Mormon" meeting at Quincy, Adam's county, passed a preamble and resolutions exceptionally bitter. This on the 29th of April. In the resolution passed it was said that if any portion of the "Mormons" attempt to remain in the state "they will find, as they have always heretofore found, an overwhelming majority of the people against them." The advice of those who would encourage any of them to remain would be "a mill stone about their necks." An attempt for any of them to remain would "bring down upon them retributive vengeance of the old citizens of Hancock and the surrounding counties and lead to their summary expulsion from the state, and we fear, *to their extermination*. * * * In case of hostilities between them and the old citizens they will find us [people of Adam's county], doing battle with the latter." "Mormons" in Adams county were expected to leave the state as well as those in Hancock county. (The resolutions are found *in extenso* in the *Quincy Whig* of April 29th, 1844; also in *Hancock County Mob*, Conyers, pp. 26-28).

Nauvoo (formerly the noted residence of the Prophet Joseph Smith), and on the 14th of May sent a dispatch to the *Warsaw Signal* to the effect that "the Mormons were leaving with all possible speed: that the ferry was crossing them over the river as fast as possible; that an estimate of 450 teams and 1,350 souls had left within the week: that new settlers were taking their places, etc." Information was also received from La Harpe, Ramus and other points, that the "Mormons" were fast leaving these neighborhoods. On the 22nd he reported: "The Mormons still continue to leave the city in large numbers. The ferry at this place averages about 32 teams per day, and at Fort Madison, 45. Thus it will be seen that 539 teams have left during the week, which average about three persons to each, making in all 1,617 souls."[4]

The new impetus given to mob violence, however, was not to spend its force without occasioning some outrage, and a number of cowardly attacks were made upon the saints.[5] On the 11th of May, Major Warren found it necessary to issue the following proclamation, which appears in the *Quincy Whig* of May 20th:

WARREN'S PROCLAMATION

"*To the Citizens of Hancock County*:—The undersigned again deems it his duty to appear before you in a circular. It may not be known to all of you, that on the day after my detachment was disbanded at Carthage, I received orders from the executive to muster them into service again, and remain in the county until further orders.

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[4] *History of Hancock County*, Gregg, pp. 346-7.

[5] See Warren's *Circular* to citizens of Hancock county, 11th of May. See also copies of *Hancock Eagle* for June, especially extra. The *Eagle* was conducted by Wm. E. Matlack, a "new citizen;" it was a Democratic paper, and appeared about the first of April. The *Quincy Whig* of the 17th of June said: "It seems from this extra of the *Hancock Eagle*, that parties of the anti-Mormons have assembled at different points in the county, and had commenced driving off the Mormons, and those who upheld them. * * * The Nauvoo extra says that several individuals have been scourged with a hickory goad—and that one woman had been so severely whipped that the blood ran down to her heels." Whipping the woman the *Whig* discredits, but adds: "We are willing to believe that severe measures have been resorted to, in many cases to compel the absence of certain obnoxious individuals." So imminent appeared the danger of an attack upon the city at this time that Dr. Matlack boxed his press and type in preparation for hasty moving. (The *Whig* article of 17th of June is quoted in Conyer's *Hancock County Mob*, pp. 33-34).

I have now been in Nauvoo with my detachment a week, and can say to you with perfect assurance, that the demonstrations made by the Mormon population, are unequivocal. They are leaving the state, and preparing to leave, with every means that God and nature has placed in their hands. Five ferry boats are running at this place night and day, and many are crossing at Nashville and Fort Madison. This ought to be satisfactory.

The anti-Mormons desire the removal of the Mormons; this is being effected peaceably, and with all possible despatch. All aggressive movements, therefore, against them at this time, must be actuated by a wanton desire to shed blood, or to plunder. This course, I know, is deprecated by three-fourths of the anti-Mormon population, and must not be indulged in. I therefore exhort all good citizens to stay at home, with an assurance that they shall be duly advised of all movements which may take place, in which they feel interested.

A man near sixty years of age, living about seven miles from this place, was taken from his house a few nights since, stripped of his clothing, and his back cut to pieces with a whip, for no other reason than because he was a Mormon, and too old to make successful resistance. Conduct of this kind would disgrace a horde of savages.

Captain Agnew, near Pontoosuc, has received written orders over the signature of Major M'Calla and Colonel Levi Williams, to rendezvous his company at Pontoosuc, next Friday, armed and equipped according to law, and other notices of a similar character, I have no doubt, have been issued to other portions of the country.

How Squire M'Calla and Colonel Williams can reconcile conduct of this kind with the resolutions adopted at Carthage, a few weeks since, determining to await the action of the neighboring counties, (in the adoption of which resolutions they both acted a conspicuous part), is not for me to say. But, I beg leave to remind them, that an order was issued last fall, (when the troops came into the county), that not more than four armed men should assemble together, other than the state troops. This order has never been withdrawn, and will be enforced.

The force under my command is numerically small; but backed as I am, by the moral force of the law, and possessing, as I do, the confidence of nine-tenths of the respectable portion of the old citizens, my force is able to meet, successfully, any mob which can be assembled in the county; and if any such force does assemble, they or I will leave the field in double quick time.

To the Mormons I would say, go on with your preparations, and leave as fast as you can. Leave the fighting to be done by my detachment. If we are overpowered, then re-cross the river and defend yourselves and property.

[Signed] "W. B. WARREN."
Major, Commanding Illinois Volunteers.
Nauvoo, May 11th, 1846."

Major Warren's reference in the above proclamation to the fact, that there existed a previous military order "that not more than four armed men other than state troops" should assemble in Hancock county, and his declared competence and intention to enforce that order, and make amenable to the law those who attempted mischief by mob violence, had the effect of quieting matters down for a time, but only until Major Warren's force was disbanded.

A meeting was held at Carthage on the sixth of June, to make preparations for celebrating the Fourth of July, the national holiday. It was suggested at that meeting that, as all the "Mormons" had not left the state, the people of Hancock county could not be considered free; and under those circumstances, they ought not to celebrate the Fourth with the usual rejoicings. The meeting was therefore adjourned to convene on the twelfth, for the purpose of taking into consideration why it was that all "Mormons" had not left the city of Nauvoo. That "happened" to be the day fixed by the governor on which to raise volunteers for the Mexican war, which, in the meantime, had been declared; so that there was considerable excitement among the militia of Hancock county; and the mob leaders doubtless thought the time propitious for making a demonstration against the few saints still remaining in Nauvoo.

"GOLDEN'S POINT" INCIDENT

A large body of men were found willing to march into that city, but it was learned that the new citizens who had purchased much of the property of the now exiled people, were unwilling to allow the mob forces to enter Nauvoo. Meeting with this unexpected opposition, the mob-militia marched to Golden's Point, distant from Nauvoo some six miles down the river.[6] At this juncture, Stephen Markham returned to Nauvoo from the camp of the apostles in the wilderness, for some church property; but it was rumored by the anti-"Mormons" that he had returned with a large body of men— "Several hundred * * * completely armed, prepared and determined upon fighting;" and as Markham's name was a terror among the enemies of the saints, the mob took to flight.[7]

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[6] This "was a point of timber projecting into the prairie on the borders of Larry's Creek, in Sonora township, named from Abram Golding, a settler there at an early day." (*History of Hancock County*, Gregg, p. 473).

The military committee at Quincy having control of the mob forces, either chagrined by the cowardice of those who had collected at Golden's Point, or appalled at the prospect of innocent blood being shed retired from the position which had been assigned them.[8] This disorganized the mob and they dispersed to their homes, but agreed to assemble again at the call of their leaders; and laid an injunction upon the "Mormons" remaining in Nauvoo not to go outside of the city limits, except in making their way westward.

The Harvest Party and Pickett Incidents

This order of the mob, later in the summer, was disregarded by a party of new citizens and a few saints who went into the country several miles, east of Nauvoo, to harvest a field of grain.[9] While engaged in their work, they were surrounded by a mob and captured. They were deprived of their arms, stripped of their clothing, and cruelly beaten with hickory goads.[10] This outrage created intense excitement in Nauvoo, and the new citizens and saints made a united effort to bring the perpetrators of it to justice. But while the parties accused of the crime were under arrest, in the hands of the officers, a second "Mormon" party, consisting of Phineas H. Young, his son, Brigham Young, Richard Ballantyne, James Standing and Mr. Herring were kidnapped, and held by their tormentors fourteen days as hostages for the "safety" of those who had assaulted the harvesters; during which time they were constantly threatened with death. They finally escaped, however, and returned to Nauvoo.

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[7] See Bancroft's *History of Utah*, p. 225; also *Liverpool Route*, p. 68. The historical part of this work is by F. D. Richards—long the church historian and general church recorder. Anti-"Mormon" statement will be found in *Quincy Whig*, June 24th. This last is a long explanatory and apologetic account of the Golden's Point fiasco. It is given in full in Conyer's *Hancock County Mob*, pp. 37, 8, 9.

[8] Conyer's *Hancock County Mob*, p. 42.

[9] According to the *Hancock Eagle* (Nauvoo) the field where the "Mormons" were at work had been bought by a "new citizen," who had sent out both "Mormons" and new citizens to cut the grain. (Linn's *Story of the Mormons*, p. 347, note).

[10] The claim that this party of harvesters acted in a riotous and boisterous manner, shooting around the neighboring fields, using the stables of one of the old citizens for their horses, and feeding his oats, etc. (Linn's *Story of the Mormons*, p. 347; also *Quincy Whig*, July 22nd, 1846, Ford's *History of Illinois*, pp. 413-4), rests on insufficient evidence for credence. It is the statement merely of those who did the lynching and the affidavit of the wife of the man who collected the mob which made the assault (*Quincy Whig*, 22nd July). Moreover, as Conyers remarks, "If the anti-Mormons were able to lynch them, * * * they were equally able to have punished them by legal process." (*Hancock County Mob*, p. 41).

The parties accused of making the assault on those in the harvest field, took a change of venue to Quincy, but were never brought to trial.

Among those arrested for attacking the party of harvesters was Major M'Calla; and in his possession was found a gun taken from the party of harvesters. The gun was recognized by several persons, among whom was Wm. Pickett, not a "Mormon;"[11] and he it was who took the gun from M'Calla. For this action by Pickett, M'Calla and his friends made out a charge of "stealing," and got warrants for the arrest of Pickett, Furness and Clifford. Pickett, it would seem, had incurred the hatred of the mob by his bold resistance to their plans, and they desired to get him into their power. Word was brought to him by a friend that the warrant was merely a subterfuge to get him into the hands of his enemies; consequently, when one John Carlin, a special constable from Carthage, undertook to arrest him, he asked if he would guarantee his safety; being answered in the negative, Pickett resisted the officer and would not be taken. Though it is claimed afterwards, in company with several friends he went before the magistrate at Green Plains, who, it was said, issued the warrant for his arrest. But as this officer had no record of the warrant, he refused to put Pickett under arrest or hear the case. Of the other parties accused

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11. *History of Hancock County*, Gregg, p. 347, where Pickett is referred to as among the "disorderly" new citizens of Nauvoo, because, apparently, he resisted mob encroachment upon the rights of the people of Nauvoo, "new citizens" and remaining "Mormons" alike.

Furness was taken before the magistrate where he gave bail for his appearance and was set at liberty; Clifford, having been taken ill, was left at Nauvoo.

The mob, now, however, saw an opportunity to accomplish their purpose of destroying Nauvoo. An officer had been "resisted" by a citizen of that place, and his fellow citizens approved his course! "Nauvoo was in rebellion against the laws!" Carlin issued a proclamation calling upon the citizens to come as a *posse comitatus,* to assist him in executing the law. And under this call the old mob forces of Hancock county were soon assembled at Carthage, and the command of the *posse* given to Captain James W. Singleton, of Brown county, and J. B. Chittenden, of Adams county.,

The citizens of Nauvoo petitioned the governor for protection, and he sent to them Major James R. Parker, with a force of ten men from Fulton county; and also authorized him to take command of such forces as might volunteer to defend the city against any attacks that might be made upon it. Parker was also empowered "to pursue, and in aid of any peace officer with a proper warrant, arrest the rioters who may threaten or attempt such an attack, and bring them to trial;" also to assist with an armed *posse* any peace officer making an arrest, and with a like force to guard the prisoners, during the trial, and as long as he believed them in danger of mob violence. The commission bears date of August 24, 1846.[12]

Thus equipped, Major Parker went to Nauvoo and issued a proclamation calling upon the mobs then collecting, in the name of the people of Illinois, and by virtue of the authority vested in him by the governor of the state, to disperse. The issue, then, was no longer between the mob forces and the "Mormons;" it was between the recognized authority of the state and this lawless banditti. Major Parker announced that he was authorized and prepared to assist the proper officers in serving any writs in their hands.

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[12] The Commission is published in full in Conyer's *Hancock County Mob,* together with Parker's Proclamation announcing his appointment, etc., pp. 48, 49.

In answer to this proclamation Carlin, "the special" Carthage constable issued a counter one to the effect that if he met with resistance from Parker, he would consider his detachment as a mob, and proceed accordingly. To which Parker replied, if the forces under Carlin undertook to enter Nauvoo, he would treat them as a mob. Parker also wrote secretly to Singleton, and expressed a desire to bring about a settlement of the difficulty without shedding blood. To this communication Singleton replied that in Parker's proposition he saw nothing looking to the expulsion of the remnant of the "Mormon" people left in Nauvoo; and "that is," said he, "*a sine qua non* with us." It will be remembered that Carlin's professed object in calling for a *posse* was to arrest William Pickett for resisting an officer; but now something more is demanded—the immediate removal of the "Mormons," the surrender of Nauvoo, etc. Singleton concluded his terms to Parker, the representative and appointee of the governor of the state, in these words:

> "When I say to you, the Mormons must go, I speak the mind of the camp and country. They can leave without force or injury to themselves or their property, but I say to you, sir, with all candor, they shall go—they may fix the time within sixty days, or I will fix it for them."[13]

SINGLETON-CHITTENDEN-PARKER AGREEMENT

A basis of settlement, however, was finally agreed upon between Singleton and Chittenden, on the one part, and Parker on the other. The terms agreed upon were that the "Mormons" move out of the city, or disperse within sixty days. A force of twenty-five men to remain in the city during that time, half the expense of maintaining them to be paid by the people of Nauvoo; for which amount they were to give bond; that the "Mormons" surrender their arms, which should be returned to them after they left the state; that as soon as those arms were surrendered the forces under Singleton were to disperse; all hostilities to cease between the respective parties as soon as the agreement was accepted.[14]

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[13] The communication in full will be found in Conyer's *Hancock County Mob*, p. 53-54.

The singularity about this proposed agreement is that not one word is said about giving up Pickett, to arrest whom the forces under Singleton were ostensibly called out by Carlin, the special constable. Does it not reveal the fact that the Pickett episode was merely a *ruse*—a pretext for gathering a mob to drive away the helpless remnant of the "Mormons," and sack Nauvoo?

This secretly arranged settlement concluded by Colonels Singleton and Chittenden on the part of the mob, and by Major Parker and others on the part of the citizens of Nauvoo, according to Gregg, was "unanimously rejected" by Singleton's forces, both by "his officers and men amid great excitement."[15]

At this Singleton and Chittenden withdrew from their commands, and one Thomas S. Brockman, of Brown county, was put in command by Carlin. Parker also withdrew from service,[16] and Major Clifford succeeded him in command at Nauvoo by a commission from Governor Ford.

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[14] The text of the treaty is given in the *Hancock County Mob*, pp. 54, 55.

[15] Gregg's *History of Hancock County*, p. 348. Ford's *History of Illinois*, p. 417. Conyers is very severe in his criticism of Singleton and Chittenden, holding that this rejected "Singleton Treaty" was merely a scheme for their escape from the responsibility of attacking Nauvoo which began to loom up large to their vision. "These men," says Dr. Conyers, "had by a false proclamation, and in other ways, stirred up the excitement which called that mass of thoughtless people together. They knew well they were assembled in an unlawful manner; consquently they feared to accompany them further. Hence this treaty was brought up, behind which they retreated from the field, hoping and believing, no doubt, they had prepared for themselves a safe retreat." He intimates that Singleton and Chittenden did not themselves present the treaty they had concluded to Carlin's *posse, alias* the mob forces at Carthage, numbering then about 800 men; but left that to be done by "an instrument who was ready to pervert truth." "Home they went," says Conyers, "with a treaty in their pockets, while they had left their companions ignorant of their designs, or, if to learn them at all, through an instrument who was ready to pervert the truth, and if possible, more desperate and reckless than themselves." (*Hancock County Mob*, pp, 56-57.).

[16] Parker was undoubtedly a weak man, and an incompetent officer. Ford lamely apologizes for giving him the command of his *posse*, and the volunteers at Nauvoo, but insists that it was the best choice he could make, since such officers as had served upon former occasions, General Hardin, Major Warren *et al*, had enlisted in the United States army and had gone to Mexico. (Ford's *History of Illinois*, p. 416).

The Rise of Brockman

Brockman—now raised to the dignity of a "general"[17]—and placed at the head of about eight hundred men,[18] with six pieces of cannon, made active preparations for an assault upon Nauvoo, taking a position on the south side of Mulholland street, about one mile east of the city.

The Quincy Committee—Illinois' Abdication of Government

At this juncture there appeared upon the scene what is frequently called the "Quincy Citizens' Committee of One Hundred," but which more properly should be called the "Quincy Anti-Mormon Committee," for it was selected by an anti-"Mormon" public meeting held at Quincy: "Said committee," remarks Dr. Conyers, was chosen and sent by "a meeting of anti-Mormons of Quincy, in which meeting it was publicly proclaimed that none but decided anti-Mormon men go on said committee."[19] "Nominally," says Conyers again, this was to be "a committee of mediation, but ostensibly to help the mob do what, to all appearances, they could not accomplish without the loss of blood."[20]

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[17] Brockman and his antecedents are given by Governor Ford as follows: "This Brockman was a Campbellite preacher, nominally belonging to the Democratic party. He was a large, awkward, uncouth, ignorant, semi-barbarian, ambitious of office, and bent upon acquiring notoriety. He had been county commissioner of Brown county, and in that capacity had let out a contract for building the courthouse, and it was afterwards ascertained had let the contract to himself. He managed to get paid in advance, and then built such an inferior building, that the county had not received it up to Dec., 1846. He had also been a collector of taxes, for which he was a defaulter, and his lands were sold whilst I was governor, to pay a judgment obtained against him for moneys collected by him. To the bitterness of his religious prejudices against the Mormons, he added a hatred of their immoral practices [Sic!], probably because they differed from his own. Such was the man who was now at the head of the anti-Mormons, who were about as numerous in camp as ever." (Ford's *History of Illinois*, pp. 417-8).

[18] The number under Brockman's command varies widely in the different accounts given of this assault upon Nauvoo. I follow Ford in my text (*History of Illinois*, p. 416); Richards gives it as about 1000 men; Gregg estimates it at 700 men (*History of Hancock County*, p. 348); and the mob's report of the battle admits that 700 men were under Brockman's command, and that 250 "Mormons" and new citizens opposed them. (*History of Hancock County*, p. 350).

[19] *Hancock County Mob*, p. 61. Also *Quincy Whig*, Sept. 2nd. Ford also speaks of this committee of 100 as "an anti-Mormon committee of one hundred from Quincy." (*History of Illinois*, p. 423). Though called the "Committee of One Hundred" it "turned out to be less than sixty." (Conyers' *History of Hancock County Mob*, p. 61).

[20] *Hancock County Mob*, p. 59.

From his position at the head of Mulholland street Brockman issued his orders and the terms upon which he would grant peace. The terms he offered were much more outrageous than those proposed by Singleton and Chittenden:[21] and therefore rejected by the people of Nauvoo, both by "Mormons" and non-"Mormons." Brockman addressed his insolent terms of peace to the "commanding officer of Nauvoo, and the trustees of the Mormon church." The "commanding officer" was Major Clifford, who had succeeded Major Parker in that position. He was vested with the governor's commission as Parker had been, *and it was to this representative of Illinois' executive that the demand of Brockman to surrender the city, and to stack his arms, was addressed;*[22] so that he and his mob forces were pitted against the laws and lawful authority of the state. Mobs, it would seem, had become more powerful than the state authorities; or, rather, the lawful authorities of the state were so lost to all sense of shame, so recreant to the trust reposed in them, so neglectful of the honor and dignity of the state, that, as the sequel will show, they permitted their own representatives to be driven in disgrace from the field by the mob led by Brockman; and furthermore those same authorities were so lost to every principle of humanity, that they permitted the helpless and unoffending people to be driven from their homes out into the wilderness, many of them to perish from exposure.

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[21] He presented two propositions in succession; the first dated Sept. 8th, and the second, called "Brockman's *Ultimatum*" on the 15th. Both documents are published in full in Conyers' *Hancock County Mob*, pp. 57 and 59, respectively.

[22] "Who was the 'commander' in Nauvoo, to which this demand to surrender, and stacking of arms was addressed? Was it not to Major Clifford, then in command, and who was acting under a commission and orders from the executive of the state, which orders, to our knowledge [Dr. Conyers with a number of other gentlemen from Quincy independently visited the scene of conflict, hence present on the occasion here referred to] were read to Mr. Brockman, but a few days before, in order that he might be apprised of whom and what he was warring against? Then, if it be true, that Major Clifford was ordered to defend that place, as none will deny, by the governor, did not T. S. Brockman, on Sept. 15th, 1846, in his demand to all persons to march out and stack their arms immediately, as the governor and commander-in-chief of Illinois had invested his name and authority in the person of Major Clifford, demand, through him, to the governor of Illinois, to march out and ground his arms immediately? Will Governor Ford submit to this? Will the people of Illinois suffer such insolent indignities flung at them through their chief magistrate? 'March out and stack your arms immediately.' Will they, in sight of an intelligent world suffer this insurgent to run at large, in their midst, a triumphant conqueror (not of the civil only), but of the military power of this state? *Are they willing that this shall be written as a part of their history?*" (*Hancock County Mob*, pp. 59-60).

The citizens of Nauvoo were not willing to allow Brockman's mob to enter the city without making some effort to prevent him; and although their forces numbered not more than three hundred,[23] they presented a determined front to the mob. They converted some steamboat shafts into cannons —five pieces in all—and threw up fortification on the north side of Mulholland street, facing the mob's camp. These works were under command of Captain Andrew L. Lamoreaux.

On September 10th, 11th and 12th, there was some desultory firing on both sides, without much advantage being gained. On the thirteenth, however, the mob forces advanced in solid column from their encampment in the fields, making a desperate effort to reach Mulholland street, the principal street leading into Nauvoo from the east. If the onset was desperate, the resistance was equally determined. Brockman's column had nearly reached Mulholland street when a spirited attack on the part of the Nauvoo forces drove them back to the place of their morning encampment. This attack by the Nauvoo forces resulted in a number being killed and a still greater number being wounded.[24]

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[23] Governor Ford places the forces defending Nauvoo below the number of the text: "The Mormon party and their allies, being some of the new citizens under command of Major Clifford numbered at first about 250, but were diminished by desertions and removals, before any decisive fighting took place, to about one hundred and fifty." (*History of Illinois*, pp. 421-2). According to the same authority the mob under Brockman numbered "about eight hundred armed men, and six or seven hundred unarmed, who had assembled from all the country around from motives of curiosity, to see the once proud city of Nauvoo humbled, and delivered up to its enemies, and to the domination of a self-constituted and irresponsible power." (*History of Illinois*, p. 424). Colonel Thomas L. Kane gives the number of the mob troops that entered Nauvoo as 1,625, who "drove all forth who had not retreated before that time"—(i. e., 17th of September, 1846). (The Mormons, an address before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, March 26th, 1850, Tyler's *Mormon Battalion*, Introduction, p. 96).

[24] Of the Nauvoo forces three were killed, Captain William Anderson; his son, August L. Anderson, a lad but 15 years of age, both "Mormons;" and David Norris. Several were wounded. The number of the mob killed was always carefully concealed, none were reported by their surgeons, Drs. Berry and Charles, of Warsaw, but they reported twelve wounded, and gave their names. (*History of Hancock*

When it is remembered that the attack upon Brockman's column of seven or eight hundred armed men, with six or seven hundred unarmed spectators—whom the attacking party from Nauvoo doubtless took also for the enemy—was made by a force of less than three hundred men; that they checked Brockman's column and drove his forces back to the place of their morning encampment, the achievement speaks well for the defenders of Nauvoo; for their courage, steadiness, and soldierly qualities.

DANIEL H. WELLS—DEFENDER OF NAUVOO

Among those who distinguished themselves in this engagement was Esquire Daniel H. Wells, one of the old settlers of Hancock county, on whose addition to the city plot the temple was erected, and who but a short time previous to Brockman's assault upon Nauvoo had formally accepted the faith of the Latter-day Saints by baptism (August 9th, 1846). The great injustice practiced towards the Latter-day Saints, as well by those who constituted the state and local administration of the law, as by the old citizens, aroused the fierce indignation of "Squire Wells," as he was familiarly called; and in all their conflicts and difficulties he was their ardent and undeviating friend; and now their brother by formal acceptance of the faith. He was a tower of strength to them in resisting the advancement of Brockman's forces in this day of battle, and the success of the attack which checked the forward movement of Brockman's mob was largely due to his brave and timely action in leading Captain Andrew L. Lamoreaux's company into action to the support of Captain Hiram Gates and William L. Cuttler's companies already hard pressed by the overwhelming odds against which

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County, p. 353). Dr. Conyers says that three fell on the "Mormon" side and one was killed on the anti-"Mormon" side (*Hancock County Mob*, p. 80). Governor Ford says: "the Mormons claimed that they had killed thirty or forty of the 'Anties.' The 'Anties' claimed that they had killed thirty or forty of the Mormons." (*History of Illinois*, p. 423), which is doubtless an exaggeration on both sides.

they fought.[25] Henceforth Daniel H. Wells will be known as a prominent leader in all the affairs of the church until the close of his eventful life.

Negotiations for peace were now renewed through the agency of the "Quincy Committee." The citizens of Nauvoo, seeing that the state authorities would render them no assistance, but permitted even their own authority to be braved by a lawless mob, and knowing that they would eventually be overpowered, submitted to the following terms of settlement:

NAUVOO TREATY OF SURRENDER

"Articles of accommodation, treaty and agreement, made and entered into, this sixteenth of September, A. D. 1846, between Almon W. Babbitt, Joseph L. Haywood, and John S. Fullmer, Trustees in Trust for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints of the one part;—Thomas S. Brockman, commander of the posse, and John Carlin, special constable and civil head of the posse of Hancock county, of the second part—and Andrew Johnson, chairman of the citizens of Quincy, of the third part—

1. The city of Nauvoo will surrender. The force of Colonel Brockman, to enter and take possession of the city tomorrow, the 17th of September, at three o'clock p. m.
2. The arms to be delivered to the Quincy committee, to be returned on the crossing of the river [by the Mormons].
3. The Quincy committee pledge themselves to use their influence for the protection of persons and property from all violence, and the officers of the camp and the men pledge themselves to protect all persons and property from violence.
4. The sick and helpless to be protected and treated with humanity.
5. The Mormon population of the city to leave the state or disperse as soon as they can cross the river.

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[25] "The main shock of the conflict was sustained for a time by Gates' and Cuttler's companies, and they must inevitably have been overpowered by the superior numbers of the mob, had not 'Esquire Wells' come up with Lamoreaux's company to reinforce them. The doughty Squire had ridden across an open field exposed to the fire of the enemy, to where Lamoreaux's company lay behind their fortifications. He called upon them to advance at once to check the approach of the mob. There was one brave spirit who needed no second call to perform his duty. This was William Anderson, captain of what was known as the 'Spartan Band.' He leaped from behind the trenches and calling on his men to follow, started for the front. The rest of Lamoreaux's company did not so readily respond, and manifested a disposition to retreat rather than advance. Squire Wells, observing this, and seeing Anderson and his few brave followers rushing head long into the conflict, raised in his stirrups, and swinging his hat, shouted: 'Hurrah for Anderson! Who wouldn't follow the brave Anderson!' This rallied the spirits, of the rest of Lamoreaux's company, and they followed the 'Squire' to the front, where they were soon firing as steadily as their comrades." (*Rise and Fall of Nauvoo*, 1900, p. 364).

6. Five men, including the trustees of the church, and five clerks, with their families, (Wm. Pickett not one of the number,)[26] to be permitted to remain in the city for the disposition of property, free from all molestation and personal violence.

7. Hostilities to cease immediately, and ten men of the Quincy committee, to enter the city in the execution of their duty as soon as they think proper. We the undersigned, subscribe to, ratify, and confirm the foregoing articles of accommodation, treaty and agreement, the day and year first above written.

ALMON W. BABITT,
JOSEPH L. HAYWOOD
JOHN S. FULMER,
Trustees in Trust for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.
ANDREW JOHNSON,
Chairman of the Com. of Quincy.
THOS. S. BROCKMAN,
Commanding Posse.
JOHN CARLIN,
Special Constable."

As soon as these terms of surrender were signed, there was a hasty flight of the "Mormon" population and also of those new citizens who had taken part in the defense of Nauvoo, as they had no confidence that the terms of the treaty would be respected. Brockman and his force marched through the city in the afternoon of the 17th, and camped in the south side of it near the river. The march through the city is said to have been orderly, without the least "trespass upon persons or property." "The streets were deserted—the most obnoxious persons had left the city, leaving but little to provoke the resentment of the victors."[27] But if this orderly conduct was true as to Brockman's forces marching into the city and going into encampment, restraint was soon abandoned and a reign of riot, drunkenness and robbery took its place. And this upon the same authority as that which reports the "orderly entrance" into the city, Mr. Brayman, the special representative of Governor Ford, on this as on former occasions when the executive considered reliable information necessary on Nauvoo affairs.[28] The "orderly entrance" into Nauvoo was made on Thursday, the next day, Friday, the 18th, Mr. Brayman reports:

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[26] Singular provision, this! The whole purpose of calling into existence Carlin's *posse comitatus* which merged into Brockman's mob was to arrest this man William Pickett. Now that the *posse* is to enter Nauvoo under a treaty for that city's surrender, a treaty which Carlin signs as special constable, and Brockman as commander of the *posse*, this man Pickett is so far from being "wanted" that instead of making his surrender to the officer a stipulation of the treaty, a demand is made that he shall not remain in the city! As remarked by Dr. Conyers, "They notified the world that he (Pickett) was still there; and instead of making a demand for the surrender of his body, a condition is put in that he must take his body off, out of their reach. From all of which circumstances" our author concludes, *"we are forced to the opinion that Carlin never had a properly obtained writ in his possession against the said William Pickett."* (*History of the Hancock County Mob*, p. 63).

[27] Brayman's Report to Governor Ford, quoted in Conyer's *History of the Hancock County Mob*, p. 73. Brayman also reports that Brockman exacted from every individual of his command, and even of the spectators of his entrance into the city, that "they would obey orders and respect persons and property" (*Ibid*).

BRAYMAN'S REPORT TO GOVERNOR FORD

"On my return from Carthage to the city, on Friday about noon, I learned that the 'Quincy Committee' had closed its labors at sunrise, and left for home, leaving a sub-committee to complete the reception and delivery of the arms of those Mormons who had not departed.

I also learned that, in addition to the duty which General Brockman had assumed, under treaty of superintending the removal of the Mormons from the state, had issued an order for the expulsion from the state of all who had borne arms in defense of the city against his force, and all who were in any manner identified with the Mormons.

It could scarcely be believed that such an order, in such palpable and gross violation of the unanimous pledge which had been endorsed by the 'Quincy Committee,' had been given. But, on applying to General Brockman, I learned that such an order had been given, and would be executed. This order was rigorously enforced throughout the day, with many circumstances of the utmost cruelty and injustice. *Bands of armed men traversed the city, entering the houses of citizens, robbing them of arms, throwing their household goods out of doors, insulting them, and threatening their lives. Many were seized, and marched to the camp, and after a military examination, set across the river, for the crime of sympathizing with the Mormons, or the still more heinous offense of fighting in defense of the city, under the command of officers commissioned by you,* [i. e. the governor] *and instructed to make that defense. It is, indeed, painfully true, that many citizens of this state, have been driven from it by an armed force, because impelled by our* [state administration] *encouragement, and a sense of duty, they have bravely defended their homes, and the homes of their neighbors, from the assaults of a force, assembled for unlawful purposes.*

In the face of the pledge given 'to protect persons and property from all violence,' (excepting, of course, Mormon persons and property), it may be estimated that nearly one-half of the new citizens of Nauvoo have been forced from their homes, and dare not return. Thus far, these citizens have appealed in vain for protection and redress.

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[28] Mr. Brayman was so employed as early as July, 1843. (See *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. v, pp. 429-30; also p. 524. Also Ford's *History of Illinois*, ch. xiii, *passim;* and Gregg's *History of Hancock County*, p. 354).

It remains yet to be seen whether there is efficacy in the law, power in the executive arm, or potency in public opinion, sufficient to right this gievous wrong. It is disgraceful to the character of the state, and a humiliation not to be borne, to permit a military leader, acting without the shadow of lawful authority, but in violation of law and right, not only to thwart the will of the executive, but to impose upon citizens the penalty of banishment for acting under it.

On Friday evening, the anti-Mormon force was disbanded, and sent home, with the exception of one hundred volunteers, who remained to enforce the provisions of the treaty upon the Mormons, and to carry out General Brockman's orders, for 'the protection of persons and property from violence.' "

Governor Ford corroborates the account of Brayman as to the conduct of the mob miscalled a *posse comitatus*, and adds some details which Brayman fails to mention:

Ford's Corroboration of Brayman

"When the *posse* arrived in the city, the leaders of it erected themselves into a tribunal to decide who should be forced away and who remain. Parties were despatched to hunt for Mormon arms and for Mormons, and to bring them to the judgment, where they received their doom from the mouth of Brockman, who there sat a grim and unawed tyrant for the time. As a general rule, the Mormons were ordered to leave within an hour or two hours; and by rare grace some of them were allowed until next day, and in a few cases longer. The treaty specified that the Mormons only should be driven into exile. Nothing was said in it concerning the new citizens, who had with the Mormons defended the city. But the *posse* no sooner obtained possession, than they commenced expelling new citizens. *Some of them were ducked in the river, being in one or two instances actually baptized in the name of the leaders of the mob,*[29] others were forcibly driven into the ferry boats, to be taken over the river, before the bayonets of armed ruffians; and it is believed that the houses of most of them were broken open and their property stolen during their absence. Many of these new settlers were strangers in the country from various parts of the United States, who were attracted there by the low price of property, and they knew but little of previous difficulties, or the merits of the quarrel. They saw with their own eyes that the Mormons were industriously preparing to go away, and they knew of their own knowledge of that effort to expel them with force was gratuitous and unnecessary cruelty."[30]

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[29] The fact is well attested. In the *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, p. 345, quoted by Bancroft in his *History of Utah,* it is written: "They [the mob] took several to the river and baptized them, swearing, throwing them backward, then on their faces, saying, 'the commandments must be fulfilled, and G— d—n you.' "

In addition to atrocities above detailed the mob took possession of the temple and desecrated it by their drunken revels. Indeed it was here they made their headquarters and passed their sentence of banishment upon many of the new citizens.[31] At this juncture Colonel, afterwards General, Thomas L. Kane, of Pennsylvania, visited Nauvoo while Brockman's forces were still in possession of it with headquarters in the temple, and thus describes the mob desecration of this Latter-day Saint holy sanctuary:

COLONEL THOMAS L. KANE A WITNESS OF THE TEMPLE'S DESECRATION

"In and around the splendid temple, which had been the chief object of my admiration, armed men were barracked, surrounded by their stacks of musketry, and pieces of heavy ordinance. These challenged me to render an account of myself, and why I had the temerity to cross the water without a written permit from a leader of their band. Though these men were generally more or less under the influence of ardent spirits, after I had explained myself as a passing stranger, they seemed anxious to gain my good opinion. * * * They also conducted me inside the massive, sculptured walls of the curious temple, in which they said the banished inhabitants were accustomed to celebrate the mystic rites of an unhallowed worship. They particularly pointed out to me certain features of the building, which, having been the peculiar objects of a former superstitious regard, they had, as a matter of duty, sedulously defiled and defaced. The reputed sites of certain shrines they had thus particularly noticed."[32]

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[30] "They seized Charles Lambert, led him to the river, and in the midst of cursing and swearing, one man said: 'By the holy saints I baptize you by order of the commanders of the temple' (plunged him backward) and then said: 'the commandments must be fulfilled and G— d—n you, you must have another dip,' then threw him in on his face, then sent him on the flat boat across the river, with the promise that if he returned to Nauvoo they would shoot him. Such were the scenes occurring at the driving of the saints at Nauvoo." (Letter of Thomas Bullock to F. D. Richards, *Millennial Star*, vol. x, p. 28).

[31] "The mob entered the temple, instituted an inquisition in the temple, ringing bells, shouting and hallowing." (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, quoted in Bancroft's *History of Utah*, p. 231, note).

[32] *The Mormons,* Kane's Lecture before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, March 26, 1850. The lecture is published *in extenso* in Tyler's *Mormon Battalion,* Introduction; where it fills 42 pages. In citing the lecture of Colonel Kane, allowance must be made for a keenly sensitive nature, and impulsive temperament, and a literary style too diffusive, poetic and imaginative for a plain historical narrative. With this allowance made the "lecture" is a valuable document, on the subject of which it treats.

Colonel Kane was conducted to the baptismal font which he was informed was held in the highest degree of affection by the exiled saints. "On this account," he remarks, "the victors had so diligently desecrated it, as to render the apartment in which it was contained too noisome to abide in."

They permitted him to ascend into the steeple "to see where it had been lightning struck the Sabbath before. * * * Here in the face of a pure day, close to the scar of the divine wrath left by the thunderbolt, were fragrants of food, cruses of liquor, and broken drinking vessels, with a bass drum and a steamboat signal bell, of which I afterwards learned the use with pain."

At nightfall Colonel Kane crossed the river to the camps of the exiles. Here he could hear the sounds "of a revel of a party of the guard within the city:"

> "Above the distant hum of the voices of many, occasionally rose distinct the loud oath-tainted exclamation, and the falsely intonated scrap of vulgar song; but lest this *requiem* should go unheeded, every now and then, when their boisterous orgies strove to attain a sort of ecstatic climax, a cruel spirit of insulting frolic carried some of them up into a high belfry of the temple steeple, and there, with the wicked childishness of inebriates, they whooped and shrieked, and beat the drum that I had seen, and rang in charivaric unison their loud-tongued steamboat bell."[33]

GREGG

The historian of Hancock county, Mr. Gregg, is strangely silent upon these outrages of Brockman's mob, except for saying in his History that "the force left in the city, not satisfied with the withdrawal of the Mormons, dealt pretty roughly with the ring leaders of the obnoxious new citizens. A few of them were ordered to leave."[34] In his *Prophet of Palmyra*, however, published ten years later, after giving Colonel Kane's account of his visit to the deserted city; also the vivid description of the "deserted city" and the sufferings of its exiled inhabitants by a correspondent of the *Missouri Republican,* he adds:

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[33] Kane's Lecture, *Ibid.*

[34] *History of Hancock County*, p. 354.

> "The enormity and folly of that last raid upon Nauvoo, and the unnecessary severity employed in the treatment of the fugitives, has never been fully estimated by those engaged in or who sanctioned it. Heaven grant that henceforth and forever, no county, or nine counties, or state, may adopt this method of dealing with its offenders."[35]

On which passage, when one takes into account Gregg's general attitude toward this whole subject of mob atrocities in Illinois, from before the killing of Joseph and Hyrum Smith to the expulsion of the Latter-day Saints from Nauvoo and Illinois—one may exclaim, Behold! he weeps! *"Kind soul! These be gracious drops!"* But they are a bit belated.

The new citizens appealed to Governor Ford to be reinstated in their possessions; and after investigations made by Mr. Brayman and his reports thereon, the governor recruited one hundred men with whom he entered the county and proceeded to Nauvoo where he arrived on the 28th of October, encamped about the temple, and there remained until the 14th of November, when he returned to Springfield, leaving part of his force in Nauvoo under command of Major Weber. Governor Ford's term of office expired with the closing year and he was succeeded by Governor A. G. French, who was inaugurated on the 8th of December; and on the 12th the new governor withdrew the militia force under Weber; announcing that withdrawal in a short note to the people of Hancock county, "exhorting to peace and quietness."[36]

After a time most of the new citizens returned to the homes they had purchased for little or nothing from the now exiled founders of the City Beautiful—Nauvoo.[37] But Nauvoo never prospered under its new masters. As if out of sympathy for those who had redeemed it from a wilderness, and some portions of it from a swamp, its fields and gardens reverted well-nigh to primitive conditions, to wilderness and swamp lands. Its decline was as rapid and disastrous as its rise had been sudden and glorious. A French communistic society, the Icarians, had purchased considerable property in the deserted city, and into their hands passed the temple, which the saints at such sacrifice had erected. Externally, the building had been completed in the spring of 1846, even to the gilding of the angel and the trumpet at the top of the spire. During the winter of 1845-6 various rooms of the sacred edifice were completed and dedicated for ordinance work, and there hundreds of the faithful saints received their "endowments"—the sacred mysteries of the faith. The main court of worship was also prepared; and on the evening of April 30th, 1846, the building was privately dedicated, Joseph Young, the senior president of the first council of seventy, offering the dedicatory prayer. On the first of May, 1846, under the direction of apostles Orson Hyde and Wilford Woodruff, the temple from basement to dome was publicly dedicated, according to the order of the holy priesthood, revealed through Joseph Smith.

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[35] See both Gregg's *History of Hancock County,* and his *Prophet of Palmyra, passim.*

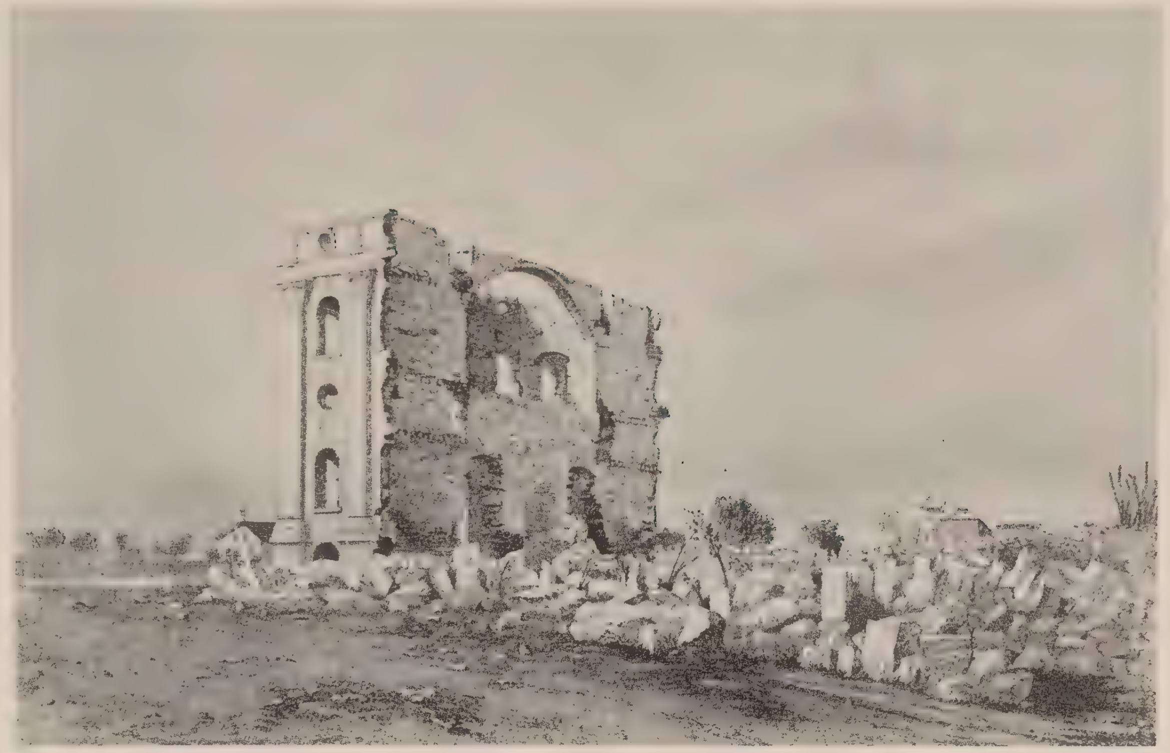
[36] *History of Hancock County,* p. 354.

[37] "We have made great sacrifices in the city of Nauvoo and in the surrounding country; for I do not suppose that on an average we have obtained more than one third the value of our farms, our houses, lots and other property." (Letter to the saints in Great Britain by John Taylor, *Millennial Star,* vol. viii, p. 115 *et seq,* Nov. 1st and 15th, 1846).

The Temple

The temple was always a source of envy to the enemies of the saints, and it was feared that if it continued to stand it would be a bond between its exiled builders and the city from which they had been so cruelly driven, and an inducement for them to return. On the tenth of November, 1848, an incendiary, therefore, set it on fire, and the tower was destroyed, and the whole building so shattered, that on the twenty-seventh of May, 1850, a tornado blew down the north wall. One Joseph Agnew, confessed to being the

NAUVOO TEMPLE IN RUINS



Engraved by [illegible]

Nauvoo Temple in Ruins.

After a drawing by F. Piercy,
"Liverpool [illegible] Route."

incendiary.[38] Finally all the walls were pulled down and the stone hauled away for building purposes, until now, not one stone stands upon another that has not been thrown down. Even the very foundation has been cleared away, and the excavation for the basement filled up and the site covered with shacks of buildings.

NAUVOO

In 1846, when the exodus of the saints was enforced, Nauvoo had a population variously estimated from twelve to twenty thousand,[39] and was one of the principal cities of Illinois in population, manufacturing enterprises, commercial possibilities, and the center of a rapidly developing agricultural region, unsurpassed in the United States.[40] We have already seen that Joseph Smith in the closing months of 1843 had suggested a petition to the national congress of the United States for the construction of a canal around the Lower Des Moines Rapids, at the head of which Nauvoo was situated; and that such a canal has since been constructed by the general government at a cost of $4,582,009;[41] and that he also took the preliminary steps for the erection of a dam in the Mississippi for the creation of water power for manufacturing purposes. Subsequently the Nauvoo Water Power Company took over the franchise granted to President Smith, and on the 29th of April, 1845, commenced the construction of a dam in the Mississippi for the creation of water power[42] that would undoubtedly have made Nauvoo one of the first manufacturing centers of the United States; and which with all its other advantages would easily have made Nauvoo the metropolis of the Mississippi valley; but all this prospect faded from above the horizon of possibility, under the repeated acts of injustice perpetrated by the people of western Illinois upon the Latter-day Saints.

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[38] This upon the authority of M. M. Morrill, mayor of Nauvoo, at the time of the writer's visit to the city in the summer of 1885, and who courteously conducted him throughout his sojourn in the place. Mr. Morrill, by the way, served five terms as mayor of Nauvoo. (See *Historical Record*, Jenson, p. 843. For the rest of the above information see *Liverpool Route*, F. D. Richards, church historian, publisher, p. 69).

[39] Governor Ford says that Nauvoo at the exodus of the "Mormons" was scattered over about six square miles, and places the population at 15,000. Besides "there were several other settlements and villages of Mormons in Hancock county." (*History of Illinois*, p. 403). Franklin D. Richards, long time church historian, places the population of Nauvoo at the martyrdom of the Prophet at 14,000. (*Liverpool Route*, p. 65).

[40] "When we first settled in Nauvoo," says John Taylor, * * * "farming lands out of the city were worth from $1.25 to $5.00 per acre. We turned the desert into a city, and the wilderness into a fruitful field or fields and gardens." (Letter to the saints in England, *Millennial Star*, vol. viii, p. 115).

[41] See *ante* chapter lii, footnote 13.

Nauvoo in 1920 (U. S. census reports) numbered but 1,020 inhabitants, many of whom are Germans. The principal occupation is grape-growing, vineyards covering some portions of the city plat, which was once the principal business center. The whole place has a half-deserted, half-dilapidated appearance, and seems to be withering under a blight, from which it cannot recover.

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42. *Nauvoo Neighbor*, impression of March 5th, 1845; also 12th of March same year. The mighty power of the Lower Des Moines Rapids, more than three score years after earlier essays of the "Mormons" at Nauvoo to that end, was harnessed for the service of man, by the erection of a dam in the river between Hamilton on the Illinois side, and Keokuk on the Iowa side, about nine miles south of Nauvoo. The dam was completed in 1916. It is 4,700 feet long, 32 feet high, from the river bed; 42 feet at the base; built of solid concrete, and with the power house creating 200,000 horse power, costing over $22,000,000. It was constructed by the Keokuk and Hamilton Water Power Company. The power is transmitted by wire to St. Louis and to other Missouri and to Illinois and Iowa towns.

CHAPTER LXXI

THE LATTER-DAY SAINT EXODUS FROM THE EASTERN STATES—VOYAGE OF THE BROOKLYN

THERE was an exodus of Latter-day Saints from the United States from the east, as well as from Illinois. Elder Orson Pratt of the council of apostles was presiding in the eastern states when word of the hastened departure of the saints from Illinois, as early in the spring as "grass would grow or water run," arrived. He promptly issued a message on the 8th of November, 1845, to the saints of the eastern and middle states, calling upon them to join in the exodus enforced upon the church in the west, by the ensuing spring.

DEPARTURE OF THE SAINTS FROM THE UNITED STATES URGED

"We do not want one saint to be left in the United States after that time," said the message. "Let every branch," he continued, "in the east, west, north and south be determined to flee out of 'Babylon,' either by land or sea, as soon as then." "If all want to go," said he, "charter half [a dozen] or a dozen vessels and fill each with passengers, and the fare among so many will be but a trifle." However, those who could get teams during the winter were advised to go by land. President Pratt announced in his message that Elder Samuel Brannan was appointed to take charge of the company that would go by sea. And all who might go with him were admonished "to give strict heed to his instruction and counsel."

Elder Pratt deplored the fact that some for want of means would not be able to join in the exodus either by sea or land: "We love the saints, both in the east and the west," he wrote, "and it grieves our heart that circumstances should force any of you to tarry in the states after next spring. If it were in our power, our hearts would leap for joy at the prospect of taking you all with us: and thus would the fulness of the gospel be fully brought out from among the Gentiles."[1]

The remainder of this noble epistle is devoted to admonition to righteousness, a most affectionate leave-taking of the saints in the eastern states, and a prayer for their perseverance in the faith, and in life.[2]

On the 12th of the same month a conference was convened in New York, over which Elder Pratt presided, and the departure of the saints from the United States was elaborated upon. The saints in conference by resolution said: "We hail with joy the proclamation of our brethren from the City of Joseph (i. e. Nauvoo)[3] to make preparations for our immediate departure, and give thanks and praise to our heavenly Father that the day of our deliverance is near at hand;" also that "the church in this city (New York) move one and all, west of the Rocky Mountains between this and next season, either by land or water;" also that "we prepare ourselves to enter into our chambers, and shut our doors about us for a little season, until the indignation be overpast!"

Elder Samuel Brannan laid before the conference his instructions from the authorities of the church, directing him to go by water to California; and he called upon those who desired to go with him to give in their names.[4]

THE SHIP BROOKLYN CHARTERED FOR THE EASTERN SAINTS

By the 29th of December Elder Brannan was able to announce through the *New York Messenger*[5] that he had chartered the ship *Brooklyn,* of 450 tons, at $1,200 per month, the lessee to pay the port charges. The time announced for sailing was the 24th of January, 1846;[6] the fare was fixed at $50 per adult person, with $25 additional for provisions; children over five and under fourteen years of age to go for half fare.[7]

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[1] Elder Pratt elaborates the idea of the closing statement of the above paragraph in two articles in the *Millennial Star*, vol. vi, No. 12, December, 1845. In the *Word and Will of the Lord given through President Young at Winter Quarters*, it is said on this point: "Thy brethren have rejected you and your testimony, *even* the nation that has driven you out." (*Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. cxxxvi:34).

[2] The epistle will be found *in extenso* in *Times and Seasons*, vol. vi, p. 1042, *et seq*.

[3] See *ante* chapter lxix.

[4] Minutes of this conference are published in *Millennial Star*, vol. vii, p. 35-6. In addition to considering the question of the removal of the eastern saints to the west, the conference denounced the course of William Smith, an apostle—the late President Smith's brother—while among them, and approved the action of the church authorities at Nauvoo in excommunicating him.

There were soon 300 applications for passage on the *Brooklyn,* and finally of that number 238 took passage, classified as follows: 70 men, 68 women, and 100 children. Some two or three non-members of the church also went with the company. This company of saints were chiefly American farmers and mechanics from the eastern and middle states.[8] They took with them agricultural and mechanical tools and equipment "for eight hundred men," consisting of plows, hoes, forks, shovels, spades, plow-irons, scythes, sickles, nails, glass, blacksmith, carpenter and mill-wright tools; materials for three grain mills, turning lathes, sawmill irons, one printing press—the one on which *The Prophet* had been printed through the years of its publication; also dry goods, twine, brass, copper, iron, tin and crockery ware; two new milk cows, about forty pigs and a number of fowls. They also took with them a large quantity of school books, among which are named spelling books, histories, books on arithmetic, astronomy, grammar, geography, Hebrew grammars, slates, etc. A Mr. J. M. Vancott presented to the emigrants, through Mr. Brannan, 179 volumes of Harpers' *Family Library*. The ship was provisioned and watered for a voyage of six or seven months, though it was estimated that the journey to California *via* Cape Horn and the Sandwich Islands, would not occupy more than five months.

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[5] *The Messenger* succeeded *The Prophet,* and was edited by Parley P. Pratt. The appearance in Nauvoo of the first number was noticed in the *Nauvoo Neighbor* for July 23rd, 1845.

[6] *New York Messenger,* Dec. 29, 1845.

[7] This was a cheap passage; but there was some prospect at the time of a much cheaper rate. A merchant of New York in the Pacific trade proposed taking 200 "at $16 per ton" for the room occupied, "and fifty more for nothing," contingent, however, upon his obtaining the government freight consisting of naval stores to be carried into the Pacific. Not much dependence, however, was placed upon this offer. (See *Times and Seasons,* vol. vi, p. 1094).

[8] A partial list of their names is given in *Times and Seasons,* copied from the *New York Messenger,* but some changes were made in that list before the time of sailing, hence it is not complete or accurate. A complete list is given in Bancroft's *History of California,* vol. v, p. 546-7, note; and a biographical notice of each member will be found in that writer's Pioneer Register and Index, *History of California,* vols. ii-v.

The *Brooklyn* is described by a writer in the *Times and Seasons* as "nearly new"[9] a first class ship, in the best of order for sea, and, with all the rest, a very fast sailer.[10] Captain Richardson, according to a statement in the *New York Messenger*, had the "reputation of being one of the most skillful seamen that has ever sailed from this [New York] port, and bears an excellent moral character." Captain and crew were declared to be "all temperance men."[11]

Coincidents: The Brooklyn's Voyage

The day of sailing was changed several times, but finally, on the 4th of February, 1846, the *Brooklyn* cleared New York harbor and headed southward on her long voyage. Of course it was a mere coincidence that the date the *Brooklyn* left New York harbor was also the very day on which the exodus from Nauvoo began.[12] Except for severe storms—one encountered in the Atlantic and the other in the Pacific—the latter in the latitude of Valparaiso[13]—the voyage was a pleasant one. The vessel touched at the Island of Juan Fernandez, famous as the solitary residence of Alexander Selkirk, (Robinson Crusoe) 1704-09, where after landing on the 4th of May, they spent five days; also at Honolulu, Hawaiian

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[9] *Times and Seasons*, vol. vi, p. 1127.

[10] Ibid, p. 1113. The testimony respecting the ship *Brooklyn's* "newness," a "first class ship," and a "fast sailer," etc., is not unanimous. See *Note* 1, end of chapter.

[11] Quoted in *Times and Seasons*, vol. vi, p. 1113.

[12] History of the Church, Cannon, *Juvenile Instructor*, vol. xvii, p. 315.

[13] Mrs. Augusta Joyce Crocheron locates the second storm "off Cape Horn," (*Western Galaxy*, vol. i, March, 1888); Bancroft locates it in the latitude of Valparaiso—about 30° south latitude (*History of California*, vol. v, p. 549). Mrs. Crocheron also gives the date of the *Brooklyn* passing the "Golden Gate" as the 31st of July, 1846. (*Western Galaxy* as above, p. 83).

Islands, June 20th, where they remained ten days; the *Brooklyn* arrived at Yerba Buena—San Francisco bay—on the 29th of July, 1846, having made the journey in five months and twenty-seven days.

Life and death were with them in their journey: there were two births, and the children were named "Atlantic" and "Pacific" respectively; of deaths there were ten; nine buried at sea, and one, Sister Laura Goodwin, thrown from the stairway in the second storm, causing the premature birth of a child, followed by her own death, was buried on the Island of Juan Fernandez.

Sin, too, followed them. From the outset at New York an elaborate set of rules—twenty-one in all—were made, governing daily conduct and religious observances on Sundays. But, alas for human frailty! rules, however excellent, never yet perfectly controlled human conduct.[14] So it proved in the experience of this *Brooklyn* company of saints. Four leading members were excommunicated for improper views and conduct, "for wicked and licentious conduct," according to Brannan's report of the trial,[15] which was had before the vessel reached San Francisco bay. Three more were excommunicated for the same cause soon after the ship's arrival at San Francisco.[16]

It is humiliating to have to record such an incident in connection with those essaying to be saints; but such is human experience; good intentions, strict regulations, knowledge of what is right in conduct, and divine injunction thereto, are all inadequate at times to hold human nature true to the law of righteousness. It is a witness, however, this trial and the excommunication of the delinquents following, to the high ideals of this Latter-day Saint community.

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[14] Said rules are published *in extenso* in *Times and Seasons*, vol. vi, pp. 1127-8.

[15] *Millennial Star*, vol. ix, p. 307.

[16] Bancroft's *History of California*, vol. v, pp. 549, 551; also *Millennial Star*, vol. ix, pp. 306, 307; Brannan's letter, where the names of the transgressors are given.

Iniquity, unhappily, appeared among them, but they had no fellowship with it, they would not condone or tolerate it. And thus far they gave evidence to the world that their religion pledged them to the maintenance of righteousness in the membership of the church.

ARRIVAL OF THE BROOKLYN AT YERBA BUENA, SAN FRANCISCO BAY

On arriving at San Francisco, then called "Yerba Buena,"[17] the *Brooklyn* company found the American flag waving over the fort, the guns of which had saluted their entrance into the bay, and to which the guns of the *Brooklyn* responded, "and all hearts felt more cheerful and secure," writes one of the passengers. On the announcement of the United States naval officer, who boarded the *Brooklyn* as she came to anchor, that the emigrants "were in the United States of America," three hearty cheers were given in reply.[18] The officer was Captain Montgomery of the United States war sloop *Portsmouth;* he was then in command of Yerba Buena and the surrounding country. Three weeks previous to the arrival of the saints, the United States flag had been raised and the country taken possession of in the name of the government which the flag represented.

On landing, the ship's company pitched some tents, which were soon filled; sixteen families were quartered in the old Spanish barracks, "their apartments being divided by quilts or other accommodating partitions." The cooking had to be done out of doors, and orders were given that all must stay within certain limits; for while "the war with Mexico was virtually ended, the vindictive enemy lurked ever near, ready to wreak vengeance upon the unwary."[19] The landing of the *Brooklyn's* company, and their quartering in tents and in the old Spanish barracks of the fort, made San Francisco, "for a time, very largely a Mormon town."[20]

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[17] Spanish, meaning place of "good herbs."

[18] So writes Mrs. Crocheron, before noticed. Bancroft's *History of California*, vol. v, p. 550, repeats the alleged saying of Elder Brannan on seeing the American flag waving over the fort—"There is that damned flag again!" but gives no authority for the alleged remark; and for himself discredits the exclamation, by adding—"but it has been the fashion greatly to exaggerate their disappointment"—i. e., on finding the United States in possession of San Francisco. The *Brooklyn's* company had learned at Honolulu, from Commodore Stockton, just then departing for Monterey, of the prospect of the United States occupying California; and there is no evidence that the saints were displeased with that prospect. (See *Note* 2, end of chapter).

During the voyage a contract was drawn up and signed, instituting something in the nature of a limited communism "for the convenience and protection" of the company in the new settlement to be founded. The contract bound signing members to give the proceeds of their labor for the next three years into a common fund from which all were to draw their living. The plan, however, like so many of a similar character, before and since that day, was not successful. In a few months quite a number withdrew, and finally the whole effort at community life was abandoned.

On landing, complaints were made against Elder Brannan by a few of the company, alleging bad treatment during the passage; and this caused Captain Montgomery to institute a court of investigation, before which the larger part of the company "were cited to appear for private inquiry." The trial resulted, however, in a victory for Brannan, against whom nothing of a serious nature seems to have been proved.[21]

THE LATTER-DAY SAINT COLONY ON THE PACIFIC COAST

The *Brooklyn* company of saints at Yerba Buena seems to have won a reputation as "honest and industrious citizens;" for orderly and moral conduct "both on land and sea;"[22]

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[19] Mrs. Crocheron's narrative, *Western Galaxy*, March, 1888.

[20] Bancroft's *History of California*, vol. v, p. 551.

[21] Brannan himself gives an account of this incident in a letter to the saints in England, *Millennial Star*, vol. ix, pp. 306-7. He felicitates himself on his acquittal in the exclamation—"but the truth was mighty and prevailed!" The *History of California*, by Tuthill, p. 214-5, refers to this incident as "the first jury trial of California," and says that it was won by Brannan. In Ryan's *Judges and Criminals*, pp. 59-60, is a burlesque account of the examination, and implies that the trouble was over funds. The *Monterey Californian* refers to the incident as a split in the "Mormon" ranks, which if it should result in scattering them, will be good for the country. In this last publication the "Mormons" are spoken of as "a plain, laborious, frugal people, not meriting the opprobrium heaped upon them." (Bancroft's *History of California*, vol. v, p. 552 and note).

[22] Bancroft's *History of California*, vol. v, p. 551, where he says: "All bear witness to the orderly and moral conduct of the saints, both on land and sea. They were honest and industrious citizens, even if clannish and peculiar."

and this notwithstanding the delinquencies of the few already noted in these pages. They sought employment wherever it was to be had; but a party of twenty were detailed to start a settlement and put in crops, preparatory to removing the *Brooklyn* colony to it in the spring. A site was chosen on the north bank of the Stanislaus, about a mile and a half from a larger river, the San Joaquin, which empties into San Francisco bay. The settlement was called New Hope.[23] A log house and a sawmill were built, and eighty acres of land fenced and seeded; but beyond this nothing was accomplished. William Stout had charge of the enterprise at New Hope; and some aver that misunderstandings with him were the occasion of breaking up the settlement. It is most likely, however, that the uncertainty of the main body of the church coming through to the Pacific coast was a large factor in the discouragement of the New Hope colony.[24] Brannan, according to the account of William Glover, finally got the land, oxen, crop, house, tools and river launch; "the company who did the work got nothing."[25]

In January, 1847, Brannan began the publication of the *Yerba Buena California Star,* using the press on which *The Prophet* had been printed in New York. It continued through the year 1847 and the next. It was published as a general newspaper rather than an organ of the Latter-day Saint church, with occasional supplements or "extras" devoted to the special interests of that organization.[26]

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[23] In *California Annals* it is called Stanislaus City. (See Bancroft's *History of California,* vol. v, p. 553 and note).

[24] In the *History of San Joaquin County,* pp. 100-1, it is said that Stout claimed the farm that had been fenced, and advised others to enter lands individually, each for himself. This created trouble. Brannan was summoned to New Hope, and decided that the house and farm must be reserved for the twelve apostles, whom Brannan at the time expected to arrive on the Pacific coast that season. Stout was dissatisfied with the decision and left the place, as did others.

[25] Glover's *Mormons in California,* is in *Ms.,* and was written from memory in 1884, at the request of Franklin D. Richards, then church historian. (See Bancroft's *History of California,* vol. v, pp. 550-3 and notes).

[26] It has been claimed that this was the pioneer newspaper of the "Golden State." This is an error, as it was preceded by the *Monterey Californian,* the first number of which was issued from the press on the 15th of August, 1846; and was removed to San Francisco in May, 1847. The most that may be claimed for

CONSPIRACY IN WASHINGTON TO BOND THE SAINTS ON THE PACIFIC SLOPES

One other item connected with this *Brooklyn* company and its leader belongs most appropriately to this chapter. Before leaving New York Elder Brannan was made to believe, or feigned to believe, that serious objections would be made to the departure of the saints from the United States, under the presumption that it might be their purpose to take sides either with Great Britain or Mexico against the United States, war with both these nations then being regarded as imminent; and it was not an unreasonable supposition, on general principles, that the serious wrongs endured by the saints in Missouri and Illinois—and which the general government had taken no steps to mitigate or redress—had sapped the fountains of their patriotism, and rendered them susceptible to British or Mexican influence if only reasonable assurances were given them of immunity from those interferences in the establishment of their church and life in harmony with their ideals, which so far they had vainly sought for in the states named. Furthermore, it could be urged that it was not good policy to allow a people twenty thousand strong, armed, and with so much cause for resentment as the Latter-day Saints had against the United States, to go into an enemy's country, lest they strengthen that enemy by the addition to him of their fighting force. But those who conferred with Brannan upon the subject at Washington were not actuated by any considerations of patriotism. Greed of gain through speculation was the motive that prompted what they did. They pretended to be aware of intentions on the part of the administration at Washington to prevent the departure of the "Mormons" from

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Brannan's *Star* is that it was the first newspaper published in Yerba Buena, or San Francisco. (See Bancroft's *History of California*, vol. v, pp. 291-3, and notes; also p. 552, same vol.). According to Brannan it was to be "the government organ." Writing to the brethren in England, under date of Jan. 1st, 1847, he says: "We shall commence publishing a paper next week, which will be the government organ by the sanction of Colonel Fremont, who is now our governor" (*Millennial Star*, vol. ix, p. 307).

the United States for the above given reasons; but if the "Mormon" leaders would agree to transfer to a certain " 'A. G. Benson, Kendall and Co.,' and to their heirs and assigns" the even numbers of all land units and town lots they might acquire in the country where they settled, then the all-powerful "A . G. Benson, Kendall and Co.," would agree to prevent and secure them from all such interferences. It is evident that a strong coterie of Washington politicians were connected with this scheme, or conspiracy, for it deserves the latter title. No less a personage than Amos Kendall, postmaster-general in two former presidential administrations, the second of Jackson's and Van Buren's, 1835-1840, drew up the agreement with his own hand, which was signed by Brannan and witnessed by Elder W. I. Appleby, and sent to Brigham Young for final approval.

In his letter to Brigham Young announcing his action, bearing date of Jan. 26th, 1846, Brannan said:

> "I haste to lay before your honorable body [the twelve] the result of my movements since I wrote you last, which was from this city, stating some of my discoveries, in relation to the contemplated movements of the general government in opposition to our removal.
>
> I had an interview with Amos Kendall, in company with Mr. Benson, which resulted in a compromise, the conditions of which you will learn by reading the contract between them and us, which I shall forward by this mail. I shall also leave a copy of the same with Elder Appleby, who was present when it was signed. Kendall is now our friend, and will use his influence in our behalf, in connection with twenty-five of the most prominent demagogues in the country. *You will be permitted to pass out of the state unmolested.*[27] Their counsel is to go well armed, but keep them well secreted from the rabble.
>
> I shall select the most suitable spot on the Bay of San Francisco for the location of a commercial city. When I sail, which will be next Saturday, at one o'clock, I shall hoist a flag with '*Oregon*' on it."

In a postscript the writer of the above adds concerning the contract:

> " 'Tis no gammon, but will be carried through, if you say amen.

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[27] In a letter to Hedlock, president of the British Mission, Brannan also wrote, under date of Feb. 1st: *"I have made arrangements with the government* (U. S.) *that we are to pass out of this country to California, by sea and by land, unmolested."* (*Millennial Star*, vol. vii, p. 77.)

It was drawn up by Kendall's own hand; but no person must be known in it but Mr. Benson."

In a former letter to President Young, Brannan had represented that even the president of the United States, James K. Polk, was "a silent partner," in this disgraceful effort to prey upon the fears of an exiled people. The connection of the president of the United States with the affair, however, is generally discredited by "Mormon" writers.[28] Besides, the very questionable character of Elder Brannan, makes it possible to suspect him of misrepresentation and even of complicity in the schemes of the political sharpers at Washington.[29] That the use of the president's name was necessary to the success of the conspiracy is obvious to reason. It was his proclamation that could prevent the departure of the "Mormons" from the United States by asserting the likelihood of intention on their part to take sides with Great Britain or Mexico in the international controversies then pending; and thus find grounds on which to disarm them and order their dispersion. But as a "silent partner" to this infamous scheme he could withhold such a proclamation.

REJECTION OF THE WASHINGTON CONSPIRACY PLAN

The whole plan, however, was rendered abortive by the action of Brigham Young and his associates. Brannan's letter reached President Young at his camp on Sugar Creek, Iowa, in February, 1846. On the 17th a council of the twelve was called and Brannan's letter laid before them for consideration. The following excerpt from *President Young's Journal* shows the final disposition of the matter:

"The council considered the subject, and concluded that as our trust was in God, and that, as we looked to him for protection, we would not sign any such unjust and oppressive agreement. This was a plan of political demagogues to rob the Latter-day Saints of millions, and compel them to submit to it by threats of federal bayonets."[30]

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[28] See Tullidge's *Life of Brigham Young*, 1877, ch. iii. Whitney's *History of Utah*, vol. i, p. 251. Brannan's first letter is recorded in *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, pp. 12-13.

[29] See *Note* 3, end of chapter, on the character of Brannan.

The council did not even deign to reply to "A. G. Benson, Kendall and Co." or take further notice of the incident; it was closed, so far as the twelve were concerned, and it is not traceable further.

DISPERSION OF THE BROOKLYN COLONY

Of this *Brooklyn* company of saints nearly one hundred adults with some forty children found their way in different parties, chiefly in 1848-1850, to the Salt Lake valley, and to the main body of the church; the rest remained in California, and most of them, among whom was the leader, Brannan, left the church, though a few afterwards joined later "Mormon" colonies established at San Bernardino and in Arizona.[31]

In a later chapter, when other parts of our history shall have been developed, I shall have occasion to refer again to the Latter-day Saints on the Pacific coast, and point out how, at what they regarded as the call of duty, they turned away from the immediate prospect—nay, the absolute certainty of great wealth, to share the toils and privations of their brethren, constituting the main body of the church, in the semi-desert valley of the Great Salt Lake.

NOTES

1. THE SEA-WORTHINESS OF THE SHIP BROOKLYN

Augusta Joyce Crocheron, who accompanied her parents on the voyage, and in later years was numbered among Utah's poets, and a pleasing writer of early California incidents and experiences, gives a very different account of the *Brooklyn* from the one quoted in the text from the *Times and Seasons.* She describes the vessel as "old and almost worn out; she was one of the old-time build, and was made more for work than beauty or speed. She had done her duty well and had borne her burdens without complaint. But she was old and showed unmistakable signs of weakness and decay. * * * Her roster was well officered, and she was well manned, but the hull was rickety, and she was chartered because she could be had cheap."[32] It should be remembered *per contra* of this, however, that Elder Brannan intrusted himself and family to the *Brooklyn;* that according to Mrs. Crocheron's own account the vessel successfully weathered two severe tempests, one of which, from her own narrative, was the worst the *Brooklyn's* experienced captain had ever seen, since he was "master of a ship." In the second storm, met off Cape Horn, a seaman was washed overboard, though subsequently rescued; and besides the ship made the long voyage, and brought her passengers to the destined port in safety, and in good time, in less than six months from New York.

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[30] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1846, p. 50.

[31] Bancroft's *History of California*, vol. v, p. 554, and same author's *History of Utah*, p. 593.

2. The Entrance of the Ship Brooklyn into San Francisco Bay—Joy of the Colony on Beholding the Flag of their Country

The entrance of the ship *Brooklyn* into San Francisco bay, and in what spirit the "Mormon" colony greeted the announcement that they had arrived in a United States harbor is well described by Mrs. Crocheron in the *Western Galaxy*: "On the 31st day of July, A. D., 1846, we passed the 'Golden Gate.' The day opened not with the glorious sunshine to us, for a fog hovered over the harbor of Yerba Buena, and a mist like a winter's robe hung all around, hiding from our eager eyes the few objects that were made weird and enigmatical in the nearness of the firm and solid ground, where we expected that soon willing labor would begin, homes be erected, fields cultivated, and peace and safety spread over us their wings of protection. * * * As we gazed through the misty walls we perceived dimly some familiar shapes looming up, sloops, whalers, ships of war, and waving from their masts as well as from the barracks, the well known and glorious flag of our country.

A boom—and its echo filled the air: it was a salute from the cannon of the fort, ordered by the United States Commander. The *Brooklyn* responded, and all hearts felt more cheerful and secure. Look! In the dim distance a dark body gliding on the water towards us, while the familiar strokes of the oars brought it swiftly and steadily to our ship's side. It was a sturdy row boat, that seemed a familiar friend. In a few moments uniformed men trod the deck; we knew they were friends—Americans, not Mexicans. In our sweet native tongue the officer in command, with head uncovered, courteously and confidently said in a loud tone: 'Ladies and Gentlemen, I have the honor to inform you that you are in the United States of America.' Three hearty cheers were given in reply from faint and weary lips, but rising from hearts strong, brave, hopeful and loyal still.

They crowded upon the deck, women and children, questioning husbands and fathers, and studied the picture before them—they would never see it just the same again—as the foggy curtains furled towards the azure ceiling. How it imprinted itself upon their minds!

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[32] Communication to the *Western Galaxy*, Tullidge, March, 1888.

A long, sandy beach strewn with hides and skeletons of slaughtered cattle, a few scrubby oaks, farther back low sand hills rising behind each other as a background to a few old shanties that leaned away from the wind, an old adobe barrack, a few donkeys plodding dejectedly along beneath towering bundles of wood, a few loungers stretched lazily upon the beach as though nothing could astonish them; and between that picture and the emigrants still loomed up here and there, at the first sight more distinctly, the black vessels—whaling ships and sloops of war, that was all—and that was Yerba Buena, now San Francisco, the landing place for the pilgrims of faith."[33]

3. SAMUEL BRANNAN, LEADER OF THE BROOKLYN COLONY FROM NEW YORK TO CALIFORNIA

It is clear from the regular text of our *History* that Elder Samuel Brannan was in some respects an unsatisfactory character. He was a native of the state of Maine, born at Saco, 1819; but moved to Ohio in 1833, where he learned the printer's trade, and traveled as a journeyman printer. It was during this period of his career that he came in contact with "Mormonism" and accepted it. Afterwards he was sent to New York to assist in publishing *The Prophet* and to preach the gospel. Here his appointment to charter a vessel and conduct a company of saints to the Pacific coast reached him. "He was a man," says Bancroft, "of more ability and zeal than high principle; still, few better could have been selected to lead this people around Cape Horn to the Land of Promise."[34] The first statement in the quotation finds strong support in both the course Brannan pursued and in the principles he announced. According to Elder Parley P. Pratt, Brannan in the eastern branches of the church was associated with Wm. Smith, brother of the Prophet, and one of the twelve, and Geo. J. Adams *et al*, "in corrupting the saints by introducing among them all manner of false doctrine and immoral practices, by which many of them had stumbled and had been seduced from virtue and truth. While many others seeing their iniquity, had turned away from the church and joined various dissenting parties."[35]

Acting under instructions from Brigham Young, Elder Pratt directed Smith and Adams to return to Nauvoo to answer to the church authorities for their conduct. Brannan and others he reproved and admonished to repentance, which apparently was effective, but a notice appearing in the *Nauvoo Neighbor* papers of Brannan being disfellowshipped, Elder Pratt urged him to repair to Nauvoo, acknowledge and frankly repent of his faults and seek restoration to his standing. Brannan accordingly went to Nauvoo, but apparently before his arrival there, upon the representations of William Smith, the order disfellowshipping him was reversed.[36] He returned to the east in full fellowship and was intrusted with the leadership of the *Brooklyn* colony as detailed in the text of this chapter.

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[33] *Western Galaxy*, Tullidge, vol. i, March, 1888.

[34] *History of California*, vol. v, p. 545.

[35] Pratt's *Autobiography*, pp. 374-5.

[36] *Times and Seasons*, vol. vi, p. 879.

Elder Pratt in after years lamented the leniency shown to Brannan in New York. According to the apostle's statement Brannan was "a corrupt and wicked man," and disgraced himself and the cause in his wider and more responsible career in California. And had there been less leniency shown him in New York "it would have saved the church much loss," says Pratt, "and, perhaps, saved some souls which were corrupted in California and led astray and plundered by him."[37]

In nothing does the frailty of his moral fiber appear than in the letter to Brigham Young accompanying his contract with "A. G. Benson and Co.," mentioned in the text. "I am aware," said he, "it is a covenant with death, but we know that God is able to break it and will do it. The children of Israel, in their escape from Egypt had to make covenant for their safety, and leave it for God to break it." Mr. Brannan had read his *Bible* to little purpose when he so judged of God. "Lord, who shall abide in thy tabernacle? * * * He that sweareth to his own hurt, and changeth not." Even though God's people enter into covenant to their hurt, yet are they expected to keep covenant. Such the stern lesson of Israel's covenant with the Gibeonites. Though obtained by subterfuge, yet when Saul attempted to break that covenant, God sent the punishment of famine upon Israel (cf. *Judges* ix and *II Samuel* xxi), showing most emphatically that God keepeth covenant, and demands that his people also keep covenant even though it be to their disadvantage.

Brannan participated in the early scenes of California's pioneer life—the discovery of gold; the wild speculations in San Francisco real estate; became the organizer of mining, milling, and railway companies; purchased a great distillery, and became a large land proprietor both in California and in Sonora, Mexico; and for a time was known as the richest man in California. Bancroft declares that "he probably did more for San Francisco and for other places [in California] than was effected by the combined efforts of scores of better men; and, indeed, in many respects, he was not a bad man."[38] In the midst of these activities, however, he acquired habits of intemperance; "and he became as well known for his dissolute habits and drunken freaks as he had been for his wealth and ability."[39] Domestic troubles led to divorcement from his wife who had accompanied him to California in the *Brooklyn;* he afterwards remarried to a Mexican woman. Under unlucky speculations his vast fortune melted away, and for a number of years before his death he was "a sorry wreck, physically and financially" (Bancroft). He died in Sonora, Mexico, on the 6th of May, 1889. "He had some redeeming qualities," said the editorial of the Latter-day Saint Church organ, commenting on his death, "and it is to be hoped that these will outweigh the faults which were manifest in his adventurous and eventful life."[40]

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37. Pratt's *Autobiography*, p. 375.
38. Pioneer Register and Index, Bancroft's *History of California*, vol. ii, p. 728.
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Deseret News*, weekly, May 18th, 1889.

CHAPTER LXXII

THE CAMP OF ISRAEL'S MARCH FROM NAUVOO TO COUNCIL BLUFFS

IT IS time now that we return to the companies who led the exodus from Nauvoo. We have seen that the exodus began early in February, the first families crossing the river on the 4th. They were immediately followed by a large number of other families, because the river, meantime, had frozen over and they could cross on the ice.

THE FIRST IOWA ENCAMPMENT

The first encampment after leaving the west bank of the Mississippi was on Sugar Creek, in Iowa territory, about nine miles from Nauvoo. The cold, attended by severe snow storms, became intense and remained so for some days;[1] and while this facilitated the exodus by enabling many to cross the river on the ice, it caused great suffering in the camps. Then, too, many left the city ill prepared for life in the wilderness in midwinter. In many cases their food supplies both for themselves and teams were exhausted in a few days, and they became a burden upon those who had proceeded with better judgment. Some confusion existed also as the camps had not yet received that efficient organization which characterized them later.

Many of the saints acted as if they feared the twelve and other leading elders would depart into the wilderness without the body of the church. Then again, so anxious were certain over-zealous ones to be with the very head of

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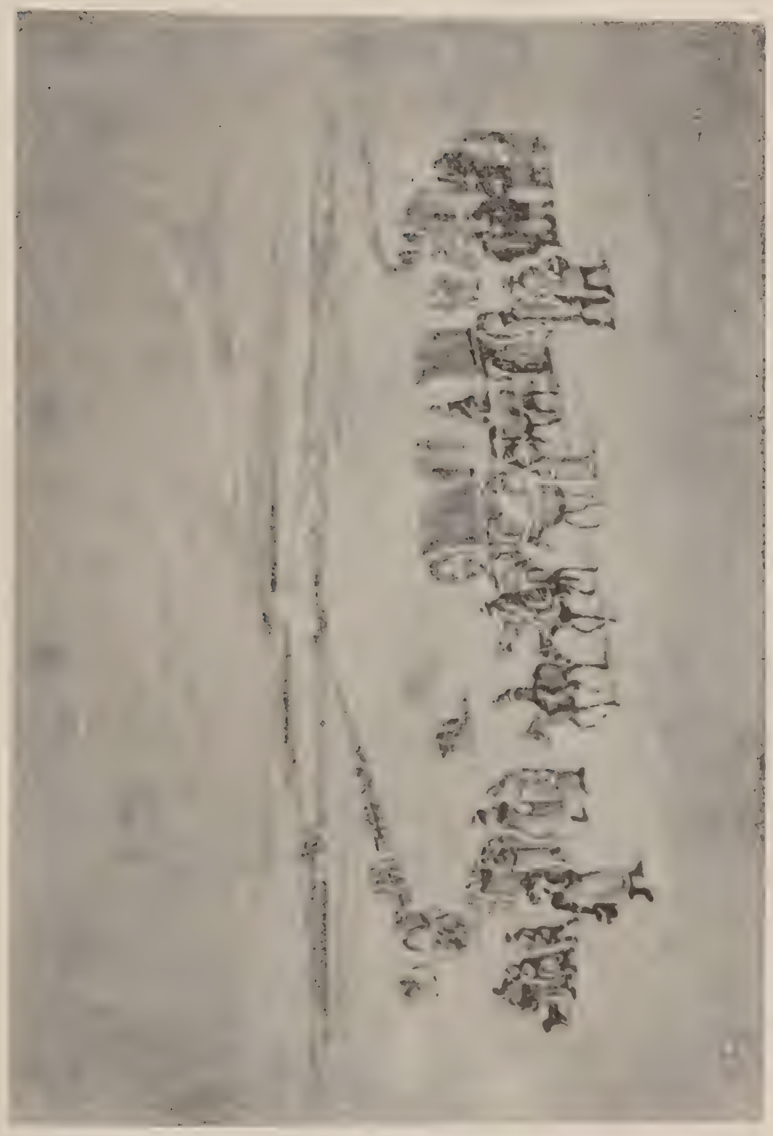
[1] The thermometer, according to notes in *Orson Pratt's Journal* ranged as follows:

February 26th, at 6 p. m., 10 degrees above zero.
February 27th, at 6 a. m., 5 degrees above zero.
February 27th, at 6 p. m., 21 degrees above zero.
February 28th, at midnight, 21 degrees above zero.
February 28th, at 6 a. m., 20 degrees above zero.
February 28th, at noon, 41 degrees above zero.
February 28th, at 6 p. m., 26 degrees above zero.

SORROWFUL DEPARTURE FROM NAUVOO
Crossing the Ice-bound Mississippi,
February, 1846



Engraved By Chas B. Hall NY.

the movement, that they crowded themselves forward and upon these leaders in such a state of unpreparedness that they hampered the movement rather than aided it. Eight hundred men reported themselves at the Sugar Creek encampment, during the last two weeks of February, without more than a fortnight's provisions for themselves and teams. The head camp had not made more than one hundred and fifty miles west of Nauvoo, when President Young and the rest of the apostles who had started with a year's provisions for themselves and families had fed it all out to their less provident brethren.[2] It was evident from the very start that resources for subsistence for this modern Israel in exodus must be created as they traveled. And their leaders were equal to the occasion. There was no complaining, so far as their annals show, because improvident and over-zealous persons crowded themselves into these first camps.[3] With commendable patience the great leader and dominant spirit of this movement, Brigham Young, took largely upon himself the cares and trials of his people. When he reproved them it was never for their being there and in destitute circumstances. Now and always Brigham Young had stood by the poor. He it was who in the beginning of the exodus from Missouri, 1838, proposed that the brethren then enter into covenant to stand by and assist each other, to the utmost of their abilities in removing from that state; that they would "never desert the poor, who are worthy, till they shall be out of the reach of the exterminating order of General Clark, acting for and in the name of the state."[4] And at the last general conference of the church held at Nauvoo, it was Brigham Young who proposed the covenant—"That we take all the saints with us, to the extent of our ability;" and explained that "our ability" meant their "influence and their property;" and he it was who prophesied that the Great God would shower down means upon this people to carry out their covenant to the very letter.[5] It was not in character for him, then, any more than it was in the natural inclination of the man, to complain of the presence of the poor in the first camps of Israel.

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[2] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, under dates from 15th of February, 1846, when the leader crossed the Mississippi with his family, to the camp on Sugar Creek, to March 1st. Also History of the Church, Geo. Q. Cannon, *Juvenile Instructor*, vol. xvii, p. 293. This History by Cannon is written, as would be supposed from the title of the periodical in which it serially appeared, for young people, and, moreover, for young people of the church; but as it was written by one who participated in the events and scenes he describes, and by a man of unusual keen observation and brilliant aptitude in statement, it is a valuable source of information on many events in "Mormon" history, especially on the journey from Nauvoo to the settlement in Salt Lake valley.

[3] The nearest approach to it that I have found is in a speech of President Young's to the camp at Garden Grove, about midway between Nauvoo and Council Bluffs, (see *Note* end of chapter).

THE MARCH OF AN INDUSTRIAL COLUMN

The camps were passing through a new and for the most part a sparsely settled country. Money and labor and household furnishings among those people were scarce. The saints here and there had a little money among them, they were going where it would not be of much value; they had household furnishings, indispensable as they thought upon leaving Nauvoo, but which the simplicity of their camp life taught them they could do without. These, money and household goods. were readily exchanged for food supplies and cattle to strengthen their teams. They were rich in labor power, and the country on both sides of their line of travel was scoured for work that could be done by contract, and not too much delay their westerly movement. Contracts were obtained for husking corn, for splitting rails and fencing fields, for grading stretches of roads, constructing bridges over troublesome streams, for removing fallen dirt from coal beds, digging wells, building houses, clearing farms, and whatever else offered itself, that was honorable employment, by which they might exchange labor for means of subsistence, or increase the efficiency of their teams, by increasing the number of their animals.

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[4] This *History, ante,* ch. xxxvii.

[5] *Ibid, ante,* ch. lxix.

Their journey through southern Iowa was a fortunate circumstance for the settlers in those parts. It gave an impetus to the development of their farms and towns. These exiles from their "City Beautiful" and their homes[6] asked for no gratuities. Their basis of barter with Iowa and Missouri settlers was an even exchange of equal values, and their own pressing necessities often led them to give the settlers the better of the bargain in the exchange.

Then, too, they could convert their labor power into values on their own account. Land was plentiful and nearly everywhere fertile. Much of it as yet was public land, unsurveyed and not yet in market. This could be settled upon, planted by those now upon it in the spring, and the crops left to be harvested by the companies which would come later in the season. Plant that others may harvest! Sow that others may reap! This the lesson of every civilization that is worth while; the sacrifice of present comfort for future advantage; the practice of present self-denial for future gain; by that process the world's capital was amassed; and what is akin to this, but beyond it in excellence, is the impulse or principle which leads to labor, to apparent bootless toil and self-sacrifice, that others may gain by it—that sows that others may reap. This the spirit of this New Dispensation of the gospel received by and exemplified in the lives of this modern Israel in its march towards and into a wilderness that as yet had no definite, objective point marked off in it—beyond the general idea of a likely settlement in the Great Basin of the Rocky Mountains—as the future home of this marching column of exiles.

To get, if possible, some assurance of protection or word of encouragement from the governor of the then territory of Iowa, for this plan of settling temporarily on the public lands, President Young suggested, and the council of apostles approved, the drafting of a petition to the governor of Iowa, James Clark, stating the reasons for the passage of the camps of Latter-day Saints through the territory, and the probability of several thousand more following them; also the harshness of conditions of their banishment from their homes. As conclusion to all this, they said:

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[6] The character of these homes, their solidity and comfort, may be judged somewhat by engravings of some of them that appeared in the *Americana Magazine* for November and December, 1911, and January, 1912.

THE PETITION TO THE GOVERNOR OF IOWA

> "We, the presiding authorities of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, as a committee in behalf of several thousand suffering exiles, humbly ask your excellency to shield and protect us in our constitutional rights, while we are passing through the territory over which you have jurisdiction. And should any of the exiles be under the necessity of stopping in this territory for a time, either in settled or unsettled parts, for the purpose of raising crops, by renting farms or upon public lands, or to make the necessary preparations for their exile, in any lawful way, we humbly petition your excellency to use an influence and power in our behalf, and thus preserve thousands of American citizens, together with their wives and children, from intense sufferings, starvation and death. And your petitioners will ever pray."[7]

The petition was approved by the council of the camp on the 28th of February. No reply was received to this communication. Iowa was on the eve of admission into the Union, and possibly the governor of the territory believed the passing of the saints through the south borders thereof, would be a problem which the incoming state officers should be left to solve.[8]

SUFFERING OF THE ENCAMPMENT ON SUGAR CREEK

It was the first of March when the encampment on Sugar Creek was broken up. Doubtless the exiles were glad to leave a place where they had endured so much suffering from cold and exposure. In this women and children had been the chief sufferers. "Fancy," says one who has done much to perpetuate in graphic narrative the pictures of this exodus—"Fancy may find abundant subject for graphic story of the devotion, the suffering, the matchless heroism of the sisters, in the telling incident that nine children were born to them the first night they camped on Sugar Creek, February 5th, 1846."[9]

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[7] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, entry 28th Feb., 1846, p. 65 *et seq.*

[8] Iowa was admitted into the Union 28th December, 1846. The enabling act had been passed the year before.

On this theme, Eliza R. Snow, herself a woman of education and refinement, a poetess withal, and a woman of both high character and ability, says of these births in camp:

> "We had been preceded [from Nauvoo] by thousands, and I was informed that on the first night of the encampment, nine children were born into the world, and from that time, as we journeyed onward, mothers gave birth to offspring under almost every variety of circumstances imaginable, except those to which they had been accustomed; some in tents, others in wagons—in rainstorms and in snowstorms. I heard of one birth which occurred under the rude shelter of a hut, the sides of which were formed of blankets fastened to poles stuck in the ground, with a bark roof through which the rain was dripping. Kind sisters stood holding dishes to catch the water as it fell, thus protecting the newcomer and its mother from a showerbath as the little innocent first entered on the stage of human life; and through faith in the Great Ruler of events, no harm resulted to either.
>
> Let it be remembered that the mothers of these wilderness-born babies were not savages, accustomed to roam the forest and brave the storm and tempest—those who had never known the comforts and delicacies of civilization and refinement. They were not those who, in the wilds of nature, nursed their offspring amid reeds and rushes, or in the recesses of rocky caverns; most of them were born and educated in the eastern states—had there embraced the gospel as taught by Jesus and his apostles, and, for the sake of their religion, had gathered with the saints, and under trying circumstances had assisted, by their faith, patience and energies, in making Nauvoo what its name indicates, 'the Beautiful.' There they had lovely homes, decorated with flowers and enriched with choice fruit trees, just beginning to yield plentifully.
>
> To these homes, without lease or sale, they had just bade a final adieu, and with what little of their substance could be packed into one, two, and in some instances, three wagons, had started out, desertward, for—where? To this question the only response at that time was, God knows."[10]

Reflecting upon the sufferings endured at Sugar Creek as the encampment was breaking up, Brigham Young had recorded in his *Journal*, these words:

"The fact is worthy of remembrance that several thousand persons

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[9] *The Women of Mormondom*, Edward Tullidge, 1877, p. 304.

[10] Quoted by Tullidge, *Women of Mormondom*, ch. xxxii.

> left their homes in midwinter and exposed themselves without shelter, except that afforded by a scanty supply of tents and wagon covers, to a cold which effectually made an ice bridge over the Mississippi river which at Nauvoo is more than a mile broad.
>
> We could have remained sheltered in our homes had it not been for threats and hostile demonstrations of our enemies, who, notwithstanding their solemn agreements, had thrown every obstacle in our way, not respecting either life, or liberty, or property; so much so that our only means of avoiding a rupture was by starting in midwinter."[11]

Referring to the misrepresentations of the saints and their motives, which alone made necessary this enforced expatriation, he said:

> "Our homes, gardens, orchards, farms, streets, bridges, mills, public halls, magnificent temple, and other public improvements we leave as a monument of our patriotism, industry, economy, uprightness of purpose, and integrity of heart; and as a living testimony of the falsehood and wickedness of those who charge us with disloyalty to the Constitution of our country, idleness and dishonesty."[12]

The Spirit of the Encampments

It was high noon when the encampment on Sugar Creek was ready to move. Then five hundred wagons were put in motion, moving painfully and slowly northwesterly along the banks of Sugar Creek. After making five miles through the snow they camped again. "After scraping away the snow we pitched our tents and, building large fires, we soon found ourselves as comfortable as circumstances would permit; * * * and after bowing before our Great Creator and offering up praise and thanksgiving to him and imploring his protection, we resigned ourselves to the slumbers of the night."[13] At midnight the weather had softened a little; the thermometer stood at 28 degrees Fahrenheit. The above described incidents were repeated many times, only often made more disagreeable by fierce, blinding storms and by alternating thaws and frosts, which rendered roads all but impassable by deep mud or frost-baked roughness. The second day's march brought the camp to the east bank of the Des Moines river, four miles below the little village of Farmington.

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[11] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, p. 69.

[12] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, p. 69.

[13] *Orson Pratt's Journal*, entry March 1st, 1846.

With this advanced camp of the great exodus there had come a brass band, led by Captain Pitt. After encampment was made and the toils of the day were over, the snow would be scraped away, a huge fire or several of them kindled within the wagoned enclosure, and there to the inspiring music of Pitt's band, song and dance often beguiled the exiles into forgetfulness of their trials and discomforts. Then was realized the picture drawn by the Hebrew prophet—"The virgin shall rejoice in the dance, both young men and old together; for I will turn their mourning into joy; and will comfort them, and make them rejoice from their sorrow." The men of Iowa, it is said, looked on with amazement, when witnessing such scenes and were told that these were the exiled "Mormons" from Nauvoo, "bound they knew not whither, 'except where God should lead them by the hand of his servant.' "[14]

A number of citizens of Farmington visited the camp, and, witnessing these festivities—I see not how they can be called otherwise, incongruous as they may seem to the circumstances of the exiles—invited the band to come to their village and give a concert. And the band accepted, with which the people of Farmington were highly pleased. And that was a circumstance oft repeated by the band in the settlements along the route from Farmington to Council Bluffs—where they arrived about mid-June—and always with the same good effect. In this respect this modern, exiled Israel differed somewhat from ancient, captive Israel. The latter

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[14] Tullidge's *Life of Brigham Young*, p. 33, also Bancroft's *History of Utah*, p. 220. "Beyond Sugar Creek, after prayer, they held a dance, and as the men of Iowa looked on they wondered how these homeless outcasts from Christian civilization could thus praise and make merry in view of their abandoning themselves to the mercy of savages and wild beasts."

"Notwithstanding the snow storms and the inclemency of the weather," says Orson Pratt, "our camp resounded with songs of joy and praise to God—all were cheerful and happy in the anticipation of finding a resting place from persecution in some of the lonely, solitary valleys of the great interior basin of upper California, then a Mexican province, or whithersoever we might be led." (Orson Pratt's Journal, *Millennial Star*, vol. xi, p. 362).

"wept" when they remembered Zion, and "hanged their harps upon the willows in the midst thereof." And when their captors required of them a song and mirth, saying "Sing us one of the songs of Zion," the captives made answer—"How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?"[15] And they wept. But not so this modern, exiled Israel; they sang and played and everywhere found favor, softened hearts, and changed the sentiments even of their enemies.[16] It is conceded that the difference between the circumstances of the ancient and modern peoples, here partially and momentarily thrown into contrast, was very great, and I am not pressing the contrast too literally; but truly it is remarkable, I submit, and scores heavily on the side of the Latter-day Israel that they could thus forget all their sorrows and their wrongs and minister to the pleasure of those who, at best, had but small sympathy with them. And while they had much cause for the practice of aloofness from all except those of their own faith, it is to their credit that they were not soured, or hardened into social indifference towards their fellowmen, above all their fellow countrymen. The fact held in it a prophecy that the then impending and enforced expatriation would be but a temporary condition; that the saints would remain Americans in the sense of being loyal to the institutions and government of the United States, as the dominant power pledged to the maintenance of human freedom and civic righteousness in this western hemisphere—America! to these Latter-day Saints a larger land of promise for both Latter-day Israel and also for Gentile nations than was dreamed of by ancient Israel.[17]

SUFFERINGS MADE LIGHT OF—GOD VINDICATED

And as the exiles were patient and cheerful in their actual sufferings, so, too, were they moderate, as a rule, in their reports of their trials. Chief among those reports worthy of all respect is one made by the late President John Taylor who participated in the scenes he describes. What he says of these matters was in a communication addressed to the saints in England.[18] In this article, while he dwells at some length upon the sufferings of his people from the fury of the pitiless storm—the drifting snow, the pelting hail, and the icy chill of tempests, Elder Taylor does not forget to vindicate God, whose part it was to stand very near to his people in such trying times. In concluding his remarks on the exposure of the saints to cold and storms, he says:

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[15] *Psalms*, cxxxvii.

[16] *History of Brigham Young, Ms., passim;* and Tullidge's *Life of Brigham Young*, p. 33-36, Bancroft's *Utah*, p. 220.

[17] See *Book of Mormon, II Nephi*, x; also the author's Mormon Views of America, in *Defense of the Faith and the Saints*, vol. i, pp. 401-441.

> "We sustained no injury therefrom; our health and our lives were preserved—we outlived the trying scenes—we felt contented and happy—the songs of Zion resounded from wagon to wagon—from tent to tent; the sound reverberated through the woods, and its echo was returned from the distant hills; peace, harmony, and contentment reigned in the habitations of the saints."

So, too, in speaking of the privations of camp life:

> "It is true that in our sojourning we do not possess all the luxuries and delicacies of old established countries and cities, but we have an abundance of the staple commodities, such as flour, meal, beef, mutton, pork, milk, buttter and in some instances cheese, sugar, coffee, tea, etc., etc. We feel contented and happy in the wilderness. The God of Israel is with us—union and peace prevail; and as we journey, as did Abraham of old, with our flocks and herds to a distant land, we feel that like him, we are doing the will of our Heavenly Father and relying upon his word and promises; and having his blessing, we feel that we are children of the same promise and hope, and that the great Jehovah is our God."

Such remarks as these lighten the rather somber picture that is sometimes drawn by writers who relate the story of the expulsion from Nauvoo, and the subsequent journey in the wilderness; and who in their anxiety to give a vivid picture of the sufferings of the saints, forget to vindicate the goodness of God who was with his people in those trying times, and who, by opening the way before them to obtain food and lands to dwell upon, and giving them strength as their day, made their afflictions light.

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[18] *Millennial Star*, vol. viii, Nos. 7 and 8.

Headquarters of the Camp of Israel

Accepting the theory that where the "Douglas" sits there is the head of the table, which translated here means that where Brigham Young is there is the "Camp of Israel," as this moving caravan of exiles was called, we trace the chief encampments as follows—"chief" because of the length of time they constituted the headquarters of the movement.

After Sugar Creek, Richardson Point, fifty-five miles west of Nauvoo, near a branch of Chequest Creek, and reached by Brigham Young on the 7th of March, became headquarters, and the camp remained at this place until the 19th of the same month, as heavy rains made the roads and swollen streams impassable.[19] The next encampment was on the Chariton river where the leader established his headquarters on the 22nd of March,[20] and remained until the 1st of April. Thence to an encampment on Locust river, reached by Brigham Young on the 6th of April. Garden Grove, so named by the saints, was made headquarters of the camp on the 25th of April,[21] about one hundred and fifty miles from Nauvoo. Mount Pisgah, so named by Parley P. Pratt,[22]

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[19] *History of Brigham Young, Ms,* 1846, p. 82. This history is kept in journal form.

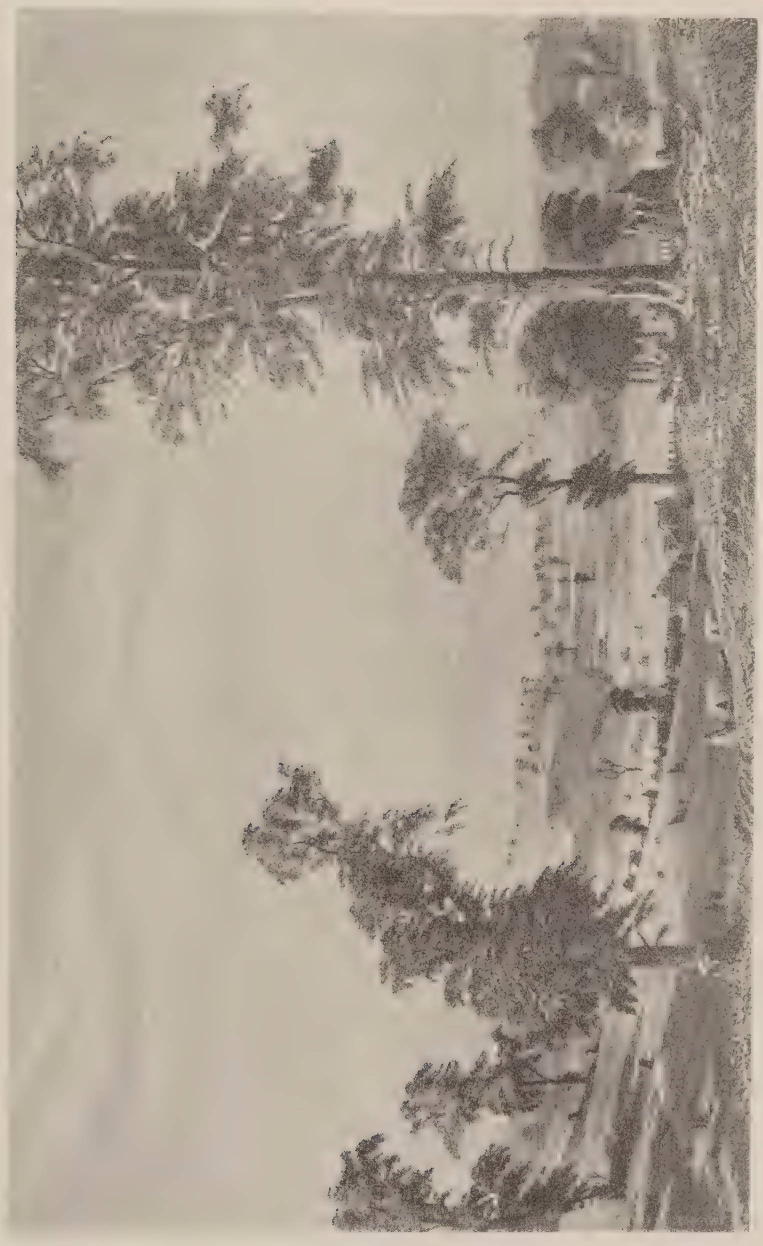
[20] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.,* p. 110.

[21] *Ibid,* p. 150.

[22] Elder Pratt was scouting ahead of his company sent in advance to seek a new location when he came upon the spot to which he gave the name above mentioned. Following is his own account of the incident: "Riding about three or four miles through beautiful prairies, I came suddenly to some round and sloping hills, grassy and crowned with beautiful groves of timber; while alternate open groves and forests seemed blended in all the beauty and harmony of an English park. While beneath and beyond, on the west, rolled a main branch of Grand river, with its rich bottoms of alternate forest and prairie. As I approached this lovely scenery several deer and wolves, being startled at the sight of me, abandoned the place and bounded away till lost from my sight amid the groves. Being pleased and excited at the varied beauty before me, I cried out, 'this is *Mount Pisgah.* I returned to my camp, with the report of having found the long sought river, and we soon moved on and encamped under the shade of these beautiful groves." (Parley P. Pratt's *Autobiography,* p. 381).

ENTRANCE TO KANESVILLE OR COUNCIL BLUFFS

The Encampment was named for Colonel Thomas L. Kane.


Entrance to Kanesville or Council Bluffs

became headquarters on the 18th of May;[23] and on the 14th of June, Council Bluffs, on the Missouri, was reached and became headquarters. The first encampment here was made in the river bottom, but at the suggestion of the leader the camp was moved back on to the bluffs overlooking the river both because they could there obtain spring water, and be a little further removed from the Omaha Indians, living in the bottoms.[24]

Arrival at Council Bluffs

The arrival of the camp at Council Bluffs marks the first stage in the larger journey to the Great Basin of the Rocky Mountains. Its march across the territory of Iowa is a fine illustration of what may be accomplished by men under organization, supplemented and aided by the religious sentiment to inspire mutual patience and charity. It is safe to say that nothing in the history of our country, and perhaps not in the history of the world, quite parallels this journey from Nauvoo to Council Bluffs,[25] except the subsequent march of the same people from the Missouri river to the shores of the Great Salt Lake, the "Dead Sea" of the intermountain west. It must be remembered that the ranks of the first camps were constantly swelled by fresh bands from Nauvoo, until by the fall of the year there were brought together, chiefly on the banks of the Missouri, but with some yet *en route,*

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[23] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.,* 1846, p. 176.

[24] *Ibid,* p. 197.

[25] H. H. Bancroft in his *History of Utah* (pp. 217-18) very boldly declares this to be his view. He says: "There is no parallel in the world's history to this migration from Nauvoo. The exodus from Egypt was from a heathen land, a land of idolaters to a fertile region designated by the Lord for his chosen people, the land of Canaan. The Pilgrim fathers in flying to America came from a bigoted and despotic people—a people making few pretensions to civil or religious liberty. It was from these same people who had fled from old-world persecutions that they might enjoy liberty of conscience in the wilds of America, from their descendants and associates, that other of their descendants, who claimed the right to differ from them in opinion and practice, were now fleeing. True, the Mormons in various ways had rendered themselves abominable to their neighbors: so had the Puritan fathers to their neighbors. Before this the Mormons had been driven to the outskirts of civilization, where they had built themselves a city; this they must abandon and throw themselves upon the mercy of savages."

"15,000 saints, 3,000 wagons, 30,000 head of cattle, a great number of mules and horses, and immense flocks of sheep."[26]

ORGANIZATION PERFECTED EN MARCH

It has already been remarked that the organization of the camp was not perfected in the early stages of the journey, and this resulted in some disorder and disappointments. But the defects, in the main, were amended at the encampment on the Chariton river, on the 27th of March;[27] and thereafter more system and better order prevailed.

The first steps in organization, when it was decided that the saints must leave Nauvoo, was to select twenty-five men called captains of hundreds; authorized in turn to select one hundred families, and see to it that they were prepared for their journey across the Rocky Mountains. The captains of hundreds were also instructed to select captains of fifties, and of tens, with clerks, guards, etc., and making such division of camp work as gave best promise of success. But so many in the first companies came only for the purpose of assisting in getting the exodus started, removing the public or church property, then returning to Nauvoo for their own families, that it resulted in some confusion. This together with the divisions getting separated by storms, bad roads, and the necessity of leaving the camps to find employment, made keeping in tact the plan of organization, as originally projected, at least for the first few weeks, impossible. At this 27th of March meeting, however, the camp's affairs were set in order. Brigham Young was unanimously elected president over the whole Camp of Israel. Three men were elected captains of hundreds[28] (i. e. hundreds of families); six, captains of fifties; these captains of fifties took the place of the former captains of fifties,[29] who were promoted to presidents over their divisions (except in the case of the first hundred which was left open for further consideration).[30]

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[26] Taylor's Address to the Saints in Great Britain, *Millennial Star*, vol. viii, p. 114.

[27] The meeting at which the organization was made more thorough was really held about six or eight miles west of the Chariton headquarters, at the camp of Parley P. Pratt on Shoal Creek, where two council meetings were held upon the subject of camp organization. (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, pp. 112, 115, 116-119).

[28] Ezra T. Benson, John Smith, Samuel Bent were elected captains of hundreds. Albert P. Rockwood, Stephen Markham, John Harvey, Howard Egan, Chas. C. Rich and John Crismon were chosen captains of fifties. (*Ibid.*)

Willard Richards was sustained as the historian of the church and of the camp. William Clayton was appointed clerk for the whole camp; and a clerk for each fifty was also appointed. There was appointed a commissary general for the whole camp—Henry Sherwood; also for each fifty there was appointed a contracting commissary and a distributing commissary. The subdivisions of the fifties into tens with their captains, guards, herdsmen, etc., was evidently left to be worked out by the officers of the respective fifties.

This organization greatly facilitated the movements of the camp, and evidently pleased President Young; for some time after it was effected he remarked to some of the brethren whom he met in council, that "they were taking a course that would result in salvation, not only to that camp, but to the saints who were still behind. He said he did not think there ever had been a body of people since the days of Enoch who had done so little grumbling under such unpleasant circumstances. He was satisfied that the Lord was pleased with the majority of the Camp of Israel. *But there had been some things done which were wrong.*"[31]

When the camp moved it was customary to send out an advance company called "pioneers," who blazed the trail to be followed by the wagons. Sometimes they detailed a squad from their company to build a bridge or clear a way through the underbrush of the timber tracts they crossed; while still others would be detailed to find a suitable encampment. Trading or "foraging" expeditions, under the direction of the contracting commissaries, were sent out to scour the country for corn and cattle, in exchange for cash and household goods, table furnishings, feather beds, silverware, etc.; other parties were sent out to make labor contracts and thus all was orderly activity and intense individual and community life.

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[29] These former captains were Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Parley P. Pratt, Peter Haws, John Taylor, and Bishop George Miller.

[30] I cannot find from our annals if the matter was ever taken up again.

[31] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, pp. 141-2; also History of the Church, Cannon, *Juvenile Instructor*, vol. xvii, p. 315.

PLANTING THAT OTHERS MAY HARVEST

The camp arriving at Garden Grove on the 25th of April, the time had come to put into effect the plan determined upon some time before, *viz.*, to fence and put in a crop of large acreage, leaving it for other camps to harvest as they came up to it later. The camp divisions within reach were called together, and a division of the labor force made. Three hundred and fifty-nine laboring men promptly reported for duty, exclusive of commissarians and herdsmen. From these 100 were selected to split rails; 10 were appointed to build fences; 48 to build houses; 12 to dig wells; 10 to build bridges; and the remainder were directed to clear land, to plow and plant. There was no place for idlers there; indeed idleness persisted in was made cause for disfellowship from the camp. "The camp was like a hive of bees," says George Q. Cannon, "every one was busy. And withal the people felt well and happy."[32]

The appearance of permanency was given to this encampment by the appointment of Elder Samuel Bent to preside over the settlement, with Aaron Johnson and David Fullmer as his counselors. It was voted also that each man who remained there should have his land assigned to him in proportion to his family. Thus notwithstanding the settlement was founded by community effort, and was possible only through this cooperation, yet individual ownership of property was contemplated and provided for. Only in one respect was it modified.. "I advised," said President Young, "that if a man would not till his land, it should be taken from

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32. History of the Church, Cannon, *Juvenile Instructor*, vol. xvii, p. 325. Seven hundred and fifteen acres were broken up and planted at this encampment. (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, p. 160).

him."[33] These views he had of land ownership, as we shall see, governed him throughout his colony-planting career—*"No man shall hold more land than he can cultivate."* The presidency of Garden Grove was instructed to carry out the above suggestions; to see that the crops were cared for and secured; that the people be taught the law of tithing—the payment of one-tenth of their increase to the church annually—and that the tithes be received and disbursed to the poor and sick among them.

At Mount Pisgah the scenes of Garden Grove were re-enacted. A farm of "several thousand acres," was inclosed and planted, and the place became a permanent settlement,[34] of which William Huntington was made president, with Ezra T. Benson and Charles C. Rich as his counselors.

This work accomplished President Young's camp moved forward until it reached the Missouri on the 14th of June, as already stated. The season was now late for planting, yet preparations for enclosing lands and plowing and planting were begun, while Bishop Miller with a number of men detailed to assist him began the construction of a ferry boat with which to cross the Missouri, and continue the westward march. Thus the Camp of Israel had become a veritable marching, industrial column; founding settlements as it marched; planting for others to harvest, and leaving behind them within easy reach bases of supplies that insured their own safety in case of emergency.

IRREGULARITIES IN THE CAMP OF ISRAEL

That irregularities should appear in the course of this western march was to be expected. The leader praised the Camp of Israel for uniformly good conduct, and assured them that God was pleased with the majority of the camp; *"but there had been some things done which were not right,"* he was compelled to add. Among these things was a disposition on the part of a few—very few, however—to insubordination; a manifest desire to disregard camp regulations and draw off to themselves. Under his journal entry for March 21st, President Young says: * * * "I remarked today that Bishop Miller seeks to go ahead and separate himself from his brethren, but he cannot prosper in so doing, he will yet run against a snag and call upon me and the camp for help.[35] We shall see in a subsequent chapter how the prediction was fulfilled. This disposition was severely reproved from time to time by the leader, and after the reconstruction of the camp organization on the 27th of March, these restless spirits were better controlled.[36]

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[33] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, p. 110. The same penalty was suggested if he would not gather his crop. "Let Father Bent"—the president of the settlement—"Let Father Bent put them [the crops] into his own store-house," said President Young. (*Ibid.*)

[34] Parley P. Pratt's *Autobiography*, p. 381; also *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, p. 176, *et seq.*

Some thefts occurred in the camps which brought forth the sternest reproofs from President Young. He even intimated that persistence in thieving might lead to capital punishment. Answering the suggestion that such a course might lead to violence upon himself by the thieves, he replied with spirit: *"I would rather die by the hand of the meanest of all men, false brethren, than to live among thieves."*[37]

A few men in camp had in their possession counterfeit money which they were base enough to pass off upon the Iowa settlers in exchange for corn and stock. On the occasion of a quarrel among these parties over the division of profits arising from their traffic, the affair reached the ears of President Young who at once went to their encampment. He reproved them for dealing in base coin and told the leader in the matter that *"unless he repented and forsook such dishonesty, the hand of the Lord would be against him, and all those who partook of such corruption."*[38] It is noted that the words of President Young were fulfilled. The chief actor in the business, "and his whole family," remarks Geo. Q. Cannon, "became apostates and very disreputable people, and the hand of the Lord was visibly against him. The man also to whom he gave bogus money to pass eventually lost his standing in the church and went down."[39]

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[35] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, p. 110.

[36] Parley P. Pratt in his *Autobiography* refers to these matters at some length, pp. 379-380.

[37] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, pp. 60-61.

[38] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, p. 171.

After entering the Pottawattomie Indian country a piece of bogus money was passed upon an Indian. Making the discovery the red man and his friends took an ox from the next passing company and killed it. When the matter was reported to President Young he declared, *"the Indian had done just right."*[40]

James M. Hemmick for some wrong sustained, fancied or real, challenged Wilber J. Earl to fight a duel—*"Let James M. Hemmick be discharged from the service of this camp forthwith, by order of the council—[signed] Willard Richards, Clerk."* Such was the prompt action of the council in that matter.

On the Chariton a boy shot an otter but on picking it up he found it was in a trap. He skinned the otter and brought the skin into camp. Soon afterwards a Mr. Davis, a trapper on the Chariton, came into camp and declared that he had lost six out of eight traps he had set on the river, and intimated that they had been stolen. Next morning President Young had a thorough search made of the camp for the traps, but none could be found. Colonel Markham was instructed to take the otter skin and the boy to Mr. Davis—"I instructed Brother Markham to say to the man, that if one of his traps were found within one thousand miles of that place it should be sent back to him with the man that took it."[41] Speaking of the search made in the camp for the traps, President Young said: "Previous to this I had said that if any man in this camp was found stealing he ought to forfeit all his property."[42]

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[39] History of the Church, Cannon, *Juvenile Instructor*, vol. xvii, p. 293.

[40] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, p. 207.

[41] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, pp. 120-1. When Markham went for the boy he could not be found, but that officer returned the skin with President Young's message, and Mr. Davis expressed himself satisfied with the action of the officer of the camp (*Ibid*, 124).

In addition to these manifestations of individual dishonesty there were those who would hunt and fish on the Lord's Day; some that were neglectful of prayer,[43] and given to boisterous conduct, much to the annoyance of President Young, according to his mention of these things in his *History, Ms.,* and his expression of the annoyance such conduct gave him. But while these things must be noted in a history of the great march, they represent but the aberrations in the community conduct, such as must be expected in any assembly of such numbers, and under such circumstances; and while regrettable as blemishes in the community life, and to be censured, they do not destroy the glory of achievement in this exodus, nor blot out the fact that this caravan of exiles was a righteous, god-fearing, religious people. Despite the individual delinquencies noted they were honest, industrious, self-sacrificing, and won the esteem, and trust and applause of the settlers in the country through which they passed, and of the savage tribes among whom they had now pitched their tents on the banks of the Missouri.

NOTE

THE WESTERN MOVEMENT HINDERED BY DETERMINATION OF THE PEOPLE TO BE WITH THE APOSTLES

The near approach to complaining on the part of the leader of the camps, referred to in note 3 of the text, was more in the nature of an explanation than of a complaint as to how the zeal and unpreparedness of some of the saints were hindering the progress of the general movement. President Young said: "When the removal westward was in contemplation at Nauvoo, had the brethren submitted to our [the twelve apostles] counsel, and brought their teams and means and authorized me to do with them as the Spirit and wisdom of the Lord directed, then we could have fitted out a company of men, who were not encumbered with large families, and sent them over the mountains to put in crops and build houses, and the residue could have gathered, beginning with the priesthood, and the gathering continued from year to year, building and planting at the same time. Were matters to be so conducted, none would be found crying for bread, or destitute of clothing; but all would be provided for as designed by the Almighty. But instead of taking this course the saints have crowded on us all the while, and have completely tied our hands by importuning and saying, 'Do not leave us behind. Wherever you go we want to go, and be with you;' and thus our hands and feet have been bound, which has caused our delay to the present time; and now hundreds at Nauvoo are continually praying and importuning with the Lord that they may overtake us, and be with us. And just so it is with the saints here. They are afraid to let us go on and leave them behind; forgetting that they have covenanted to help the poor away at the sacrifice of all their property."[44]

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[42] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, p. 124.

[43] It was the law of the camp that there should be daily prayer in every family; "Every family must call on the Lord night and morning at every tent or wagon," said President Young at the outset; *"and we shall have no confidence in the man that does not."* (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, p. 50).

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[44] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, entry for Sunday, May 3rd, 1846, p. 162; also Cannon *Juvenile Instructor*, vol. xvii, p. 326).

CHAPTER LXXIII

THE MORMON BATTALION

THE destination of the exiled Latter-day Saints was doubtless, though vaguely, fixed, (1) by the prophecy of Joseph Smith of the 6th of August, 1842; at which time, it should be remembered, he declared that the saints would continue to suffer much affliction and would be driven to the Rocky Mountains, many would apostatize, others would be put to death by their persecutors, "and some of you," said he to his auditors, "will live to go and assist in making settlements and build cities in the Rocky Mountains;"[1] and (2) by the fact that when conditions at Nauvoo became intolerable to the Prophet, he actually started for "the Great Basin in the Rocky Mountains."[2] This matter of their destination was frequently discussed by the council of the twelve when *en route* through Iowa; and even before leaving Nauvoo,[3] as will be seen by reference to chapter lxix of this *History*.

UNCERTAINTY OF WESTWARD DESTINATION

It is true that in some passages of Latter-day Saint literature, the destination of the Camp of Israel seems indefinite; and both "Oregon" and "California" as well as the "Great Basin in the Rocky Mountains" are sometimes referred to as a probable destination. This arises both from the unorganized state of church literature, and because of the vagueness that accompanied the names "Oregon" and "California" in the decades of the first half of the 19th century. "Oregon" was then a land of unknown boundaries off in the northwest region of the United States. "California," a region without north or south boundaries very definitely fixed, but lying east and west between the summits of the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean; and the great western Rocky Mountain plateau was for many years and especially in "Mormon" literature, called "Upper California."[4] But a close consideration of our annals will reveal the fact that always it was settled in the minds of Brigham Young and his associates of the twelve apostles, that the "Great Basin of the Rocky Mountains" was the destination of the people they were leading to the west; not Oregon, and not the Pacific slopes of California.

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[1] *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. v, p. 85 and note; also *ante*, this *History*, chapter li, where the prophecy is considered at length; and chapter liii, where preparations of the "Mountain Expedition" is recounted at length.

[2] *Millennial Star*, vol. xxiv, pp. 332-3; *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. vi, pp. 545-8, *ante*, this *History*, chapter lv.

[3] See *ante*, chapter lxix, also *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1846, p. 162.

As early as September 9th, 1845, as we have seen in a previous chapter (lxix), it was proposed in a council meeting of the twelve that a company of 1,500 men be selected to go to the "Salt Lake valley;" and on the 8th of March, 1846, President Young urged the necessity of sending a pioneer company in advance "to the Great Basin," to put in crops that season. "We must divide and arrange the camps," said he, "so that a part may cross the mountains to the Great Basin soon enough to plant this spring; we must ascertain how many men can go forward from the camp, leaving their families somewhere on the road, so as to travel with all speed; three hundred men are wanted for the expedition."[5]

After the Mormon Battalion was chosen and arrangements made for its marching, President Young suggested that "the soldiers," referring to the battalion, "might tarry and go to work where they disbanded, and said the next temple would be built in the Rocky Mountains; and

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[4] See Taylor's hymn of 1846, "The Upper California:"

"The Upper California, O that's the land for me,
It lies between the mountains and the great Pacific sea," etc.

L. D. S. Hymn Book, p. 352. Also *Millennial Star*, vols. vi to x, *passim*. "I frequently find California and Utah confounded," says Bancroft, "by writers of this early period. The limits of California on the east were not then defined, and it was not uncommon, nor indeed incorrect to apply that term to territory east of the Sierra." (Bancroft's *History of Utah*, p. 238).

[5] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1846, p. 85.

I should like the twelve and the old brethren to live in the mountains where the temple will be erected, and where the brethren will have to repair to get their endowments."[6] Somewhat later, he said:

> "I spoke of President Polk's feelings toward us, as a people. Assured the brethren [i. e. of the Battalion] that they would have no fighting to do; told them we should go to the Great Basin, which is the place to build temples, and where our strongholds should be against mobs. The Constitution of the United States is good. The battalion will probably be disbanded about eight hundred miles from the place where we shall locate."[7]

In a communication to President James K. Polk, under date of August 9th, 1846, signed by Brigham Young as president of the council, it was said:

> "The cause of our exile we need not repeat, it is already with you, suffice it to say that a combination of fortuitous, illegal and unconstitutional circumstances have placed us in our present situation, on a journey which we design shall end in a location west of the Rocky Mountains, and within the Basin of the Great Salt Lake, or Bear river valley, as soon as circumstances shall permit, believing that to be a point where a good living will require hard labor, and consequently will be coveted by no other people, while it is surrounded by so unpopulous but fertile a country."[8]

After this there can surely be no doubt as to the determination of the church leaders to settle in the Rocky Mountains, and that from the beginning of their contemplated exodus from Illinois and the United States. Finally active steps were taken to raise from among the camps a pioneer company to go over the mountains. In June Elders Parley P. Pratt and Ezra T. Benson were sent east along the line of encampments as far as Mount Pisgah to raise a portion of this company.[9]

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[6] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, pp. 52, 53.

[7] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1846, of that year, pp. 86-7.

[8] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, p. 137.

[9] These brethren were met by Brigham Young returning from their mission to Mount Pisgah, on the 4th of July, when they reported that they had raised eighty-four volunteers to go over the mountains that season, and $50 in money. (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1846, bk. 2, p. 6). For the suggestion that it was the glowing description of Salt Lake valley by a Catholic missionary—Father De Smet—that led Brigham Young to fix upon that valley as a place of settlement,

Bishop Miller and his company, meantime, had completed a ferry across the Missouri at Council Bluffs, and began crossing to the west bank.

AN ADVANCE PIONEER COMPANY FOR THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS

On Sunday the 28th of June an important council meeting was held at which President Young again urged the importance of sending an advanced company of men as pioneers over the mountains, and called for volunteers who would be willing to leave their families with elderly men and boys while they, with especially selected teams and outfits, should make a dash for the mountains. Forty men volunteered at this meeting: among whom all of the twelve that were present.[10] Doubtless more could be found in the surrounding camps who would be willing to go and preparations were accordingly begun for the journey. Indeed the day following several of the twelve, among them President Young, moved down to the ferry preparatory to crossing the river.

It was at this juncture in the affairs of the Camp of

(see *Note* 1, end of chapter). The above evidence as to intention of President Young settling his people in the Rocky Mountains, rather than on the Pacific coast of California or Oregon, may be further supplemented by the following entry in his *Journal* while the Mormon Battalion was being mustered into service:

"*July* 14: I said I would prophesy that the time would come when some one of the twelve or a high priest would come up and ask: 'Can we not build a temple at Van Couver's Island, or in California?' It is now wisdom to unite all our forces to build one house in the mountains." (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, p. 53).

[10] In his *Journal* account of this meeting Elder John Taylor says: "Brother Young spoke and said that the companies must prepare teams and grain and implements of husbandry to send over the mountains as the season is so far advanced that there must be something done and that quickly; and as the folks were not willing to let the twelve go ahead any faster than they did, they must send on men and teams to prepare a place and plow and plant to receive us; for if we do not send men ahead it will throw us back another year and we will have to buy another year's provision. He then said he wanted to know how many were willing to go over the mountains and leave their families, and put it to the vote, and several held up their hands; he then said he wanted to know their numbers, for he was determined to go and leave his family if he could get any volunteers to go with him, and leave their families in the care of old men and boys. They would take mules, horses, and swift cattle that could travel thirty miles a day, and take grain and corn along. They then commenced numbering and numbered forty, among whom were the twelve. There were a great many men down who could principally all go, and there were a good many not at meeting. They spoke of the practicability of going this fall. Brother Brigham thought we could do it in thirty-five days." (*Taylor's Journal, Ms.*, entry for 28 June, 1846).

Israel that an event happened of large importance. Captain James Allen of the United States army arrived at Mount Pisgah on the 26th of June, accompanied by three dragoons. The camp was momentarily thrown into great excitement by this event, and the cry ran throughout the camp—"*The United States troops are upon us! The United States troops are upon us!*" The excitement and the cry of alarm rose from remembrance of the reported intention of the federal government before the saints began leaving Nauvoo, to prevent the movement to the west by the employment, if necessary, of the United States troops, as falsely reported by Governor Ford, already set forth in these pages.[11]

Captain Allen presented to the leading elders of Mount Pisgah *A Circular to the Mormons,*[12] setting forth that he had been instructed by Colonel Stephen W. Kearney of the United States army, and commander of the "Army of the West," to "*accept* the service for twelve months of four or five companies of Mormon men who may be willing to serve their country for that period in our present war with Mexico; this force to unite with the Army of the West at Santa Fe, and be marched thence to California, where they will be discharged."[13] Captain Allen hoped to "complete the organization of this battalion in six days" after his arrival at Council Bluffs, "or within nine days from this time."[14]

The presiding brethren at Mount Pisgah did not feel authorized to take any steps in the matter of Captain Allen's communication on the enlistment of a battalion, but gave him a letter of introduction to President Brigham Young, directed to William Clayton as clerk of the camp, at Council Bluffs, for which place the captain started immediately and arrived on the 30th of June. Elder Wilford Woodruff also sent a letter, by private messenger, to President Young, informing him of Captain Allen's visit at Mount Pisgah, and the purpose of it. This messenger arrived at Council Bluffs on the 29th of June, the day before Captain Allen's arrival.[15] The following day Captain Allen met with President Young and others in council at the tent of John Taylor, and presented the whole question of raising a battalion from the "Mormon" camps.

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[11] See *ante,* chapter lxix. As soon as the mission of Captain Allen was made known the excitement was allayed.

[12] See *Note* 2 end of this chapter.

[13] The circular is given *in extenso* in Tyler's *Mormon Battalion,* 1881, pp. 114-5. The words "*accept the service,*" is the phraseology of the act of congress declaring war with Mexico. (See *Congressional Globe,* 13th of May, 1846). The declaration of war "authorized the president to *accept* the service of fifty thousand volunteers, and placed ten millions of dollars at his disposal. * * * The call for volunteers was answered by the prompt tender of the services of more than 300,000 men." (*History of the United States,* Marcus Wilson, Appendix, p. 682. Same, Lossing, p. 483; Stephens, p. 488).

[14] Tyler's *Mormon Battalion,* p. 115.

Kearney's Instructions to Captain Allen

The authority under which Captain Allen acted was an order from Colonel Kearney, at Fort Leavenworth. This order Captain Allen presented to Brigham Young and his fellow apostles when the council assembled; and because of its importance as a public document, is here given in full.

"Fort Leavenworth, June 19, 1846.

Sir:—It is understood that there is a large body of Mormons who are desirous of emigrating to California, for the purpose of settling in that country, and I have therefore to direct that you will proceed to their camps and endeavor to raise from amongst them four or five companies of volunteers, to join me in my expedition to that country, each company to consist of any number between 73 and 109; the officers of each company will be a captain, first lieutenant and second lieutenant, who will be elected by the privates, and subject to your approval, and the captains then to appoint the non-commissioned officers, also subject to your approval. The companies, upon being thus organized, will be mustered by you into the service of the United States, and from that day will commence to receive the pay, rations and other allowances given to the other infantry volunteers, each according to his rank. You will, upon mustering into service the fourth company, be considered as having the rank, pay and emoluments of a lieutenant-colonel of infantry, and are authorized to appoint an adjutant, sergeant major, and quartermaster sergeant for the battalion.

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[15] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1846, entry for June 29th, p. 219. On the 30th of June, after being informed of Captain Allen's arrival by Thomas Grover, President Young makes this entry in his journal: "Tuesday 30: * * * I met Bros. Kimball and Richards in Bro. O. Pratt's tent. Decided it was best to meet Captain Allen in the morning, *and raise the men wanted.*" (*Ibid.* p. 219.)

The companies, after being organized, will be marched to this post, where they will be armed and prepared for the field, after which they will, under your command, follow on my trail in the direction of Santa Fe, and where you will receive further orders from me.

You will, upon organizing the companies, require provisions, wagons, horses, mules, etc. You must purchase everything that is necessary and give the necessary drafts upon the quartermaster and commissary departments at this post, which drafts will be paid upon presentation.

You will have the Mormons distinctly to understand that I wish to have them as volunteers for twelve months; that they will be marched to California, receiving pay and allowances during the above time, and at its expiration they will be discharged, and allowed to retain, as their private property, the guns and accoutrements furnished to them at this post.

Each company will be allowed four women as laundresses, who will travel with the company, receiving rations and other allowances given to the laundresses of our army.

With the foregoing conditions, which are hereby pledged to the Mormons, and which will be faithfully kept by me and other officers in behalf of the government of the United States, I cannot doubt but that you will in a few days be able to raise five hundred young and efficient men for this expedition.

Very respectfully your ob't serv't,

[Signed] "S. W. KEARNEY,"
Colonel of First Dragoons.

Per Capt. James Allen, First Reg. Dragoons, Fort Leavenworth."

APPEAL OF THE LATTER-DAY SAINT CHURCH TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT FOR EMPLOYMENT

It is necessary at this point to suspend the narrative of raising this battalion of men, in order that we may trace the events which led up to the remarkable circumstance of the government of the United States calling upon the camps of the saints for these volunteers.

On the 20th of January, 1846, the high council of the Nauvoo stake of Zion, acting, however, as stated in the document to be quoted, by the unanimously agreed and united voice of all the authorities of the church, declared the intention of the church to send out early in the month of March a company of young, hardy men, properly equipped for their work, to seek out a place "to make a crop in some good valley in the neighborhood of the Rocky Mountains, where they will infringe upon no one, and not be likely to be infringed upon. Here we will make a resting place until we can determine a place for a permanent location." The subject thus introduced, the high council proceeds:

> "In the event of the president's recommendation to build block houses and stockade forts on the route to Oregon, becoming a law, we have encouragement of having that work to do; and under our peculiar circumstances, we can do it with less expense to the government than any other people.
>
> We also further declare, for the satisfaction of some who have concluded that our grievances have alienated us from our country, that our patriotism has not been overcome by fire—by sword—by daylight, nor by midnight assassinations, which we have endured; neither have they alienated us from the institutions of our country. Should hostilities arise between the government of the United States and any other power, in relation to the right of possessing the territory of Oregon, we are on hand to sustain the claims of the United States government to that country. It is geographically ours; and of right, no foreign power should hold dominion there: and if our services are required to prevent it, those services will be cheerfully rendered according to our ability."[16]

JESSE C. LITTLE—CHURCH REPRESENTATIVE IN WASHINGTON

Elder Jesse C. Little was appointed president of the Eastern States Mission, his letter of appointment is dated "Temple of God, Nauvoo, Jan. 26th, 1846." In the body of that letter it is suggested:

> "If our government shall offer any facilities for emigrating to the western coast, embrace those facilities, if possible. As a wise and faithful man, take every honorable advantage of the times you can. Be thou a savior and a deliverer of that people, and let *virtue, integrity* and *truth*, be your motto—salvation and glory the prize for which you contend."[17]

"In consonance with my instructions," says Elder Little, later in his report to President Brigham Young, which is recorded in the latter's *History*, "I felt an anxious desire for the deliverance of the saints, and resolved upon visiting James K. Polk, president of the United States, to lay the situation of my persecuted brethren before him, and ask him, as the representative of our country, to stretch forth the federal arm in their behalf."[18]

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[16] *Times and Seasons*, vol. vi, p. 1096.

[17] Little's Report, *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1846, bk. 2, p. 11.

In pursuance of this design Elder Little obtained a letter of introduction from John H. Steel, governor of New Hampshire (in which state Elder Little was reared), who declared that he had known Elder Little from childhood, and believed him honest in his views and intentions, and added:

> "Mr. Little visits Washington, if I understand him correctly, for the purpose of procuring, or endeavoring to procure, the freight of any provisions or naval stores which the government may be desirous of sending to Oregon, or to any portion of the Pacific. He is thus desirous of obtaining freight for the puropse of lessening the expense of chartering vessels to convey him and his followers to California, where they intend going and making a permanent settlement the present summer."[19]

From Luke Milber, also of Peterboro, N. H., Elder Little secured a letter to Hon. Mace Moulton in Washington, which in addition to vouching for his high character, based upon personal knowledge of him for twelve years, he announced to Mr. Moulton that Elder Little was "soliciting some aid from the general government, to assist himself and brethren throughout the United States in emigrating to California."[20]

In New York Elder Little met A. G. Benson, of "Brannan-A. G. Benson & Co." fame, mentioned in a previous chapter,[21] and from him carried a letter of introduction to Amos Kendall, former United States postmaster-general, and also connected with the "Brannan-A. G. Benson & Co." affair. Mr. Benson asks Kendall to "aid Mr. Little in the object of his visit to Washington" as far as Mr. Kendall's "many engagements would permit."[22]

On the 13th of May, Elder Little held a conference of the Latter-day Saints in Philadelphia, and here met Colonel

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[18] Little's report, *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1846, bk. 2, p. 12.
[19] *Ibid.*
[20] *Ibid*, bk. 2, pp. 11-12.
[21] *Ante*, ch. lxxi.
[22] Little's Report, *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, bk. 2, pp. 12-13.

Thomas L. Kane, son of Judge John K. Kane of Philadelphia. The Kanes were an old, and honorable Pennsylvania family. The colonel's father was Judge John K. Kane, who had been attorney-general of the state of Pennsylvania, and was now (1846) United States judge for the district of Pennsylvania; also president of the American Philosophical Society. Dr. Elisha Kent Kane, the famous artic explorer and scientist, was Colonel Kane's brother.[23] The introduction to Elder Little, which the colonel solicited, opened the home of the Kanes to Elder Little and was the beginning of that interest and friendship for the Latter-day Saints ever afterwards manifested by Thomas L. Kane; and which led to very valuable service on his part to the Latter-day Saints, as we shall see later, in one of the most critical periods of their history.

On Elder Little's departure from Philadelphia for Washington, Colonel Kane gave him a letter of introduction to Hon. Geo. M. Dallas, vice-president of the United States, in the body of which he said:

> "This gentleman [Elder Little] besides being very highly valued by the members of his own sect, is, I learn, esteemed honest and sincere in his professions by many of our friends in this city. He visits Washington, too, I believe, with no other object than the laudable one of desiring aid of government for his people, who forced by persecution to found a new commonwealth in the Sacramento valley, still retain American hearts, and would not willingly sell themselves to the foreigner, or forget the old commonwealth they leave behind them."[24]

Conferences in Washington: Proposition to the Government

Arriving in Washington on the 21st of May, Elder Little called upon Mr. Kendall, but found him sick; and in the evening, in company with Mr. Dame of Massachusetts and Mr. King, representative from that state, he called upon President Polk and received an introduction. Sam Houston of Texas, and other distinguished gentlemen were present. The arrival of Elder Little was most opportune for the business he had in hand. News of the capture of an American reconnoitering troop of dragoons under command of Captain Thornton, on the east side of the Rio Grande, sixteen of whom were killed, had reached Washington early in May, and enabled the president in his message to congress on the 11th of that month to say, that "Mexico had invaded our territory and shed the blood of our citizens on our own soil;" which led congress two days later to declare war and vote the funds necessary to its vigorous prosecution. By the time Elder Little called upon the president the news had reached Washington of the victory of the American forces under General Taylor at the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma fought on the 8th and 9th of May respectively. News of these victories aroused the war spirit throughout the land,[25] and hastened all the government schemes for prosecuting the war, including the plan of gathering the "Army of the West" at Fort Leavenworth, under then Colonel S. W. Kearney, to invade New Mexico, and ultimately cooperate with the Pacific fleet which it was designed to sweep round Cape Horn and attack the Pacific coast of Mexico.[26] It was with this Army of the West that the Mormon Battalion was to be connected.

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[23] General Thomas Leiper Kane was born January 27, 1822; consequently was a very young man—24—when he visited the "Mormon" camps at Council Bluffs. He was educated principally in Paris, and on his return to the family home in Philadelphia, studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1846. He served with distinction in the War Between the States on the Union side. He raised a regiment in northern Pennsylvania that became famous for its valor, reflecting therein the spirit of its commander. He was several times wounded in action, and made brigadier general for gallant services on the field. Wounds and sickness compelled his retirement before the close of the war. He died in December, 1883.

[24] Little's Report, *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, bk. 2, p. 15.

The day following his visit to the president, 23rd of May, Elder Little called again upon Amos Kendall and submitted to him his letters of introduction. "We talked upon the subject of emigration, and he thought arrangements could be made to assist our emigration by enlisting one thousand of our men, arming, equipping and establishing them in California to defend the country; he said he would be able to inform me on Tuesday morning, what could be done.[27]

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[25] Elder Little notes this excitement in his report, by saying in recording his movements of the 23rd of May: "There was considerable excitement in consequence of the news that General Taylor had fought two battles with the Mexicans" (Little's Report, *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, bk. 2, p. 16). And Lossing says that when "news of the two brilliant victories reached the states a thrill of joy went throughout the land, and bonfires, illuminations, orations, the thunder of cannons, were seen and heard in all the great cities" (Lossing's *History of the United States*, p. 483).

[26] Lossing's *History of the United States*, 1872 edition, p. 483).

On the 25th Elder Little called again upon Mr. Kendall; and on the 26th he met him on the street in Washington, "when he informed me," reports the elder, *"that he had laid my case before the president,* who had determined to take possession of California, and also employ our men, who would receive orders to push through and fortify the country; he also said the president would lay the subject before the cabinet today, and that tomorrow evening probably he could give me a direct answer."[28]

On the 27th Elder Little again met Mr. Kendall, "Who informed me the cabinet had not fully decided; *the plan offered was for me to go directly to the camp, and have one thousand men fitted out and plunge into California,* officered by our own men, the commanding officer to be appointed by President Polk; *and to send one thousand more by way of Cape Horn,* who will take cannon and everything needed in preparing defense; those by land to receive pay from the time I should see them, and those going by water from September 1st."[29]

ELDER LITTLE'S DIRECT APPEAL TO PRESIDENT POLK

At this point Elder Little apparently concluded to take up the matter personally and directly with the president, and under date of June 1st addressed an "appeal" to him. In it he expresses confidence in the president, else he would not have left his home and family *"to ask favors of you for this people"*—(i. e. the Latter-day Saints). He gives an account of himself and his forefathers who fought "in the battles of the Revolution;" of his own character, vouched for by his letters of introduction from men of high standing, and then avers that the people he represents are of as high character as himself. He recites the repeated acts of injustice the Latter-day Saints have suffered in the several persecutions through which they had passed, because of their religion; and adds: "Under these considerations, directed as if by the finger of God, I come to you fully believing that you will not suffer me to depart without rendering me some pecuniary assistance, and be it large or small, you shall not lose your reward." He concluded his "appeal" as follows:

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[27] Little's Report, *History of Brigham Young, Ms.,* bk. 2, p. 16.

[28] *Ibid,* p. 16.

[29] *Ibid,* p. 16-17.

> "Our brethren in the west are compelled to go, and we in the eastern country are determined to go and live, and, if necessary, to suffer and die with them. Our determinations are fixed and cannot be changed. From twelve to fifteen thousand have already left Nauvoo for California, and many others are making ready to go. Some have gone around Cape Horn, and I trust before this time have landed at the Bay of San Francisco.
>
> We have about forty thousand [members] in the British Isles and hundreds upon the Sandwich Islands, all determined to gather to this place [i. e. California], and thousands will sail this fall. There are yet many thousands scattered through the states, besides the great number in and around Nauvoo, who are determined to go as soon as possible, but many of them are poor, but noble men and women, who are destitute of means to pay their passage either by sea or land.
>
> They, as well as myself, are true-hearted Americans, true to our country, true to its laws, true to its glorious institutions— and we have a desire to go under the outstretched wings of the American eagle; we would disdain to receive assistance from a foreign power, although it should be proffered, unless our government shall turn us off in this great crisis and will not help us, but compel us to be foreigners. * * * But Mr. President, were you to act alone in this matter, I full well know your course. I am not ignorant of your good feelings towards us, receiving my information from my friend Mr. S. Brannan, who has gone to California, and also the Hon. Amos Kendall and others;[30] believe me, when I say that I have the fullest confidence in you, and we are truly your friends, *and if you assist us at this crisis, I hereby pledge my honor, my life, my property and all I possess, as the representative of this people, to stand ready at your call,* and that the whole body will act as one man in the land to which we are going, and should our territory be invaded we hold ourselves ready to enter the field of battle, and then like our patriot fathers, with our guns and swords, make the battlefield our grave or gain our liberty. We have

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[30] Was Elder Little at this point presuming upon the alleged "silent partnership" of President Polk with "Messrs. Kendall, A. G. Benson & Co., *et al?*"

not been fighting men, but when we are called into the battlefield in defense of our country, and when the sword and sabre shall have been unsheathed, we declare before heaven and earth that they shall not return to their scabbards, until the enemy of our country, or we, sleep with the pale sheeted nations of the dead, or until we obtain deliverance.

With great respect I have the honor to subscribe myself your obt. subject,

[Signed] "J. C. LITTLE,"
Agent of the Church of Jesus Christ of L. D. S. in the Eastern States.
Washington, June 1st."[31]

On the 2nd of June, "At noon," says Elder Little, "Mr. Kendall, by request of the president, called at my room and said the president had received my communication and desired to have me call tomorrow at noon, and wished Mr. Kendall to be present."[32]

On the 3rd of June Elder Little called upon Mr. Kendall—

> "With whom I visited President Polk, who said he had no prejudice against the Mormons, but believed us good citizens; and was willing to do us all the good that was in his power consistently; said our people should be protected—that he had full confidence in me from information he had received—that he had read my letter with interest, and was glad of an opportunity of having an interview—that he had confidence in our people as true American citizens, if he had not, he should not make such proposals; he would do something for me, but did not *decide;* he wished to talk with the secretary of the navy, and also wished Mr. Kendall to come tomorrow at twelve."[33]

Elder Little visited the president again on the 4th of June, agreeably to appointment, but press of business made it necessary to postpone an interview until the 5th. On the 5th, the following occurred:

> "I visited President Polk; he informed me that we should be protected in California, and that five hundred or one thousand of our people should be taken into the service, officered by our own men; said that I should have letters from him, and from the secretary of the navy to the squadron. I waived the president's proposal until evening, *when I wrote a letter of acceptance.*"[34]

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[31] Little's Report, *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, bk. 2, 20-22. It will be observed that Elder Little's letter takes on the hue of the war times.

[32] *Ibid*, p. 22.

[33] *Ibid*, p. 22.

[34] *Ibid*, p. 23.

On the 7th of June, Colonel Kane joined Elder Little and after dinner the colonel "called upon Mr. Kendall, and the secretary of state, Mr. James Buchanan," presumably in the interest of the cause Elder Little represented.

On the 8th Colonel Kane gave Elder Little a letter of introduction to Geo. Bancroft, secretary of the navy; and the same day visited the president and the secretary of war, Mr. Marcy. "He [Colonel Kane] has concluded," says Elder Little, in his report, "to go with me to the camp, and then to California, bearing dispatches from the government."[35]

This same day Elder Little made his final call upon President Polk, of which he gives the following account:

> "I called on the president, he was busy but sent me word to call on the secretary of war. I went to the war department, but as the secretary was busy, I did not see him. The president wished me to call at two p. m., which I did, and had an interview with him; he expressed his good feelings to our people—regarded us as good citizens, said he had received our suffrages, and we should be remembered; he had instructed the secretary of war to make out our papers, and that I could get away tomorrow."[36]

Elder Little left Washington in company with Colonel Kane and his father, Judge Kane, who went with them as far as Harrisburgh. The elder Kane, before separating from his son, "proffered," says Elder Little, "to render any assistance in his power to influence the executive in our behalf." At St. Louis Elder Little and Colonel Kane separated, the former to make his way to the Camp of Israel, *via* Nauvoo, the latter to proceed with his dispatches to Fort Leavenworth.

One thing should be remarked upon with reference to the foregoing account of Little's movements while in Washington —*viz.*, the interest and activity of Amos Kendall. Undoubtedly he was still hopeful that Brigham Young and the other church leaders would act favorably upon the contract drawn up by himself and Brannan, in relation to assigning alternate units of land upon which the saints might settle to "A. G. Benson and Co."—hence his activity. Hence also his suggestion of so large a number of the saints being sent to California by the government, two thousand men! Obviously from the standpoint of a land speculator, the more people that could be sent to the new country under such a contract as he had drawn, and which he evidently hoped would yet be ratified, notwithstanding the, as yet, silence of Brigham Young, the greater the gains to the land speculators, not to say land sharks.

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[35] *Ibid.*

[36] *Ibid*, p. 25.

Reduction in the Number of Saints to be Taken to California

Just what consideration led President Polk and the cabinet to cut down the number from the 2,000 men proposed —one thousand from the camps and one thousand from the eastern branches—to the 500 finally decided upon, does not appear.[37] Most likely, however, it was thought that it would be inexpedient to have so large a "Mormon" population in California as to possibly create a "Mormon" state, and perhaps at the same time create a national "Mormon" problem.[38] At any rate we shall see from an official document, to be quoted presently, that it was evidently the policy of the administration and its advisers to keep the "Mormon" population in the minority in California, since the number of men to be enlisted in the Army of the West was not to exceed

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37. It is alleged by some writers that the president's plan of "possessing California, by the aid of the Mormons"—involving this call for the large number of that people to engage in the enterprise—"was afterward changed through the influence of Senator Benton." (Tullidge's *Life of Brigham Young*, p. 52). But if calling the battalion was not only a hardship on the Camp of Israel, but an intended, and artfully planned injustice—to which view the writer just quoted wrongfully inclines —then whoever influenced the administration to cut down the call from one thousand from the camps to five hundred, reduced both the hardship and the injustice by one-half.

38. "Possibly the elder in his enthusiasm was disposed to exaggerate the president's promises; while on the other hand we may readily imagine that Polk, on further consideration, either with or without the promptings of enemies to the church, or of promoters of other military and colonization schemes, concluded that he had promised too much, that it was not altogether desirable or necessary to allow the Mormons too much power in California; that it would be as well to use rather than be used by them; and that there would be no difficulty in obtaining other volunteer colonist soldiers. Churchmen believe that Thomas Benton did more than any other to turn the president against them, which is not at all unlikely." (Bancroft's *History of California*, vol. v, pp. 472-3).

one-third of the number of the entire force under General Kearney, and instead of sending any "Mormon" forces from the east, *via* Cape Horn, the administration turned to another source to supply the contingent to go by that route, namely, to New York. A regiment of volunteers numbering 955 officers and men, was raised in that state under one Colonel Jonathan D. Stevenson,[39] and sent *via* Cape Horn in three ships chartered by the government at a cost of $65,000, and attended by the United States war sloop, *Preble*. The little squadron sailed from New York on the 26th of September, and arrived at San Francisco in the early days of March, more than a month after the arrival of the Mormon Battalion at San Diego.

War Department's Instructions to Colonel Kearney

It was to be expected, of course, that the volunteers from the "Mormon" camps would be raised through agencies of the United States army, and hence "confidential orders" from the war department were entrusted to Colonel Kane, to be delivered by him to the commander of the Army of the West, then Colonel S. W. Kearney, stationed at Fort Leavenworth. In those "confidential" orders, addressed to Kearney, bearing date of June 3rd, 1846, was the following relative to the proposed Mormon Battalion:

> "It is known that a large body of Mormon emigrants are *en route* to California, for the purpose of settling in that country. You are desired to use all proper means to have a good understanding with them, to the end that the United States may have their cooperation in taking possession of, and holding, that country. It has been suggested here that many of these Mormons would willingly enter into the

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[39] Stevenson was a colonel of militia in New York, a ward politician and an ex-member of the legislature, who "had done some service for the administration that seemed to call for reward, and he was reputed to be a man of some energy and executive ability." (Bancroft's *History of California*, vol. v, p. 500.) Bancroft also declares that it was a conversation with Amos Kendall about the "Mormons" that first suggested the idea of sending a New York regiment to California. (*History of California*, vol. v, pp. 472 note, and 501 and note). Stevenson's authorization to raise the regiment bears date of 26th of June, which was about two weeks after Little and Kane's departure for the west. A full account of the New York regiment will be found in Bancroft's *History of California*, vol. v, ch. xix.

service of the United States, and aid us in our expedition against California. You are hereby authorized to muster into service such as can be induced to volunteer; not, however, to a number exceeding one-third of your entire force. Should they enter the service they will be paid as other volunteers, and you can allow them to designate, so far as it can be properly done, the persons to act as officers thereof."[40]

It was upon this order from the war department that Colonel Kearney issued his instructions to Captain Allen to proceed to the "Mormon" camps and raise the several companies of troops that were to form the Mormon Battalion, which instructions have already been quoted in full in this chapter. We now return to the first conference between Captain Allen and the church leaders.

CAPTAIN ALLEN AND THE CHURCH LEADERS

Captain Allen laid before the council of the church leaders[41] his letter of instructions from General Kearney, also the circular he himself had issued at Mount Pisgah.

The question arose in the minds of the church leaders as to the disposition of the camps which would be materially crippled by the withdrawal of so many young, strong, and able-bodied men. Already the question of wintering the camps and caring for so large an amount of stock as was possessed by them, loomed large among their difficulties. About one hundred and fifty miles to the west, in La Platte river was "Grand Island,"[42] fifty-two miles long, with an average width of a mile and three-quarters, and well timbered; in the neighborhood of which also were immense areas of grass that might be cut for hay, and the rank growth of rushes here and there along the extensive river bottoms, would enable much of the stock to winter on this range, could government permission be obtained for a large contingent of the camp to be stationed there. This country, as well as the one the camp grounds then occupied, were within the Louisiana Purchase, and largely divided into Indian reservations, hence could only be occupied by the whites by permission of the government.

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[40] *Executive Document*, No. 60, letter of the secretary of war to General Kearney, marked "confidential," 1846. In addition to the above instruction relative to raising a military force among the "Mormons," General Kearney was notified that the governor of Missouri had been instructed to raise an additional force of a thousand mounted men for the "Army of the West:" Kearney was ordered to invade New Mexico, take possession of Santa Fe, garrison it with sufficient force to hold it, and then push on to California to cooperate with the naval forces in taking possession of that land, leaving the Missouri and "Mormon" troops to follow him. It also contains the announcement of his elevation to the rank of brevet brigadier general and instruction as to his procedure in California.

[41] There was present at this council meeting, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards, Orson Pratt, Orson Hyde, Geo. A. Smith, John Taylor, "Uncle" John Smith, Levi Richards, Captain Allen and two others, (presumably the two dragoons who accompanied the captain on his mission). The council meeting was held at Elder John Taylor's tent on Mosquito Creek. (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1846, bk. 2, p. 1).

The question of government permission therefore in the event of the battalion being raised was submitted to Captain Allen, and he assumed the responsibility of saying that the camps might locate on Grand Island until they could prosecute their journey westward. In his speech made to the camp the same day, the captain promised to write President Polk to give leave to the saints to stay, *en route* to the west, wherever it was necessary. At a council meeting held later in the day, on Brigham Young asking him "if an officer enlisting men in an 'Indian country' had not a right to say to their families, 'You can stay till your husbands return,' Captain Allen replied 'that he was the representative of President Polk and could act till he notified the president, who might ratify his engagements, or indemnify for damages. The president might give permission to travel through the Indian country and stop whenever and wherever circumstances required.' "[43]

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[42] "Grand Island" is described by Captain Burton in his *City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains to California*, 1862. Referring to the immediate valley of La Platte, about "Grand Island," he says: "The valley here is two miles broad, resembles the ocean deltas of great streams; it is level as a carpet, all short, green grass without sage brush. It can hardly be called a bottom, the rise from the water's edge being, it is calculated, about 4 feet per 1,000. Under a bank, from half a yard to a yard high, through its two lawns of verdure, flowed the stream straight toward the slanting rays of the rising sun, which glittered upon its broad bosom, and shed rosy light over half the heavens. In places it shows a sea horizon, but here it was narrowed by Grand Island, which is fifty-two miles long, with an average breadth of one mile and three-quarters, and sufficiently elevated above the annual flood to be well timbered." (p. 39).

[43] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, bk. 2, pp. 4, 5.

CAPTAIN ALLEN BEFORE A PUBLIC MEETING OF THE CAMP

After the first council meeting between Captain Allen and the church leaders a public meeting was held at noon on the same day. President Young introduced Captain Allen who addressed the people: "He said he was sent by Colonel S. W. Kearney through the benevolence of James K. Polk, president of the United States, to enlist five hundred of our men; that there were hundreds of thousands of volunteers ready in the states.[44] He read his order from Colonel Kearney and the circular which he issued from Mount Pisgah and explained."[45]

Brigham Young followed the captain. His own account of his remarks stands in his *History* as follows:

> "I addressed the assembly; wished them to make a distinction between this action of the general government and our former oppressions in Missouri and Illinois. I said, the question might be asked, 'Is it prudent for us to enlist to defend our country?' If we answer in the affirmative, all are ready to go.
>
> Suppose we were admitted into the union as a state and the government did not call on us, we would feel ourselves neglected. Let the 'Mormons' be the first to set their feet on the soil of California. Captain Allen has assumed the responsibility of saying that we may locate on Grand Island, until we can prosecute our journey. This is the first offer we have ever had from the government to benefit us.
>
> I proposed that the five hundred volunteers be mustered and I would do my best to see all their families brought forward, as far as my influence extended, and feed them when I had anything to eat myself."[46]

INITIAL MOVEMENTS TO RAISE THE BATTALION

At the close of the public meeting another council meeting was held, with Captain Allen present, when the question of the people having a right to remain on Indian lands during the absence of the soldiers, and indeed along their whole route of travel, was further considered as already stated. Captain

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[44] The statement is supported by standard *United States Histories;* see also note 13, this chapter.

[45] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, bk. 2, p. 3-4.

[46] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, bk. 2, p. 4. An account of President Young's speech is also given in Elder *John Taylor's Journal*. See *Note* 3, end of this chapter.

Allen withdrew from the council, *"and the twelve,"* says President Young, *"continued to converse on the favorable prospect before us.* It was voted that President Heber C. Kimball and I should go to Mount Pisgah to raise volunteers. I said I would start soon, and I desired the companies to be organized so that we could ascertain who could go to make a camp on Grand Island and who must remain after raising the troops; the twelve to go on west with their families."[47]

Accordingly Elders Young and Kimball started for Mount Pisgah, leaving Elders John Taylor, Parley P. Pratt, Geo. A. Smith, *et al,* to prosecute the work of raising volunteers in the camps about Council Bluffs.

There was apparently some reluctance among the people to respond to this unexpected call, and it required some persuasion to dispel it.[48] On the 11th of July, Colonel Kane reached the camp at Council Bluffs, and gave assurance that the general government had "taken our case," says Elder Taylor, "into consideration,"[49] inferentially with benevolent intentions.

When within eleven miles of Mount Pisgah, Elders Young and Kimball met Elder Jesse C. Little, president of the Eastern States Mission, who reported his labors at Washington.[50]

While at Pisgah President Young wrote the brethren at Garden Grove, and sent his letter by special messenger. After describing the terms of enlistment and the terms under which the volunteers would be mustered out of service in California, etc., President Young said:

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[47] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, bk. 2, pp. 4, 5.

[48] For the nature of the arguments employed with the people see excerpt of a speech by John Taylor taken from his *Journal* under date of July 2nd, 1846, *Note* 4, end of chapter.

[49] *Taylor's Journal*, entry for July 11th, 1846. "We had some conversation with him [Kane] during which he manifested a spirit of sympathy for us."

[50] The Report of Elder Little is elaborate and signed. It is recorded under the date of July 6th in *Brigham Young's History, Ms.*, and occupies pages from 10 to 26, bk. 2. I have already quoted from it copiously in this chapter.

"They may stay [i. e. in California], look out the best locations for themselves and their friends, and defend the country. This is no hoax. Elder Little, president of the New England churches is here also, [at Mt. Pisgah], direct from Washington, who has been to see the president on the subject of emigrating the saints to the western coast, and confirms all that Captain Allen has stated to us. *The United States want our friendship, the president wants to do us good and secure our confidence.* The outfit of this five hundred men costs us nothing and their pay will be sufficient to take their families over the mountains. There is war between Mexico and the United States, to whom California must fall a prey, and if we are the first settlers, the old citizens cannot have a Hancock or Missouri pretext to mob the saints. *The thing is from above, for our good,* has long been understood between us and the United States government, but the first blow was struck sooner than we anticipated. *The church could not help the twelve over the mountains, when they wanted to go, and now we will help the churches.*"[51]

A letter of like spirit bearing the same date was sent to Almon W. Babbitt, Joseph Heywood and John S. Fullmer, trustees of the church at Nauvoo. The opening paragraph ran—"Beloved brethren—we send you another leaf of the gospel, which you know is glad tidings, or that which bringeth salvation." Then is announced the determination to send the five hundred men to California as per Kearney's orders to Allen, and Little's information to them when passing through Nauvoo *en route* for the camps. "By this time you will probably exclaim, is this the gospel? *We answer yes.*"[52]

"Now, brethren, it is time for action; and if you succeed in selling all our property in Hancock county, and as unitedly succeed in removing all the poor saints this fall, we shall soon be where we can rejoice in each other's society, and by early spring can move a portion of the camp over the mountains and next spring plant our corn in yonder valley. *This is the first time the government has stretched forth its arm to our assistance, and we receive their proffers with joy and thankfulness.* We feel confident they [the battalion] will have little or no fighting. *The pay of the five hundred men will take their families to*

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[51] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, bk. 2., 1846, pp. 26-30. Letter bears date of July 7th, 1846.

[52] In the answer sent to this letter the brethren from Nauvoo said: "Your favor, with the letter of Colonel Kearney and the circular letter of Captain Allen, we were truly delighted to receive, with 'the new leaf of the gospel.'" The hearts of the saints seemed to be greatly cheered by the request that had been made for them to send on older men and boys to take the place of many teamsters who would of necessity have to go in the battalion, "but we have but few left in this place (Nauvoo)," said the trustees.

> *them.* The 'Mormons' will then be the old settlers and have a chance to choose the best locations. The principle of the thing is not new to us, but we have thought best to say little about it. It is all right, and we will give you particulars the first opportunity."[53]

ENROLLMENT OF THE BATTALION

Finally, when President Young had returned from Mount Pisgah to Council Bluffs, a great public meeting of the camps in that vicinity was held on the 13th of July, and the final work of enrollment began. On that occasion Brigham Young made several addresses; in the course of one he said:

> "If we want the privilege of going where we can worship God according to the dictates of our conscience, we must raise the battalion. I say it is right, and who cares for sacrificing our comfort for a few years. I would rather have undertaken to raise 2,000 a year ago in 24 hours than 100 in one week now."[54]

But they could raise them now, was his plea. It was at this point that the great leader dropped to facetiousness by saying:

> "After we get through talking, we will call out the companies, and if there are not young men enough, we will take old men, and if they are not enough, we will take women!"

This evidently humorous remark has sometimes been taken seriously. Continuing the leader said:

> "Two gentlemen at Mount Pisgah who had been to Fort Leavenworth and enlisted to go to Mexico, said that Colonel Kearney had discharged some of the Missouri troops, and when they heard we were going they felt exceedingly mortified. There are thousands in the United States who would be glad to be the first settlers in California.[55]

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[53] This letter is signed by Brigham Young, "for the council," Willard Richards, Clerk. (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1846, bk. 2, pp. 30-34).

[54] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1846, bk. 2, p. 44.

[55] A statement which is supported by the promptness with which the regiment under Jonathan D. Stevenson in New York was raised, and taken round Cape Horn to California, practically with the understanding that the calling of the regiment was "a colonizing scheme." "No volunteer," says Bancroft, "dreamed of conflict with any foe: all regarded themselves as immigrant adventurers bound for a distant land of many charms under the protection of the government." (*History of California*, vol. v, p. 502). The regiment of nearly 1,000 men was quickly raised. The authorization to enlist the men bears date of June 26th; and by the end of July the

* * * We have lived near so many old settlers, who would always say, 'get out' that I am thankful to enjoy the privilege of going to settle a new country. You are going to march to California; suppose that country ultimately comes under the government of the United States, which it ought to, we would be the old settlers; and if any man comes and says 'get out' we will say 'get out.' Now suppose we refuse this privilege, what will we do? If you won't go, I will go and leave you. We told you sometime ago we would fit you out to go, and now we are ready to fit you out with Captain Allen as the agent of the United States to help us. *The president of the United States has now stretched out his hand to help us, and I thank God and him too.* It is for us to go, and I know you will go."[56]

CLOTHING EQUIPMENT OF THE BATTALION

Respecting equipment Captain Allen said:

"In regard to what is necessary to take, a soldier receives money instead of clothing, and he could not tell exactly what it would cost. The cost of clothing is greater the first year than any year after; the probable price would be $2.50 per month, but he had learned that Mr. Benton (United States senator from Missouri) had made a motion to have it raised to $3.50 per month."[57]

On this subject President Young remarked, "It is not necessary to change your clothing," and added: *"You could not ask for anything more acceptable than this mission."*[58]

The work of enrolling and organizing the companies continued through three days, and therefore was completed on the 16th of July, on which day Captain Allen took the battalion under his command.[59] Of this event Elder Wilford Woodruff writes:

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ranks of all the companies were filled. (*Ibid*). It is supported also by the fact that whereas the act of congress declaring war authorized the president to "accept the service of 50,000 men, 300,000 responded. (See note 13). President Polk called for *four* regiments from Illinois, *nine* answered the call, numbering 8,370; "only four of them, numbering 3,720 men, could be taken." (Gregg's History of Illinois, in *History of Hancock County*, p. 118).

[56] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1846, bk. 2, p. 46.

[57] The Benton motion prevailed. That was the sum allowed for clothing and was paid to the battalion one year in advance at Fort Leavenworth, soon after the enlistment, August 4th, 5th and 6th. The entry in *President Young's Journal* stands as follows: *"Aug. 5th,* * * * Yesterday and today the battalion received their first payment, which was their allowance for clothing. [This would mean that the battalion received $21,000.00]. The paymaster remarked that every one in the Mormon Battalion could write his own name, but only about one-third of the volunteers he had paid previously could sign their names." (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1846, bk. 2, pp. 130-1, also footnotes 8 and 19, chapter lxxiv).

[58] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1846, bk. 2, p. 48.

[59] Tyler's *Mormon Battalion*, p. 127.

"This was an interesting day in the Camp of Israel. Four companies of the volunteers were brought together in a hollow square by their captains, and interestingly addressed by several of the quorum of the twelve. At the close of the meeting they marched in double file from Redemption Hill across the Missouri river bottom to the ferry, seven miles.

The battalion have thus stepped forth promptly and responded to the call of the government, notwithstanding the persecutions endured in the United States, and that too in the midst of a long journey, leaving families, teams and wagons standing by the wayside, not expecting to meet or see them again for one or two years."[60]

Before their final departure from the camps in the vicinity of Council Bluffs, a "ball" was given in their honor;[61] and on the 20th they took up their march for Fort Leavenworth, where they arrived on the 1st of August, and began their preparations for the great western march.

NOTES

1. BRIGHAM YOUNG AND FATHER DE SMET—DID THE DESCRIPTION OF SALT LAKE VALLEY BY THE CATHOLIC MISSIONARY DETERMINE BRIGHAM YOUNG TO SETTLE THERE

The evidence presented in the foregoing pages of the regular text, proving that the destination of the Latter-day Saints, even before leaving Nauvoo, was clearly understood by Brigham Young, at least as to the general region in which the saints would settle, disposes of a question recently raised in a book of some excellence, under the title, *The Catholic Church in Utah*, published by The Knights of Columbus of the state.[62] The question referred to is: Was it a certain conversation, or a series of conversations which Brigham Young had with a Roman Catholic missionary at Winter Quarters that led him to fix upon Salt Lake valley as a place of settlement? The Catholic missionary in question was Father De Smet, who claims to have traversed much of the Salt Lake valley in his rambles among the Rocky Mountains in 1841.[63] It is claimed also in *Father De Smet's Life and Travels Among the North American Indians,* that "he became well acquainted with [Brigham] Young, and it is possible the information he gave him may have influenced that leader in choosing Salt Lake valley as the future home of his people."[64] Father De Smet himself puts forth the same suggestion, though modestly and with much charm of manner, in a letter to his nephew, written in March, 1851. He says:

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[60] Woodruff's note is quoted in the *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1846, bk. 2, p. 55.

[61] Colonel Kane thus describes this event: "There was no sentimental affectation at their leave-taking. The afternoon before was appropriated to a farewell ball; and a more merry dancing rout I have never seen, though the company went without refreshments, and their ballroom was of the most primitive. It was the custom, whenever the larger camps rested for a few days together, to make great arbors, or boweries, as they called them, of poles, and brush, and wattling, as places of shelter for their meetings of devotion or conference. In one of these, where the ground has been trodden firm and hard by the worshippers of the popular Father Taylor's precinct, was gathered now the mirth and beauty of the Mormon Israel. * * * With the rest attended the elders of the church within call, including nearly all the chiefs of the high council, with their wives and children. They, the gravest and most trouble worn, seemed the most anxious of any to be first to throw off the burden of heavy thoughts. Their leading off the dancing in a great double cotillion, was the signal bade the festivity commence. To the canto of debonnair violins, the cheer of horns, the jingle of sleigh bells, and the jovial snoring of the tambourine, they did dance! None of your minuets or other mortuary processions of gentles in etiquette, tight shoes, and pinching gloves, but the spirited and scientific displays of our venerated and merry grandparents, who were not above following the fiddle to the Foxchase Inn, or Gardens of Gray's Ferry. French Fours, Copenhagen Jigs, Virginia Reels, and the like forgotten figures executed with the spirit of people too happy to be slow, or bashful, or constrained. Light hearts, lithe figures, and light feet, had it their own way from an early hour till after the sun had dipped behind the sharp sky line of the Omaha hills." (*The Mormons*, pp. 30-31, King and Baird, publishers, Philadelphia, 1850).

"In the fall of 1846, as I drew near to the frontiers of the state of Missouri, I found the advance guard of the Mormons, numbering about 10,000, camped on the territory of the Omaha, not far from the old Council Bluffs. They had just been driven out for the second time from a state of the Union (Illinois had received them after their war with the people of Missouri). They had resolved to winter on the threshold of the great desert, and then to move onward into it, to put distance between themselves and their persecutors, without even knowing at that time the end of their long wanderings, nor the place where they should once more erect for themselves permanent dwellings. They asked me a thousand questions about the regions I had explored, and the valley which I have just described to you pleased them greatly from the account I gave them of it. *Was that what determined them? I would not dare to assert it. They are there!* In the last three years Utah has changed its aspect, and from a desert has become a flourishing territory, which will soon become one of the states of the Union."[65]

Commenting upon this, the author of *The Catholic Church in Utah,* says:

"To the Mormons, living in a temporary camp on the edge of the desert, unable, or at least unwilling, to retrace the road leading back to the land of their persecutors, ignorant of the region which lay before them, De Smet's glowing description of the beautiful and fertile valley which lay beyond the mountains, brought the solution of their most perplexing problem, for it indicated a place wherein they could establish their homes and their religion, free from the troubles and persecutions which had so far beset them. His close acquaintance with Brigham Young, and his many conversations with him on the Rocky Mountain regions, and on Salt Lake valley, probably determined the choice of the Mormon prophet, and led to the decision which ultimately settled the Latter-day Saints in the fertile lands they now occupy in Utah."[66]

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[62] The author is Very Reverend W. R. Harris, D. D., L. L. D., 1909.

[63] See Letter of De Smet to *Precis Historiques Bruxelles,* Jan. 19, 1858.

[64] *Catholic Church in Utah,* p. 271.

[65] We may help out our Catholic friends by corroborating the fact of the meeting of Father De Smet and Brigham Young. In the latter's *History, Ms.,* is the following entry: "Nov. 19, 1846: *Mr. Smith,* a Catholic priest and missionary to the Black Feet Indians, called on me. I procured for him a newspaper containing a report of a trader concerning the Munchie or White Indians." (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.,* bk. 2, p. 478). I think President Young or his amanuensis mistook "Smet" for "Smith"; but the "Smith" of the *Young Journal* is doubtless *"De Smet"* of our Catholic authors.

All this *probability* disappears, however, in the presence of the repeated assertions of Brigham Young and others that the destination of the people he was leading was the "Great Basin of the Rocky Mountains," or the "Bear River Valley," long before the arrival of Father De Smet at the "Mormon" camps on the Missouri.

2. Captain Allen's Circular to the Latter-day Saints' Encampment at Mount Pisgah, Announcing the Willingness of the United States Government to Accept the Service of a Battalion of Men to March to California

Circular to the Mormons

"I have come among you, instructed by Colonel S. F. Kearney of the United States army, now commanding the army of the west, to visit the Mormon camp, and *to accept* the service for twelve months of four or five companies of Mormon men who may be willing to serve their country for that period in our present war with Mexico; this force to unite with the army of the west at Santa Fe, and be marched thence to California, where they will be discharged.

They will receive pay and rations, and other allowances, such as other volunteers or regular soldiers receive, from the day they shall be mustered into the service, and will be entitled to all comforts and benefits of regular soldiers of the army, and when discharged, as contemplated, at California, they will be given gratis their arms and accoutrements, with which they will be fully equipped at Fort Leavenworth. This is offered to the Mormon people now. This year an opportunity of sending a portion of their young and intelligent men to the ultimate destination of their whole people, and entirely at the expense of the United States, and this advanced party can thus pave the way and look out the land for their brethren to come after them.

Those of the Mormons who are desirous of serving their country, on the conditions here enumerated, are requested to meet me without delay at their principal camp at the Council Bluffs, whither I am going to consult with their principal men, and to receive and organize the force contemplated to be raised.

I will receive all healthy, able-bodied men of from eighteen to forty-five years of age.

[Signed] "J. Allen, Captain 1st Dragoons."

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[66] *The Catholic Church in Utah*, pp. 270-1.

Camp of the Mormons, at Mount Pisgah, one hundred and thirty-eight miles east of Council Bluffs, June 26th, 1846.

Note.—I hope to complete the organization of this battalion in six days after my reaching Council Bluffs, or within nine days from this time."[67]

3. Elder Taylor's Account of President Young's First Speech on Raising the Mormon Battalion

Elder Taylor first refers to Captain Allen's remarks. "He [Allen] stated his object for coming here was a good one, and that it was from a feeling of benevolence that he had been sent to us and to benefit us. * * * Brother Brigham then arose and said that he was glad to hear this thing; it was the thing they had been wishing to bring about a good while. He wanted to clear their minds of all prejudice and not blame the general government for acts that had been perpetrated by mobbers. He said it was what we had been trying to effect for several years, and this move had been made a little too quick for us. If we could have been apprised of this thing we could have had the men ready to march tomorrow with Captain Allen. He said, supposing we were to refuse this offer; we would have to go to California and have to depend upon our own resources to fight, when if we embrace this offer we will have the United States to back us and have an opportunity of showing our loyalty and fight for the country that we expect to have for our homes. If we did not go and help take it, what would be said when we got there and settled down? It would be as it always had been, 'get out of the way 'Mormons,' get out of the way. Our fathers and ourselves fought for the liberties of this country and we are the only citizens.' Whereas if we go and help take the country we will at least have that equal right, and I do not want anybody to be in those wildernesses and undiscovered before we are. *I think the president has done us a great favor by calling upon us. It is the first call that has been made upon us that ever seemed likely to benefit us.* Now I want you men to go and all that can go, young or married. I will see that their families are taken care of; they shall go on as far as mine, and fare the same, and if they wish it they shall go to Grand Island first."[68]

4. Arguments Employed to Induce "Mormon" Volunteers to Enlist

The following is an excerpt from the *Journal of Elder John Taylor*, one of the twelve apostles: "*Thursday, July* 2, 1846. I attended meeting at 10 o'clock according to previous appointment. Brother Parley P. Pratt and myself made speeches and encouraged the people to come forward and volunteer. We made an appointment for a meeting to be held at Brother George A. Smith's camp to collect volunteers, as there were a great many that were not able to attend meeting in the forenoon. I rose and made a few remarks about the subject of volunteering. I said many have felt something like rebellion against the United States. I have myself felt swearing mad at the government for the treatment we have received at the hands of those in authority, although I don't know that I have sworn much. We have had cause to feel as we have, and any man having a spark of liberty in him would have felt likewise. We are now something like Abraham was, wandering not knowing whither we wander; fleeing from a land of tyranny and oppression we are calculating to settle in some part of California. This according to the laws of nations belongs to Mexico. Oregon is disputed by the United States and Great Britain, and we have either to go under the Mexican, British or American dominion, or else hide ourselves up and not go where we can have commerce; and be looked upon as interlopers. If you go to California you must have a legal pretense for going there. If we come under Britain we have to be subject to their provisions, if under the federal [i. e. United States] we have to be subject to them. The United States are at war with Mexico, and the United States have a perfect right to march into California according to the laws of nations. The United States calling upon us then gives us a perfect right to go there according to the requisition made that we should be disbanded at California. * * * A great many seem to distrust the government and are afraid they will not be carried to California, but be sent to Texas or somewhere else. They will not be, they need not fear, who cannot trust the United States? Her flag floats over every ocean and her ministry is in every nation. I know it is a great journey for a man to leave his family and go on; but Captain Allen says he will give absolute permission for the families to remain here. Captain Allen has also obtained a writing from the Pottawattomie subagency signed by the chiefs and braves to that effect, so that everything is straightforward. I then made a motion that we raise a body of 500 men and make Captain Allen lieutenant-colonel."

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[67] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1846, bk. 1, pp. 213-4.

[68] *Taylor's Journal, Ms.*, entry for July 1st, 1846.

5. LETTER AND RESOLUTIONS TO PRESIDENT JAMES K. POLK, FROM PRESIDENT BRIGHAM YOUNG AND COUNCIL OF THE TWELVE

"The following letter to President Polk was read by Dr. Richards and unanimously sanctioned:

'To James K. Polk, President of the United States.

Sir: A large portion of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, having passed from the nation of our nativity, and the republic over which you have the honor to preside, and finding ourselves on the western shore of the great Missouri, while others of our friends are following close in our rear, beg your excellency's indulgence for a moment while we pour out the pure feelings of our souls before you.

The cause of our exile we need not repeat, it is already with you, suffice it to say that a combination of fortuitous, illegal and unconstitutional circumstances have placed us in our present situation, on a journey which we design shall end in a location west of the Rocky Mountains, and within the basin of the Great Salt Lake or Bear river valley, as soon as circumstance shall permit, believing that to be a point where a good living will require hard labor, and consequently will be coveted by no other people, while it is surrounded by so unpopulous but fertile country.

While on our way thither and beyond the borders of the states, we were met by Captain J. Allen of your Army of the West, proffering us the enrollment of five hundred men to be marched into California, *via* Santa Fe, there to be discharged at the expiration of one year, receiving the pay of regular soldiers and other valuable and unusual emoluments; to this offer we promptly responded, though it has left five hundred of our loaded teams standing on the prairies of the Pottawattomie and Omaha nations, and nearly as many families destitute of their head and guardians, only as they are counseled and nourished by their friends who were already overborne with cares and worn out with anxiety and fatigue; but in the midst of this we were cheered with the presence of our friend, Mr. Little of New Hampshire, who assured us of the personal friendship of the president, in the act before us, and this assurance though not doubted by us in the least, was soon made doubly sure by the testimony of Colonel Kane of Philadelphia, whose presence in our midst, and the ardor with which he has espoused the cause of a persecuted and suffering people, and the testimony he has borne of your excellency's kind feelings, have kindled up a spark in our hearts, which had been well nigh extinguished, not a spark of love of liberty or democracy, that cannot be, but love of a country or rulers, from whom previously we had received but little save neglect or persecution.

We also received assurance from Lieutenant Colonel Allen of the Mormon Battalion, that we should be safe and that it would be proper for us to stop on any Indian lands, while it was necessary, considering our hindrance in filling his command, and during the pleasure of the president, which we fully anticipate will be during all necessary time, and in view of all things here referred to and many more which the hurrying duties of the camp will not permit us to mention at this time.

1. *Resolved,* that as children of the United States we have not been disappointed in our anticipations of a brighter day and a more righteous administration in our endeavors for the canvass of his Excellency, James K. Polk to the presidency.

2. *Resolved,* that the thanks of this people be presented to President Polk for his friendly offer of transferring five hundred of our brethren to the land of their destination under command of Colonel Allen.

3. *Resolved,* that should we locate within the territory of the United States as we anticipate we would esteem a territorial government of our own, as one of the richest boons of earth, and while we appreciate the Constitution of the United States as the most precious among the nations, we feel that we had rather retreat to the deserts,

islands or mountain caves than consent to be ruled by governors and judges whose hands are drenched in the blood of innocence and virtue, who delight in injustice and oppression, and whose greatest glory is to promote the misery of their fellows, for their own aggrandizement, or lustful gratification.

4. *Resolved*, that we have heard from various sources and have the same confirmed by Colonel Kane that the friends of ex-Governor Boggs are endeavoring to make him governor of California, and that we as a people are bound to oppose said Boggs in every point and particular that shall tend to exalt him in any country where our lot may be cast, and that *peace* and *Mormonism* which are always *undivided* and Lilburn W. Boggs *cannot dwell together*, and we solicit the attention of President Polk to this important item in the future prosperity and welfare of the newly acquired territory of our glorious republic.

5. *Resolved*, that as soon as we are settled in the Great Basin we design to petition the United States for a territorial government, bounded on the north by the British and south by the Mexican dominions, and east and west by the summits of the Rocky and Cascade Mountains.

Having received the strongest assurances of assistance and protection from President Polk through our highly esteemed friend Colonel Kane, and that he will continue to use all constitutional powers at his disposal, for our good, regardless of popular clamor and cabinet intrigues, to establish us in a land where we can sustain our wives and children, to help us to a territorial government, so that we may dwell in peace under our own vine, and eat the fruit of our own labor, and that he will defend us against every aggression by the strong arm of twenty millions of freemen, and all their immense resources. And that he will ward off the scourge of oppression, the rod of tyranny, and the sword of death by all the means that God and his country have placed at his disposal.

6. Therefore, *Resolved*, that we have the fullest confidence in the friendly protection of President Polk, that our hearts are with him to do good, and sustain the best government of earth; that he may depend on our warmest gratitude and our cordial co-operation in all things that shall tend to exalt him, and our fellow creatures, and that our faith, prayers and blessing shall rest upon him, so long as he shall magnify those glorious principles he has espoused, which we trust will be eternally.

Done on the west bank of the Missouri river near Council Bluffs, Omaha nation, Aug. 9, 1846, in general council of the church aforesaid.

'Willard Richards, Clerk.' 'Brigham Young, President.'

P. S. Please give us your views of Colonel Allen's permit for us to stop on Indian lands, as soon as your convenience will permit. Direct to N. K. Whitney, Jon. H. Hale, and Daniel Spencer, Mormon camp near Council Bluffs, Fort Leavenworth, P. O.' "

CHAPTER LXXIV

SACRIFICES AND ADVANTAGES IN THE CALL OF THE BATTALION

THE facts presented in the preceding chapter show that the call for the Mormon Battalion was not an unfriendly act on the part of the United States government against the Church of the Latter-day Saints. The representative of the church appealed most earnestly to the executive of the nation for aid in the western emigration of the saints, and there was an expressed willingness on the part of the church to assist the administration in its determination to take possession of California, which necessarily involved such service as that called for by the enlistment of the battalion. Moreover, when it was proposed by the administration to "accept" the service of such a force of volunteers, the proposition was received with alacrity by the church leaders—as is abundantly proven in the preceding chapter—as an answer to their appeal for aid in the western movement of their people. True, it involved both personal and community sacrifice to raise this force of volunteers. "The call," as explained afterwards by Colonel Kane, could hardly have been more inconveniently timed. The young, and those who could best have been spared, were then away from the main body, either with Pioneer companies in the van, or, their faith unannounced, seeking work and food about the northwestern settlements, to support them till the return of the season for commencing emigration. The force was therefore to be recruited [in many cases] from among the fathers of families, and others whose presence it was most desirable to retain."[1]

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[1] Kane's *The Mormons*, pp. 79-80. To this President Young bears witness on the 9th of August in the letter to President Polk, quoted in the preceding chapter, *Note* 5.

scattered camps, an American flag, brought out from the storehouse of things rescued, and hoisted to a tree mast—and in three days, the force was reported mustered, organized and ready to march."[6]

PER CONTRA: CUMULATIVE ADVANTAGES OF ENLISTMENT

On the other hand, and notwithstanding all the sacrifices involved, Brigham Young and those associated with him in the presiding council of the church, were too astute as leaders not to appreciate the advantages of this opportunity for a considerable number of their community to enter the service of the United States. The charge of disloyalty to the American government, had often been made against the saints, which not all their protests and denials could overcome. But to accept service of the government in a time of war, involving such sacrifices as must be theirs would be an evidence of loyalty that would stand forever, both unimpeached and unimpeachable. That such was the understanding of Brigham Young is specifically expressed by him about a month after the departure of the battalion. *"Let every one,"* said he, *distinctly understand, that the Mormon Battalion was organized from our camp to allay the prejudices of the people, prove our loyalty to the government of the United States, and for the present and temporal salvation of Israel; that this act left near five hundred teams destitute of drivers and provisions for the winter, and nearly as many families without protection and help."*[7] This statement, however, must be modified by remembrance of the fact that many of the enlisted men were young and unmarried.

Another advantage appealed to the leaders. It had become evident before the call was made for the battalion, that while it might be possible for a specially organized Pi-

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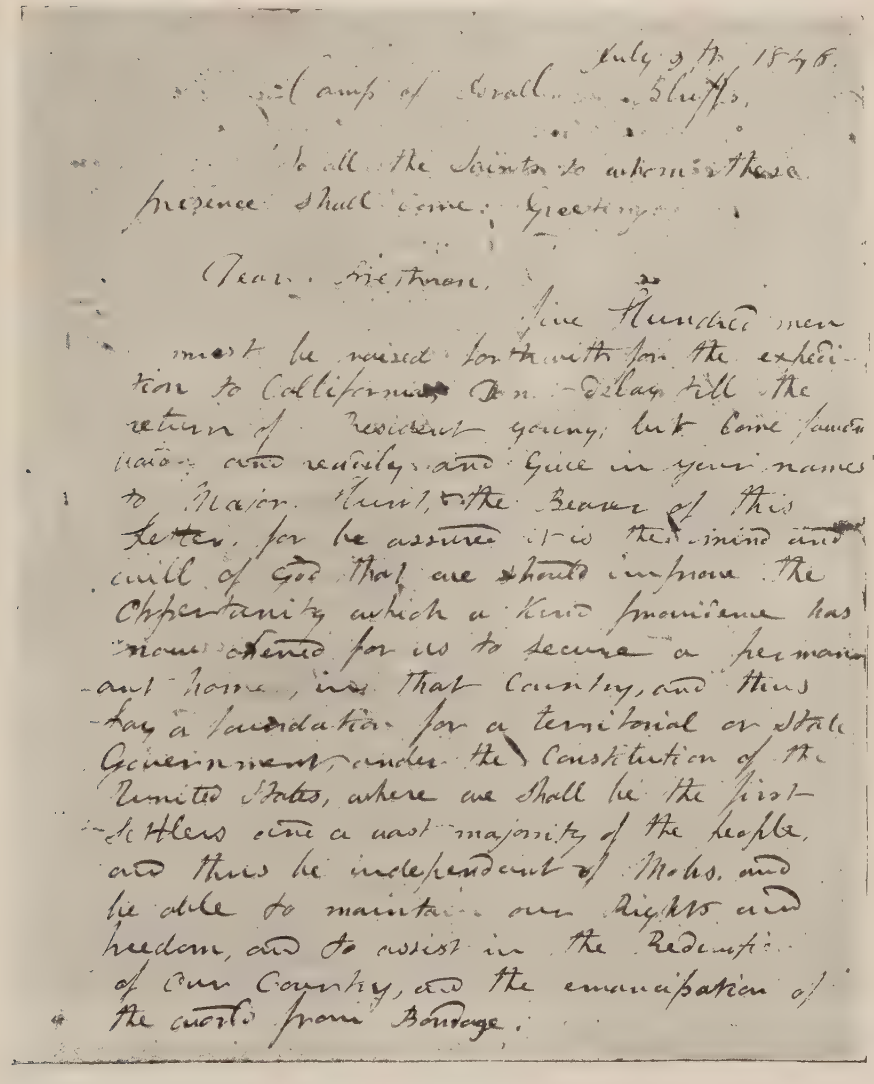
[6] Kane's *The Mormons*, p. 29. The passage is apt to be a little misleading as to the time in which the battalion was raised. The "three days" which served for its enrollment and organization were preceded by about two weeks of earnest work among the camps gathering up men who could be induced to go.

[7] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, Aug. 14, 1846, bk. 2, pp. 151-2.

FACSIMILE OF PARLEY P. PRATT'S LETTER ON RAISING THE MORMON BATTALION

The importance of producing in facsimile Parley P. Pratt's letter consists in this: It is held by opponents of the Church of the Latter-day Saints that the purpose of the "Mormons" in moving west to the Great Basin of the Rocky Mountains was to found an independent government.



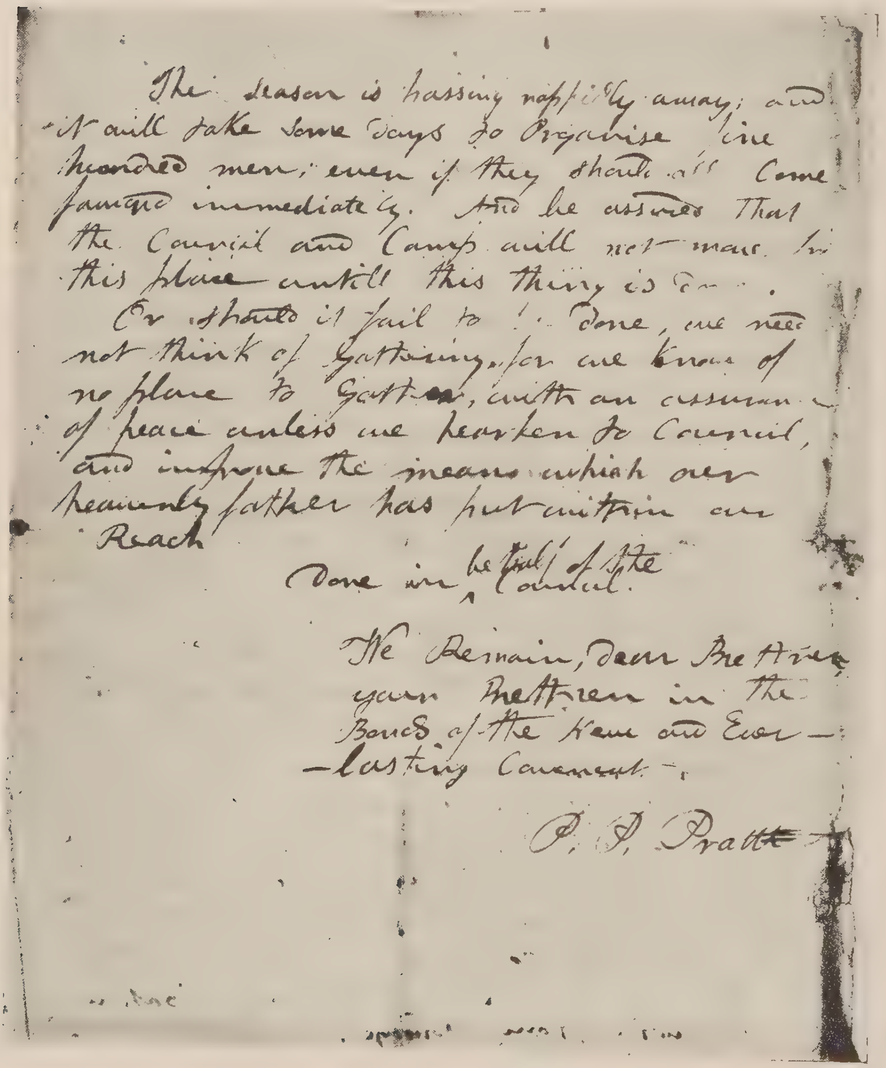
July 9th 1846.
Camp of Israel [illegible] Bluffs,

To all the Saints to whom these presence shall come: Greeting:

Dear Brethren,

Five Hundred men must be raised forthwith for the expedition to California. Don. Delay till the return of President Young; but Come forward and readily and Give in your names to Major Hunt, the Bearer of this Letter. for be assured it is the mind and will of God that we should improve the Opportunity which a kind providence has now offered for us to secure a permanent home, in that Country, and thus lay a foundation for a territorial or State Government, under the Constitution of the United States, where we shall be the first settlers and a vast majority of the people, and thus be independent of Mobs, and be able to maintain our Rights and freedom, and to assist in the Redemption of our Country, and the emancipation of the world from Bondage.

Pratt's letter is one of the proofs that they intended only to "LAY THE FOUNDATION FOR A TERRITORIAL OR STATE GOVERNMENT UNDER THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES * * * and to assist in the redemption of our country, and the emancipation of the world." The reference in the letter to not delaying until the return of President Young before giving in names for enrollment refers to the president's return from Mount Pisgah where he had gone to raise volunteers for the battalion. (See text of the chapter.)



The season is passing rappidly away; and it will take some days to Organise five hundred men; even if they should all Come forward immediately. And he assures That the Council and Camp will not move from this place untill this thing is done.

Or should it fail to be done, we need not think of Gathering, for we know of no place to Gather, with an assurance of peace unless we hearken to Council, and improve the means which our heavenly father has put within our Reach

Done in behalf of the Council.

We Remain, dear Brethren
your Brethren in the
Bonds of the New and Everlasting Covenant.

P. P. Pratt

oneer company to go over the mountains that season—preparations for which, as we have seen, were being rapidly made—the very great majority of the camps would be under the necessity of spending a year or more in southern Iowa, principally on Indian lands. The prospects of remaining upon such lands in peace would be much enhanced if it could be pleaded that five hundred of their men were in the service of the government of the United States; and subsequent events demonstrated the validity of such a plea; also it was the advantage sought to be secured by Brigham Young in his first conference with Captain Allen on the subject of the enlistment of the battalion.

Another consideration of importance was the remuneration of these soldiers. A year's pay for their clothing in advance at the rate of $3.50 per man, would amount to $42.00 each; and to $21,000 for the battalion.[8]

Both Captain Allen and Colonel Kane made use of this plea that husbands, fathers and sons of a large number of the exiled "Mormon" people as a reason why they should be given government permission to occupy Indian lands about Council Bluffs, and also be secure in passing through and encamping on Indian lands in their contemplated westward journey; this "during the pleasure of the president of the

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[8] See *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1846, bk. 2, pp. 143-4, where he says expressly that clothing money "was paid to them at the rate of $3.50 per month." Hence the Benton amendment of raising the amount from $2.50 to $3.50 referred to in the preceding chapter, prevailed. A letter from the war department under date of December 11th, 1911, through the courtesy of Hon. Joseph Howell, representative from Utah, states: "Each enlisted man of this (the Mormon) battalion was, on August 6, 1846, paid $42.00, being the allowance for one year paid in advance. These volunteers were paid the same rates of pay and emoluments as were other volunteers for service during the Mexican war and no bounty was paid to the members of said battalion nor to any other volunteers who served during the Mexican War. The payment of the value of one year's clothing allowance in advance was in accordance with the law and regulations in force at that time, and was not a special allowance to the Mormon Battalion.

Respectively,

[Signed] *"Elton A. Gongue, Auditor."*

It has often been said that the battalion received a special bounty for enlisting (See Bancroft's *History of Utah*, p. 243, also *Utah and the Mormons* Ferris, 1854, p. 155). It is evident that the year's allowance for clothing, paid in advance, has been mistaken for a bounty.

United States." Also he persuaded the several chiefs of the Pottawattomie tribe to sign a permission for the "Mormon" encampments to occupy "for a time" their lands on the Missouri. Colonel Kane obtained from the war department a like permission to occupy Omaha Indian lands on the west side of the Missouri. These concessions were highly valuable to the Camp of Israel; and it would have been doubtful if any of them could have been obtained but for the reasonable plea that husbands, fathers and sons from the encampments of the saints were in the war service of the federal government. Moreover many cases of temporary occupancy of these Indian lands became permanent possessions of the saints through settlement and government purchase. The official correspondence with the war department and Captain Allen and Colonel Kane is given in a subsequent and a more appropriate place than this for the discussion of the subject.[9]

Part of this money, *viz.*, $5,860, was sent back to the families,[10] of the battalion, of which, however, $566.00[11] was donated to the poor; and the whole sum sent to a committee of their own choosing to receive and distribute the same.[12] Evidently President Young was disappointed with the amount which the battalion sent back to their families and the church, since at least on two occasions he intimates that they should have sent $16,000 to their families,[13] instead of $5,000. At the request of some companies of the battalion, while yet at Fort Leavenworth, agents were later sent by President Young to Santa Fe, to bring back the pay of the soldiers to their families. These agents, John D. Lee and Howard Egan, returned to the encampments at Council Bluffs November 21st, bringing with them a mail of 282 letters, and, according to President Young, with an additional sum of four thousand dollars of battalion money.[14] And notwithstanding the amount sent to the camp was somewhat disappointing, it nevertheless was accepted as a very great blessing at the time. In a letter to the battalion under date of August 19th, Elder Willard Richards wrote, in behalf of the council, informing them that the brethren had suggested the appointment of Bishop Newel K. Whitney as agent to go and purchase goods at St. Louis at wholesale rates for the families of the battalion and ship to some point where teams from the camp could reach them, and thus increase the purchasing power of the funds by considerable.[15] Also "counciling them to be prudent and economical that they might be made a blessing to their families and to the poor, as they were placed in circumstances which enabled them to control more means than all the rest of the saints in the wilderness."[16]

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[9] Chapter lxxvi.

[10] "*August 11th,* * * * Elder Parley P. Pratt arrived from Fort Leavenworth, with a special message from the battalion to Newel K. Whitney for the council, signed by Orson Hyde, and a package of $5,860, being a portion of the allowance for clothing of the battalion which was paid them at the rate of $3.50 per month." (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, bk. 2, 1846, pp. 143-4.)

[11] *Ibid*, pp. 188-191. A list of the donors to the twelve and the poor are recorded, and the amounts donated.

[12] This committee was Bishop Newel K. Whitney, Jonathan H. Hale and Daniel Spencer. (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, bk. 2, 1846, p. 149; also pp. 157-8.)

[13] Under date of December 13, 1846, and December 15th, same year. (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, bk. 2, pp. 508-9, and p. 526.)

On the 21st of August President Brigham Young also wrote to the battalion:

> "We consider the money you have received, as compensation for your clothing, a peculiar manifestation of the kind providence of our Heavenly Father at this particular time, which is just the time for the purchasing of provisions and goods for the winter supply of the camp. After hearing your views concerning remittance of your future payments from Brother Mathews, and from Brother Dykes' letter of the 15th inst., we consider it wisdom for you to retain the funds which you may hereafter receive, until you can bring them yourselves or deliver them to our agent. * * * Those brethren who remembered the

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[14] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1846, bk. 2, p. 483, and pp. 508-9; also *Millennial Star*, vol. ix, p. 99.

[15] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, bk. 2, 1846, pp. 157-8. The suggested procedure was put to vote before a meeting and carried unanimously; but afterwards some dissatisfaction arose owing to the fact that prices were not as low in St. Louis as it was thought they would be, and freight up the Missouri to Fort Leavenworth jumped from 75 cents to $2.50 per hundred weight. (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1846, bk. 2, p. 513.)

[16] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1846, bk. 2, p. 185.

council in the distribution of their mites, shall receive the blessing of the council."[17]

RECOGNITION BY CHURCH LEADERS OF ACCRUED BENEFITS BY ENLISTMENT OF THE BATTALION

In addition to this monetary return for clothing and their pay of seven dollars per month there was the five hundred stand of arms and camp equipment which was to be theirs when discharged in California;[18] and in February and March, 1849, three months' extra pay was allowed to members of this organization.[19] These several considerations, but not counting the last, led Elder John Taylor in an address to the saints in Great Britain, November, 1846, to say:

> "Although we have been inhumanly and barbarously dealt with by the surrounding country where we dwelt, yet the president of the United States is favorably disposed to us. He has sent out orders to have five hundred of our brethren employed in an expedition that was fitting out against California, with orders for them to be employed for one year, and then to be discharged in California, and to have their arms and implements of war given to them at the expiration of the term, and as there is no prospect of any opposition, it amounts to the same as paying them for going to the place where they were destined to go without."[20]

In a communication under date of August 9th, 1846, signed by Brigham Young, President James K. Polk is reminded of the disadvantages the camp experienced in raising the battalion, and then—

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[17] *Ibid*, bk. 2, pp. 185-6.

[18] See *ante*, Kearney's order to Captain Allen.

[19] "The pay rolls on file in this office show that three months' extra pay was paid in February and March, 1849, to members of said organization." Excerpt of a letter from the auditor of the war department, E. A. Gongue under date of November 3rd, 1911, per kindness of Representative Joseph Howell. From the same source of information it is stated that the payment of officers and privates was as follows:

Captain, $50.00 per month—rations 20 cents per day.
1st Lieutenant, $30.00 per month—rations 20 cents per day.
2nd Lieutenant, $25.00 per month—rations 20 cents per day.
1st Sergeant, $16.00 per month.
Sergeants, $13.00 per month.
Corporals, $9.00 per month.
Musicians $8.00 per month.
Privates, $7.00 per month."

(Letter of Elton A. Gongue, auditor of war department, United States of America, to the Author, January 3rd, 1912.)

[20] *Millennial Star*, vol. viii, p. 117.

> "But in the midst of this we were cheered with the presence of our friend, Mr. Little, of New Hampshire, who assures us of the personal friendship of the president, in the act before us; and this assurance, though not doubted by us in the least, was soon made doubly sure by the testimony of Colonel Kane, of Philadelphia, whose presence in our midst, and the ardor with which he has espoused the cause of a persecuted and suffering people, and the testimony he has borne of your excellency's kind feelings, have kindled up a spark in our hearts which had been well-nigh extinguished— * * * love of a country, or ruler, from whom previously we had received but little save neglect or persecution."

Then in the 1st and 2nd of a series of resolutions in the same communication, addressed to President Polk, it was—

> "1. *Resolved,* That as children of the United States we have not been disappointed in our anticipations of a brighter day and a more righteous administration in our endeavors for the canvas of his Excellency, James K. Polk, to the presidency.
>
> 2. *Resolved,* That the thanks of this people be presented to President Polk for his friendly offer of transferring five hundred of our brethren to California, to the land of their destination under the command of Captain Allen."[21]

CONSCIOUSNESS OF THESE BENEFITS LATER OBSCURED

Such were the views entertained at the time as to the benevolent intentions of the government, in proffering to take into its service this body of men; such the advantages accruing to the people of God through their enlistment, notwithstanding the sacrifices and hardships entailed upon all by reason of that action. In later years, when repetition of very great injustice threatened the Latter-day Saints in their mountain homes; when a still mightier exodus and a wider devastation of their homes than they had experienced either in Missouri or Illinois was supposed to threaten; when a sense of outrage and pursuing injustice stirred all emotions that minister to resentment—then was obscured the spirit in which this opportunity for service under the government was sought for, and tendered, and accepted; and only its hardships, and sacrifices remembered. Nor is this matter for much wonderment, as will be seen by consideration of the following circumstances:—

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[21] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.,* 1846, bk. 2, pp. 137-8, note 5.

ATTEMPTED VILLAINY OF "A. G. BENSON AND CO."

"A. G. Benson and Co.," together with ex-Postmaster-General, Amos Kendall, and the coterie of Washington politicians said to be in their conspiracy to prey upon the saints were, doubtless, greatly disappointed and outrageously angered by the cool silence of Brigham Young, who refused to walk under the yoke of bondage they had proposed for him and his people. Hence their enmity, leading to denunciations and threats as to what ought to be done, and doubtless what they would do with the "Mormons." Robbers are ever angered with the escape of an intended victim; and the saints, through the inspired wisdom of their leaders, had clean escaped from the schemes of robbery plotted against them by "A. G. Benson, Kendall and Co."

PERSONAL ACTIVITY OF OLD ENEMIES—BOGGS *et al.*

Ex-Governor Boggs, of Missouri, was also still a factor in "Mormon" affairs at the national capital. Before his departure for California he was much in evidence at Washington, and was known there as a bitter enemy of the Church of the Latter-day Saints. Colonel Kane, while in conversation with Brigham Young, on the 7th of August, 1846, informed the church leader that Governor Boggs had been working against the "Mormons" in Washington.[22] Also the church leaders heard of the efforts of ex-Governor Boggs' friends to have him appointed governor of California, and this formed the subject of the 5th resolution in the series contained in the letter to President Polk, in which the church leaders voiced their unalterable determination to oppose his appointment, and solicited the attention of President Polk to this matter which might concern the future prosperity and welfare of the newly acquired territory.[23]

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[22] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1846, bk. 2, pp. 133-4.

It is alleged also that Thomas H. Benton, senator from Missouri, was a determined enemy of the church, and one who planned for its utter destruction.[24] It will be remembered that as far back as February, 1844, the church authorities at Nauvoo had been informed from what they regarded as "a respectable source," that "an understanding" existed between Senator Benton and Martin Van Buren—the latter still thought of as an available presidential candidate in some quarters—that amounted to "a conditional compact entered into; that if Mr. Benton will use his influence to get Mr. Van Buren elected, that Mr. Van Buren when elected shall use his executive influence to wipe away the stain from Missouri, by a further persecution of the "Mormons," and wreaking out vengeance on their heads, either by extermination, or by some other summary process."[25]

It is therefore not surprising that the exiled saints should believe in a combination between their enemies and those high in authority in the government. The opposition of these men to the church can readily be accounted for on the ground that the vindication of the Latter-day Saints as a loyal and patriotic people, an honest and virtuous community, meant the condemnation of Missouri before the bar of public opinion and of history, for the course she had pursued in issuing her "orders of extermination," by which fifteen thousand of the saints after being robbed of their possessions were driven forth from the state into exile. Moreover, as we have seen, Governor Ford in his *History of Illinois* declares that with a view to hasten the departure of the church leaders from Illinois, as he himself confesses, they were made to believe that the president of the United States "would order the regular army to Nauvoo as soon as the navigation opened in the spring," in order—according to Ford's pretending—"to make arrests for alleged cases of counterfeiting the money of the United States,[26] and prevent the saints from going west of the Rocky Mountains."

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[23] The resolution stands as follows: "4. *Resolved*, That (as) we have heard from various sources and have the same confirmed by Colonel Kane, that the friends of ex-Governor Boggs, are endeavoring to make him governor of California, and that we as a people are bound to oppose said Boggs in every point and particular that shall tend to exalt him in any country where our lot may be cast, and that peace and 'Mormonism,' which are always undivided, and Lilburn W. Boggs, cannot dwell together, and we solicit the attention of President Polk to this important item in the future prosperity and welfare of the newly acquired territory of our glorious republic." (*History of Brigham Young, Ms*, 1846. bk. 2, p. 138).

[24] See the remarks of Brigham Young on the 1st of October, 1848, *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, for that date; also speeches of J. M. Grant and Brigham Young at the first general festival of the Mormon Battalion, Tyler's *Mormon Battalion*, ch. xlv; also *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, for 4th of Feb., 1855.

[25] See chapter liii, this *History*, note 8; also *Times and Seasons*, vol. v, p. 440.

Also it must be remembered that it was asserted that the only terms upon which the saints would be allowed to depart from the United States in peace, was by signing the contract drawn up by ex-Postmaster-General, Amos Kendall, assigning to a powerful coterie of politicians in Washington, under the name of "A. G. Benson and Co.," one-half the lands on which they should settle; otherwise, it was threatened, they would be disarmed and dispersed by proclamation of the president of the United States; in which condition, of course, they would be a prey to their enemies. All these intrigues and pretensions of politicians, and these false threats combined, led the "Mormon" people, very naturally, to be suspicious of the action of the government of the United States; and it was these several circumstances here detailed, that caused the consternation at Mount Pisgah, and the cry—"The United States troops are upon us!"—when Captain Allen and his three dragoons suddenly rode into the camp to propose the enlistment of volunteers in the service of the United States.[27]

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[26] *History of Illinois,* p. 413, and chapter lxix, this *History.* It was Governor Ford himself who wrote the letter to President Young, *et al,* to make the church leaders believe that regiments of the United States Army would be sent to Nauvoo in the spring to arrest the leaders and possibly prevent the migration of the people to the west. The letter of the governor is copied into the *History of Brigham Young, Ms.,* bk. 1 for 1846, pp. 4-6. It is followed by this comment by Brigham Young: "Should Governor Ford's speculations and suppositions in relation to United States troops prove correct, and the government should send a regular force to arrest us, we will run no risk of being murdered by them as our leaders have been; and as to fearing a trial before the courts—*it is all gammon;* for our danger consists only in being held still by the authorities, while mobs massacre us, as Governor Ford held Joseph and Hyrum Smith while they were butchered." (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.,* bk. 1, 6th Jan., 1846, pp. 4-6). Ford's letter referred to above bears date of Dec. 20th, 1845.

The letter of Governor Ford relating to the employment of federal troops to arrest the church leaders will be found complete in chapter lxix, this *History.* Reference to it will disclose the fact that Governor Ford's invention on that occasion went to the matter of preventing the saints going west of the Rocky Mountains as well as the arrest of their leaders for alleged offenses of counterfeiting.

It is true—beyond all doubt, it is true—that very wild and reckless threats were made by the fierce and powerful enemies of the saints; and it may be true that they sought to turn this battalion incident to the disadvantage of the church, by representing that the "Mormons" would not respond to a call for volunteers, and in that event would be considered worthy of execration and should be halted, disarmed, and dispersed.

All this is within probability; and that it was true, became a fixed conviction in the minds of a number of leading men of the church when established in Utah. It may be safely assumed that whatever was said at Washington lost nothing of bitterness as it passed into current, mouth to mouth discussion; but grew, rather, into reckless denunciation and murderous threats. Rumor also confounded in responsibility what was said, by the administration of the government at Washington, with what was said by the individual enemies of the church. It is therefore matter of small wonder, I repeat, if in every case proper distinction was not made between the inveterate, individual enemies of the church, and the responsible members of the government in the administration of James K. Polk.

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[27] *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, entry for 26th of June, 1846; also Whitney's *History of Utah*, vol. i, pp. 258-9.

CHAPTER LXXV

THE MARCH OF THE MORMON BATTALION

IT is not intended here to give a history of the march of the Mormon Battalion, except in a very general outline. The history of that march has been very worthily written by one of its members, Sergeant Daniel Tyler of Company C, who in addition to being a member of the battalion, also had full access to every source of information to be found in the journals of his comrades and the compilation of data on the subject made by the historians of the church.[1] Also Colonel Cooke's account of the march, as published in *The Conquest of Mexico,* since he often refers to it.

THE BATTALION AT FORT LEAVENWORTH

At Fort Leavenworth the battalion received its equipment of 100 tents, one for every 6 privates; also their arms and camp accoutrements. When drawing the checks for clothing, paid one year in advance, the paymaster expressed great surprise to find that every man was able to sign his own name to the pay roll, whereas of the Missouri volunteers, who drew their pay but a short time previously, not more than one in three could sign his name to the roll.

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1. The full title of the book is *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War,* 1846-7, Sergeant Daniel Tyler. Bancroft referring to it in his *History of Utah,* says that in Tyler's *History of the Battalion*— "We have a most valuable book, and one that forms the leading authority on the subject. * * * And no doubt he [the author] speaks the truth when he says in the preface that neither labor, pains, nor expense has been spared in the effort to make this a just and authentic history." (*History of Utah.* p. 245, note). Referring again to this book in his *History of California,* Bancroft quotes Tyler as saying: "The author has not aimed at sensational effect, nor made any attempt at literary embellishment, but rather endeavored to offer a plain statement of facts, and give due credit to all concerned." To which the same writer adds—"and the result shows that no better man could have undertaken the task. Naturally his narrative is marked by that display of faith which is characteristic of all religious writers, but this while it adds a charm, detracts in no respect from the value of the record" (*History of California,* vol. v, p. 477, note). The book by Sergeant Tyler as a history of the march of the battalion is worthy of all that is here said of it; though in relating the battalion to larger movements connected therewith, it in some respects falls below its general excellence.

At Fort Leavenworth Lieutenant Colonel Allen (he became lieutenant colonel on raising the battalion) was taken ill, and on the 12th of August ordered the battalion to start on its western march, while he would remain a few days, recuperate and overtake it. He died on the 23rd, much lamented by the battalion, which had become warmly attached to him.[2]

A QUESTION OF COMMAND

On Allen's death the question of succession in command was considered. It appears that this subject was mooted at the time the companies of the battalion were enlisted; and "Colonel Allen repeatedly stated to us," says Brigham Young, "that there would be no officer in the battalion, except himself, only from among our people; that if he fell in battle, or was sick, or disabled by any means, the command would devolve on the ranking officer, which would be the captain of Company A and B, and so on according to letter."[3] The battalion appears to have had the same understanding, for at a council meeting of the officers it was agreed by them that Captain Jefferson Hunt, of Company A, should assume command, which decision was afterwards sustained by the unanimous vote of the men. Meantime, however, Major Horton, in command at Fort Leavenworth, sent Lieutenant A. J. Smith, of the regular army, to take command of the battalion. This led to a threatened complication; for an appeal to such written military authorities as were available to the officers of the battalion, left them hopelessly divided in their conclusions. On the arrival of Lieutenant Smith a council was held in which the battalion officers demanded to know what reasons existed for their acceptance of him as commander rather than Captain Hunt, commander of Company A. To which it was answered that the government property in possession of the battalion was not yet receipted for, but that Lieutenant Smith could receipt for it, and being a commissioned officer of the regular army, he would be known at Washington, and his actions and orders recognized; whereas the officers of the battalion had not yet received their commissions, and it would be doubtful if their selection of a commander would be approved. Moreover, the battalion would be in part dependent upon the supplies carried by the command of Colonel Sterling Price,[4] who was a few days' march ahead of them with the mounted volunteers of Missouri. Enemy as he was known to be of the "Mormons," might not the provisions fall into other hands? Captain Hunt called the attention of Lieutenant Smith to the fact that they had about twelve or fifteen families along and that certain promises had been made by Colonel Allen with reference to them, that they should be protected, and have the privilege of traveling with the battalion to California. The lieutenant replied that all the promises which Colonel Allen had made would be faithfully carried out, and that he would do all in his power for their comfort.

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[2] Thus died Lieutenant Colonel Allen, of the first United States dragoons in the midst of a career of usefulness, under the favoring smiles of fortune, beloved while living, regretted after death by all who knew him, both among the volunteers and troops." (*Doniphan's Expedition*, Hughes, p. 259.) For Allen's testimony as to his treatment among the "Mormon" camps, etc., see *Note*, end of chapter.

[3] President Young's letters to General Kearney, *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, bk. 2, pp. 216-7; also *Ibid*, p. 387.

After this discussion Captain Hunt submitted the matter to the officers, and all but three voted in favor of accepting Lieutenant Smith as the commander of the battalion.[5]

Lieutenant Smith and Dr. Sanderson

With Lieutenant Smith had come Dr. George B. Sanderson, whom Colonel Allen, at Leavenworth, had appointed a surgeon in the United States army, to serve with the Mormon Battalion.[6] According to the historian of the battalion, the volunteers suffered much because of the "arrogance, inefficiency, and petty oppressions" of these two officers, much of which, however, is to be accounted for by the volunteers being suddenly brought under the enforced discipline of the United States army regulations. The heat of the season was excessive, the men were much exhausted by the strenuous labors and exposure during the journey through Iowa, earlier in the season, and as a result many of them fell a prey to the malaria prevalent at this season of the year in the country through which they passed. For this Dr. Sanderson prescribed calomel and arsenic, and as the men were averse to taking medicines, pleading even religious scruples against the drugs,[7] the matter gave rise to much unpleasantness between the battalion physician and the command, involving therein Lieutenant Smith, who in the interest of what he no doubt regarded as discipline sided with the physician.

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[4] This was Colonel, afterwards General, Sterling Price, of Chariton county, Missouri. He will be remembered as one who was connected with the mob movements against the saints in Missouri, 1838-9. He it was who had charge of the Prophet Joseph Smith and fellow prisoners at Richmond, Mo., and under whose custody they suffered so much abuse. (*History of the Church,* Period I, vol. iii, p. 208 and note; and Introduction to the same, p. ii).

[5] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.,* pp. 211-12. The movements of the battalion in this compilation, *History of Brigham Young, Ms.,* are recorded by the church historians. See also Tyler's *Battalion,* pp. 143-4.

ROUTE OF THE MARCH

The battalion's line of march, after crossing the Kaw or Kansas river, followed that of the first Missouri Dragoons, led by Colonel A. W. Doniphan, *via* Council Grove, thence some distance up the Arkansas river to a little beyond Fort Mann, where they crossed it in order to take what was known as the "Cimarron Route"—because it crossed Cimarron river and followed some distance up the south branch of that stream, called Cimarron Creek. The last crossing of the Arkansas they reached on the 16th of September, and here the commanding officer insisted that the families not specifically enrolled as part of the battalion but which had so far accompanied it should be detached and sent under a guard of ten men up the Arkansas to Pueblo, which nestles at the east base of the Rocky Mountain range. There were stout protests against this "division of the battalion;" as it was held to be a violation of the "promise" that the battalion would not be divided, also that these families should be permitted to travel with the battalion to California. Unquestionably, however, the arrangement was in the best interests both of the families and of the battalion, and accordingly the detachment was made up as proposed and marched to Pueblo under command of Captain Nelson Higgins.

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[6] Tyler's *History of the Mormon Battalion*, p. 135.

[7] The church of Christ in the New Dispensation revived the neglected and all but forgotten doctrine of healing by faith—"Is any sick among you? let him call for the elders of the church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil, in the name of the Lord, and the prayer of faith shall save the sick and God shall raise him up." (*St. James*, v. 14, 15). And to this it was added, in the modern revelation reinstating the above law—"and whosoever among you are sick and have not faith to be healed, but believe, shall be nourished with all tenderness, with herbs and mild food" (*Doctrine and Covcnants*, sec. xlii:52). President Young also in a letter to the battalion, under date of August 19, 1846, had given a word of counsel in harmony with the foregoing principles: "If you are sick, live by faith, and let surgeon's medicine alone if you want to live, using only such herbs and mild food as are at your disposal." (Tyler's *History of the Mormon Battalion*, p. 146). Dr. Sanderson had no sympathy with all this, of course, hence the conflict between the men and the physician.

The main body of the command continued its march southwesterly to San Miguel, thence turning the point of a mountain range marched northwesterly to Santa Fe, where they arrived in two detachments on the 9th and 12th of October, respectively. Upon its arrival the first detachment of the battalion was received by a salute of one hundred guns by order of Colonel Doniphan,[8] then in command both as civil and military head of the department of New Mexico; but making ready for what was to be his great and historic march upon Chihuahua. Colonel Doniphan will be remembered as the steadfast friend of Joseph Smith and the "Mormon" people during their troubles in Missouri.[9]

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[8] Colonel Doniphan had come to Santa Fe with Kearney, commanding the first Missouri regiment; and after the departure of the general for California, he was left in command at Santa Fe until the arrival of Colonel Sterling Price, when he was under orders to march to Chihuahua and report to General Wool; while Price was to take command at Santa Fe, (*Doniphan's Expedition*, Connelley, 1907, pp. 250-1-3). The historian of the Mormon Battalion notes that the command of Colonel Price, numbering about 1,200 men, received no such marked honor on their arrival in Santa Fe as was accorded to the battalion. (Tyler's *History of the Mormon Battalion*, p. 164).

[9] See this *History, ante*, ch. xxxv.

The Battalion at Santa Fe

On the arrival of the battalion at Sante Fe it was learned that General Kearney, previous to his departure for California, had designated Lieutenant Colonel P. St. George Cooke[10] to take command of the battalion and to follow on his trail *with wagons* to California. The appointment of Colonel Cooke to the command of the battalion was another disappointment to the "Mormon" volunteers, who hoped that they would have marched from Santa Fe under command of one of their own number, which would have been in harmony with the promise of Colonel Allen when discussing the succession in command of the battalion in the event of his own death. It is questionable, however, if Allen had any right to make such a promise. President Young had written a very courteous letter to General Kearney, at Santa Fe, acquainting him with the promises made by Colonel Allen at the time of the enlistment of the "Mormon" volunteers;[11] but Kearney had left Santa Fe before it arrived; and hence Cooke was appointed to the command; and in all likelihood Kearney would not have held himself bound by Allen's promises, even had he been informed of them. It appears also that the officers of the battalion wrote President Polk in relation to the appointment of a successor to Colonel Allen. "The president informed them that was not his privilege," says Brigham Young, "that the command devolved on the rank [i. e. on the ranking officer in the battalion]; but inasmuch as they had made the request he dispatched Captain Thompson from the Jefferson barracks to take command if the battalion wished it."[12] Captain Thompson was met *en route* to Santa Fe by the agents of the Camp of Israel returning from that place to Council Bluffs with the checks paid to the battalion at Santa Fe. Captain Thompson informed them of his appointment and they encouraged him to go on as they were favorably impressed with the captain, and were of the opinion that the battalion would be benefited by the change, "and the choice," said the agents, "would be with the battalion and not with the officers alone."[13] Evidently Captain Thompson did not reach Santa Fe until after the departure of the battalion, and nothing came of his appointment.

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[10] The colonel was born in Virginia in 1809. Graduated from West Point in 1827; was in the Black Hawk War in Illinois, 1832, and at the Battle of Bad Ax fought in July of that year. In 1833 he was made a lieutenant; saw service on the plains principally in what is now Kansas before the Mexican War; in this war he took a prominent part in the affairs at Santa Fe and marched the Mormon Battalion to California. "During the fifties in the border troubles in Kansas he saw much service; in the Civil War he was for the Union. He was retired in 1873, having served in the army continuously for forty-six years. He died March 20, 1895." (*Doniphan's Expedition*, p. 264).

[11] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, bk. 2, p. 384.

At a council of officers of the battalion with Colonels Doniphan and Cooke, these two officers "proffered to send all the sick, together with the remaining women and children belonging to the battalion, to Pueblo to winter, with an escort, and with the privilege in the spring of intersecting the main body of the church, *and going westward with them at government expense,* which was considered a fair and liberal proposal, as neither the sick, nor the women and children could stand the fatigue and exposures of the prospective journey."[14]

Accordingly eighty-six men were invalided,[15] and under two officers (Captain Brown and Lieutenant Luddington) were detached from the main body of the command, and together with all the laundresses and all the wives of members of the battalion (except the wives of five of the officers, who were reluctantly allowed to accompany the march—but with the understanding that they would furnish their own transportation)[16] were conducted to Pueblo, a distance of nearly two hundred miles, where they arrived on the 17th of November and went into winter quarters near the encampment of Captain Higgins, who had preceded them to that point.

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[12] Letter of Brigham Young and Willard Richards to Elders Hyde, Pratt, and Taylor, *Millennial Star,* vol. ix, p. 99.

[13] *Ibid;* also *History of Brigham Young, Ms.,* 1846, bk. 2, p. 424. These agents, John D. Lee and Howard Egan, had been unwarrantably meddlesome in the affairs of the battalion at Santa Fe, just as they were now unwarranted in giving Captain Thompson encouragement to hope that he could displace the commander appointed by General Kearney. The attempted interference of the above named agents with battalion affairs at Santa Fe was sharply resented by Captain Hunt, as appears from two letters to President Brigham Young, signed by Captain Jefferson Hunt, Company A, and J. D. Hunter, captain of Company B, making report of Lee's deportment. (See *History of Brigham Young, Ms.,* 1846, bk. 2, pp. 479-482). Lee himself mentions these matters. (*Mormonism Unveiled,* Confessions, ch. xvi).

[14] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.,* bk. 2, p. 387; Tyler fails to relate this consultation of officers, and these provisions so much to the advantage of the battalion.

[15] During the inspection to designate the invalids to be marched to Pueblo (October 15th), Dr. Sanderson after naming about thirty "discharged them without pay or means to procure conveyance to the states" (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.,* bk. 2, p. 389); whereupon the matter being reported to Colonel Doniphan, that officer "went to Colonel Cooke and countermanded the order, saying that General Kearney would never discharge a man under such circumstances, and ordered the men

Speaking of the battalion in general, and particularly of its unfitness to undertake a march from Santa Fe to California, Colonel Cooke says:

> "Everything conspired to discourage the extraordinary undertaking of marching this battalion eleven hundred miles, for the much greater part through an unknown wilderness, without road or trail, and with a wagon train.
>
> It was enlisted too much by families; some were too old and feeble, and some too young; it was embarrassed by many women; it was undisciplined; it was much worn by traveling on foot, and marching from Nauvoo, Illinois; their clothing was very scant; there was no money to pay them, or clothing to issue; their mules were utterly broken down; the quartermaster's department was without funds, and its credit bad; and animals were scarce. Those procured were very inferior, and were deteriorating every hour for lack of forage or grazing.[17] * * * By special arrangement and consent, the battalion was paid in checks—not very available at Santa Fe.
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> With every effort, the quartermaster could only undertake to

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to be sent to Pueblo with the laundresses and others ordered there, and to draw pay for the time of their enlistment. He said if the president of the United States wished to discharge them he might when he learned their situation. (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, bk. 2, pp. 391-2).

[16] Cooke's *Conquest of New Mexico and California*, pp. 91-2; also Tyler's *History of the Mormon Battalion*, p. 174.

[17] Later, Colonel Cooke again complains of his teams, in the following passage: "I have brought road tools and have determined to take through my wagons; but the experiment is not a fair one, as the mules are broken down at the outset. The only good ones, about twenty, which I bought near Albuquerque, were taken for the express for Fremont's mail—the general's order requiring the twenty-one best in Santa Fe." (Cooke's *Conquest*, p. 93). To this Sergeant Tyler adds: "It is but justice to the colonel [Cooke] to state here that with few exceptions, the mule and ox teams used from Santa Fe to California were the same worn-out and broken-down animals that we had driven all the way from Council Bluffs and Fort Leavenworth; indeed, some of them had been driven all the way from Nauvoo, the same season." (Tyler's *History of the Mormon Battalion*, p. 175).

furnish rations for sixty days; and, in fact, full rations, of only flour, sugar, coffee and salt; salt pork only for thirty days, and soap for twenty. To venture without packsaddles would be grossly imprudent, and so that burden was added."[18]

BATTALION'S DEPARTURE FROM SANTA FE

The battalion began its march from Santa Fe on the 19th of October, Colonel Cooke in command. Lieutenant A. J. Smith, who had led the battalion to Santa Fe, became the acting commissary of subsistence, and Lieutenant George Stoneman,[19] acting quartermaster, instead of Lieutenant Samuel E. Gully, who had resigned.[20] Both Smith and Stoneman were of the regular army. Dr. Sanderson was continued as physician-surgeon to the command. The guides to the expedition were Weaver, Charboneaux, and Leroux, and Stephen C. Foster, called "Doctor" in all the narratives, was employed as interpreter.

The course of march for some time was southward down the valley of the Rio Grande. On the 10th of November, fifty-five more men were declared physically unable through sickness to continue the march, and accordingly were detached, and under Lieutenant W. W. Willis were ordered back to Pueblo to join the other detachments that had been sent there. After much suffering from the hardships of the journey—weak teams, scant supplies of food, illy clad, general sickness among the men, the fall of December snows in the mountain ranges north of Sante Fe, excessive cold, and several deaths occurring, this detachment finally arrived at Pueblo between the 20th and 24th of December, in a most

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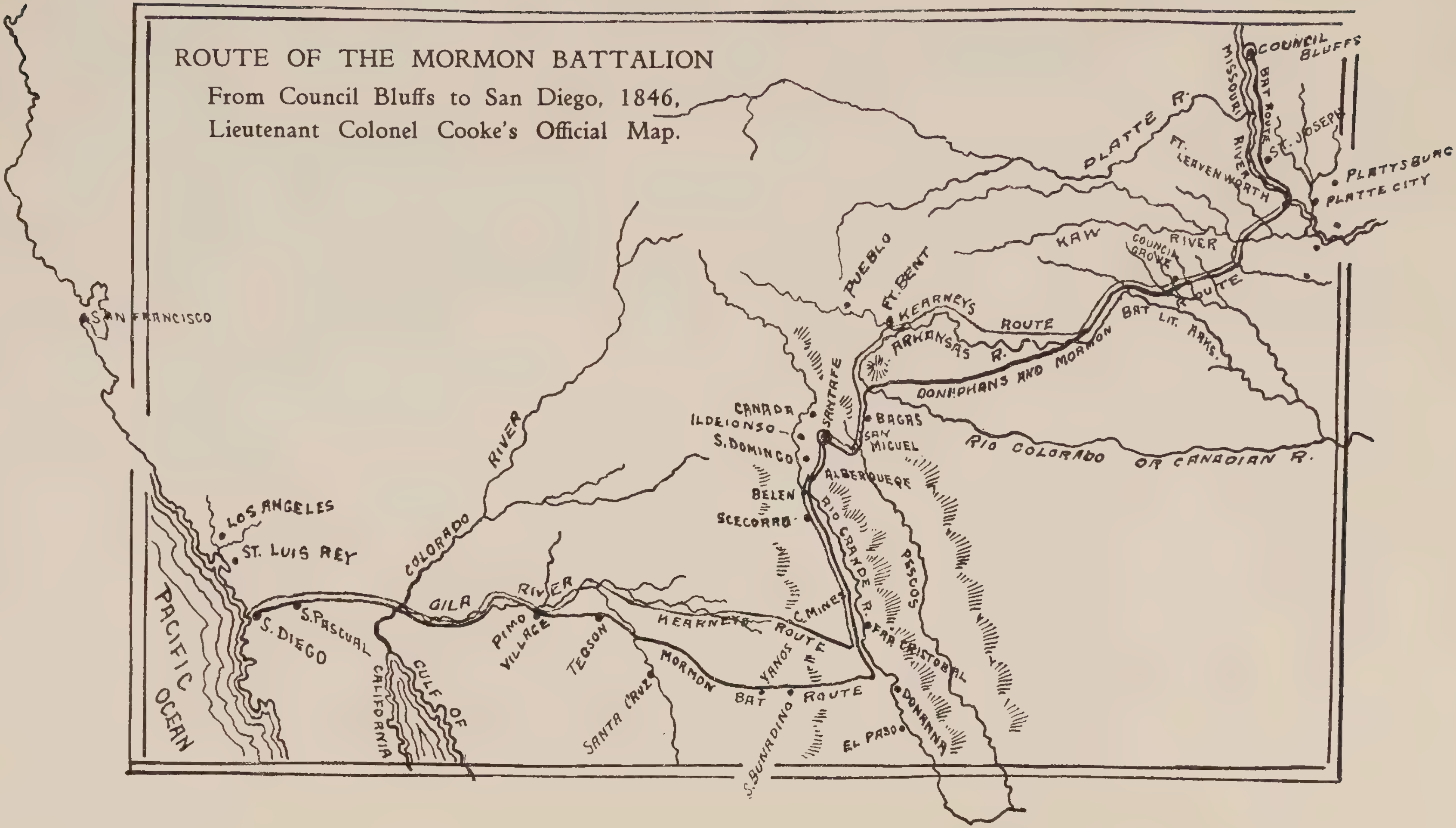
[18] *Conquest of New Mexico and California*, an historical and personal narrative by P. St. George Cooke, G. P. Putnam and Sons, N. Y., 1878, pp. 91-2.

[19] Lieutenants Smith and Stoneman were both graduates of West Point and afterwards distinguished themselves in the war between the states. Cooke states that A. J. Smith afterwards "became a very distinguished major general." (*Conquest of New Mexico and California*, p. 90, and note).

[20] Gully had taken sides with the men in their controversies with the commanding officer, Lieutenant Smith, with Dr. Sanderson, and Adjutant Geo. P. Dykes; and as he had incurred the displeasure of the non-"Mormon" officers, it was thought best that he resign. He returned to Council Bluffs this same fall, and started for Salt Lake valley the next year, but died *en route*. (Tyler's *History of the Mormon Battalion*, p. 175).



ROUTE OF THE MORMON BATTALION

From Council Bluffs to San Diego, 1846,
Lieutenant Colonel Cooke's Official Map.

COUNCIL BLUFFS
MISSOURI RIVER
BAT ROUTE
ST. JOSEPH
PLATTSBURG
PLATTE CITY
PLATTE R.
FT. LEAVENWORTH
KAW RIVER
COUNCIL GROVE
ROUTE
BAT LIT. ARKS.
PUEBLO
FT. BENT
KEARNEYS ROUTE
ARKANSAS R.
DONIPHANS AND MORMON
SANTAFE
CANADA
ILDEIONSO
S. DOMINGO
BAGAS
SAN MIGUEL
RIO COLORADO OR CANADIAN R.
ALBERQUERQE
BELEN
SECORRO
RIO GRANDE R.
PESCOS
C. MINES
FRA CRISTOBAL
DONANNA
EL PASO
S. BUNADINO
YANOS
KEARNEYS ROUTE
MORMON BAT ROUTE
SANTA CRUZ
TEOSON
PIMO VILLAGE
GILA RIVER
COLORADO RIVER
GULF OF CALIFORNIA
S. DIEGO
S. PASCUAL
ST. LUIS REY
LOS ANGELES
PACIFIC OCEAN
SAN FRANCISCO

pitiable condition; but they were warmly received by members of the battalion already quartered there,[21] numbering, now, all told, about one hundred and fifty.

"BLOW THE RIGHT"—"GOD BLESS THE COLONEL!"

As the command in its southward movement down the Rio Grande reached the point where General Kearney left the valley for a direct march westward—228 miles south of Santa Fe—and where, too, Kearney had abandoned his wagons, the guides declared it impossible to follow the Gila route proper with the wagons; and hence a circuit to the south through Sonora *via* Janos and Fronteras was proposed and determined upon at a council of officers.

In the first stages of this changed course, however, the road bore to the southeast, and this was not to the liking of either the battalion or its commander. It was not to the liking of the latter, because it possibly would carry his command within hailing distance of General Wool, who might incorporate it in the Army of the Center,—as that general's division of the invading forces against Mexico was called—to operate against Chihuahua. In that event, as the colonel himself expressed it, he would lose his trip to California. To bear to the southeast was not to the liking of the battalion, as that was not in the direction of California, but away from it, and they would find themselves discharged in Old Mexico instead of California, at the end of their term of enlistment. The entire command was thrown into gloom by this change in the line of march: "All of our hopes, conversation and songs," says the historian of the battalion, "were centered on California. Somewhere on that broad domain we expected to join our families and friends."[22]

In this crisis of the battalion's experience, giving the

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21. See Tyler's *Battalion*, chapters x and xi for full account of these detachments. Lieutenant Willis gives the date of arrival at Pueblo 24th of December, Captains Brown and Higgins stationed at Pueblo, give the 20th. The latter kept a daily journal.

22. Tyler's *Battalion*, p. 206.

date as the 20th of November, Sergeant Tyler records the following:

> "In this critical moment, Brother David Pettegrew, better known as 'Father Pettegrew,' owing to his silver locks and fatherly counsels, and Brother Levi W. Hancock, went from tent to tent, and in a low tone of voice counseled the men to pray to the Lord to change the colonel's mind. Then they invited a few to accompany them to a secret place where they could offer up their petitions and not be seen by those in camp. That night over three hundred fervent prayers ascended to the throne of grace for that one favor. * * *
>
> On the morning of the 21st, the command resumed its journey, marching in a southern direction for about two miles, when it was found that the road began to bear southeast instead of southwest, as stated by the guides. The colonel looked in the direction of the road, then to the southwest, saying: 'I don't want to get under General Wool, and lose my trip to California.' He arose in his saddle and ordered a halt. He then said with firmness: 'This is not my course. I was ordered to California, and,' he added with an oath, 'I will go there or die in the attempt!' Then turning to the bugler, he said, 'Blow the right.'
>
> At this juncture 'Father Pettegrew' involuntarily exclaimed, *'God bless the colonel!'* The colonel's head turned and his keen, penetrating eyes glanced around to discern whence the voice came, and then his grave, stern face, for once, softened and showed signs of satisfaction."[28]

THE FIGHT WITH WILD BULLS

Turning westward at this point, 32° 41′ north latitude, and but a short distance north of the present city of El Paso, the course of march was westward to San Bernadino rancho, thence to Yanos and so to the San Pedro river where the command arrived on the 9th of December. Here occurred the only fighting the battalion engaged in on its expedition, a battle with wild bulls. This section of the country seemed to abound with herds of wild cattle, and the males among them were much more bold and ferocious than among the buffalos. Attracted by curiosity these herds gathered along the line of march, alternately scampering away and approaching; and some of the bolder ones, as if in resentment of the battalion's invasion, attacked the column. Several mules were gored to death by them, both in the teams and among

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23. Tyler's *Battalion*, pp. 206-7.

the pack animals; and Colonel Cooke records how some of the wagons were thrown about by the mad charge of these furious beasts. The troops had been ordered to march with guns unloaded, but in the presence of such a danger the men loaded their muskets without waiting for an order to that effect, and when attacked would fire upon the charging beasts, so that the rattle of musketry was for once heard all along the line. The bulls were very tenacious of life, however, and more desperate and dangerous when wounded than before.[24] The number of the wild bovine enemy killed in the engagement is variously reported as from twenty to sixty, and by one writer as high as eighty-one.

Leaving the San Pedro the command marched northeasterly to Tucson, a Mexican town of between four and five hundred inhabitants. It was garrisoned at the time by a Mexican force two hundred strong, according to Cooke, commanded by Captain Comaduran, who was under order from the Governor of Sonora, Don Manuel Gandara, not to allow an armed force to pass through the town without resistance. The guides furnished the battalion by General Kearney, however, declared it was for the command either to march through Tucson, or make a detour which would mean a hundred miles out of the way over a trackless wilderness and mountains.

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[24] Tyler speaks of one fight between Dr. William Spencer and a bull which was shot five times, twice through the lungs, twice through the heart, and once through the head, and yet would alternately rise and fall and rush upon the Doctor until a sixth ball between the eyes, and near the curl of the pate, proved fatal. (Tyler's *Battalion*, pp. 219, 220). "Twice through the heart!" Colonel Cooke confirms Tyler's narrative and adds: "I have seen the heart" (Cooke's *Conquest*, pp. 145-6). Cooke also relates the feat of Corporal Frost in bringing down one of these ferocious animals: "I was very near Corporal Frost, when an immense coal-black bull came charging upon us, a hundred yards distant. Frost aimed his musket, a flintlock, very deliberately, and only fired when the beast was within six paces; it fell headlong, almost at our feet." (Cooke's *Conquest*, pp. 145-6). Tyler adds: "The corporal was on foot, while, of course, the colonel and staff were mounted. On the first appearance of the bull, the colonel, with his usual firm manner of speech, ordered the corporal to load his gun supposing, of course, that he had observed the previous order of prohibition. To this command he (the corporal) paid no attention. Thinking him either stupefied or dumbfounded, with much warmth and a foul epithet he next ordered him to run, but this mandate was as little heeded as the other. Doubtless Cooke thought one man's 'ignorance with some stubbornness' was about to receive a terrible retribution, but when he saw the monster [bull] lifeless at his feet, through well-directed aim of the brave and fearless corporal, how changed must have been his feelings!" (Tyler's *Battalion*, p. 219).

BEFORE TUCSON

Colonel Cooke determined to march through Tucson, and issued the following characteristic order:

> "Head Quarters Mormon Battalion,
> Camp on the San Pedro,
> December 13th, 1846.
>
> Thus far on our course we have followed the guides furnished us by the general (Kearney). These guides now point to Tucson, a garrison town, as our road, and assert that any other course is a hundred miles out of the way and over a trackless wilderness of mountains, rivers and hills. We will march, then, to Tucson. We came not to make war on Sonora, and less still to destroy an important outpost of defense against Indians; but we will take the straight road before us, and overcome all resistance. But shall I remind you that the American soldier ever shows justice and kindness to the unarmed and unresisting? The property of individuals you will hold sacred. The people of Sonora are not our enemies.
>
> By order of
> Lieutenant Colonel Cooke,
> [Signed] "P. C. Merrill,"
> Adjutant."[25]

Foster, the interpreter, went into the town in advance and was put under guard; a corporal, the son of the Mexican commander, with three Mexican soldiers was met by the command and questioned about Foster, and on admitting that he was under guard, the corporal and his escort were immediately placed under arrest by Colonel Cooke, to be held as hostages for the safety of the interpreter. One Mexican, however, was released, who with two of the battalion guides carried a note demanding Foster's release. This was complied with, and about midnight Foster was brought into camp, attended by two officers authorized "to make a special armistice." Colonel Cooke proposed that the Mexican command deliver up a few arms as a guarantee of surrender, and a token that the inhabitants of Tucson would not fight against the United States unless they were exchanged as prisoners of war; the Mexican prisoners were also released.[26] These events occurred while the battalion was about sixteen miles from Tucson.

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[25] Tyler's *History of the Mormon Battalion*, pp. 224-5.

The next day, when on the march, Cooke received a message from Captain Comaduran declining the proposition to surrender. The battalion were ordered to load their guns with ball. Before reaching the town, however, another message was received saying that the garrison had retreated taking two brass cannons and forcing most of the inhabitants to accompany them. About a dozen armed Mexicans met the American force to escort them into the town. Before passing through the gates, the commander of the battalion addressed the soldiers, saying, in effect, that the garrison and citizens had fled leaving their property behind;but they had not come to make war upon Sonora, and there must be no interference with the private property of the citizens. The battalion marched through Tucson and went into camp about half a mile beyond the town on a small stream.

Before leaving the vicinity Cooke, with a party of fifty, reconnoitered the country above the town towards a village and church, where, it was supposed, the garrison and main body of the people had taken refuge. As the nature of the country, however, afforded excellent opportunities for ambush, if the Mexicans should choose to make resistance, the company of fifty returned. However, the movement was not without its value since, according to Colonel Cooke, and as was afterwards ascertained, it caused the Mexicans who had fled to the aforesaid village to still further retreat, and the reinforcements which had come from the presidios of Fronteras, Santa Cruz and Tubac, to return to their posts.[27]

Arrival at the Gila

Renewing its journey the command in the course of three days, by hard marching, reached the Gila river and intersected the route followed by General Kearney, 474 miles from the point at which they left it in the valley of the Rio Grande.[28]

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[26] Cooke's *Conquest*, p. 149.
[27] Cooke's *Conquest*, p. 151; also Tyler's *Battalion*, pp. 228-330.

The battalion was now among the Pima and Maricopa Indian villages, and found them a rather superior people, inhabiting a fertile country. While passing through their settlements Colonel Cooke took occasion to suggest to Captain Jefferson Hunt that this might be a good place for the settlement of the exiled "Mormons," to which Hunt assented and asked permission to talk to the Pima chief on the subject, and the colonel approved of his doing so.[29] Tyler says that "a proposition for the settlement of the saints among them was favorably received by the Indians.[30] This fertile region, however, was not destined to receive the exiled saints, but strangely enough, both in the valley of the San Pedro and of the Gila, and upon lands formerly occupied by the Pima and Maricopa Indians, through which lands the battalion marched, many and populous and prosperous settlements have been founded by the Church of the Latter-day Saints, grouped now into two flourishing stakes of Zion—the outcome, doubtless, of this march of the battalion through that region, and the knowledge they then obtained of the desirability of that country for habitation.[31]

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[28] 28. The Southern Pacific Railroad traverses practically the route of the battalion. Colonel Cooke made a map of this part of the battalion's journey and referring to it, in connection with the Southern Pacific Railroad, he says: "A new administration, in which southern interests prevailed, with the great problem of the practicability and best location of a Pacific railroad under investigation, had the map of this wagon route before them with its continuance to the west, and perceived that it gave exactly the solution of its unknown element, that a southern route would avoid the Rocky Mountains and Sierra Nevada, with their snows, and would meet no obstacle in this great interval. The new 'Gadsden Treaty' was the result; it was signed, December 30, 1853." (*Conquest of New Mexico and California*, Cooke, p. 159).

[29] 29. Cooke's *Conquest*, p. 161.

[30] 30. Tyler's *Battalion*, p. 236.

[31] 31. The stakes of Zion which occupy the San Pedro valley, and the Gila valley, eastward of the mouth of the San Pedro, are comprised of the following organized wards: St. Joseph stake: Bisbee, Bryce, Central, Eden, Franklin, Graham, Hubbard, Layton, Lebanon, Matthews, Pima, San Pedro, St. David, and Thatcher. Branches: Artesia, Clifton, and Douglas. Maricopa stake, further down the Gila, in the vicinity of Phoenix, is comprised of the following wards: Alma, Lehi, Mesa, Pine and Papago. The two stakes now (1930), have a population of 10,692 Latter-day Saints.

Following more or less the windings of the Gila, the way made difficult from alternating stretches of deep sand and miry clay, the command arrived at the mouth of that river on the 8th of January, and on the 9th crossed the Colorado, into which it empties, and continued the march under great difficulties—teams weak and worn out, men on very scant rations and constantly being reduced, and all but naked withal, suffering alternately from heat and cold, "from a tropical sun in the day time to a December cold atmosphere at night— * * * very hurtful and weakening both to man and beast."[32] At last, however, the coast range of mountains was crossed and the battalion descended the Pacific slope to the town of San Diego, and went into encampment on 29th of January, 1847. "Our camp," says Sergeant Tyler, "was located a mile below the Catholic Mission and some four or five miles from the seaport town of San Diego, where General Kearney was quartered. The colonel [Cooke] rode down in the evening and reported to the general.[33]

On the 30th of January the following Bulletin was written by the lieutenant colonel commanding, though not read to the battalion until the 4th of February. It tells in studied, military brevity the achievements and faithfulness of the battalion; its service to the country and is an imperishable monument in the literature of the nation and of the church, which this battalion represented in the splendid march from the Missouri to the Pacific Ocean—a march of infantry of more than two thousand miles. Read the epitome of the history of the march of the battalion in the Bulletin of its commander:

OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE BATTALION'S ARRIVAL ON THE PACIFIC COAST

"Head Quarters Mormon Battalion,
Mission of San Diego,
January 30, 1847.

(Orders No. 1).

The lieutenant colonel commanding, congratulates the battalion on their safe arrival on the shore of the Pacific Ocean, and the conclusion of their march of over two thousand miles.

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[32] Tyler's *Battalion*, p. 244.
[33] Tyler's *Battalion*, p. 254.

History may be searched in vain for an equal march of infantry. Half of it has been through a wilderness, where nothing but savages and wild beasts are found, or deserts where, for want of water, there is no living creature. There, with almost hopeless labor, we have dug deep wells, which the future traveler will enjoy. Without a guide who had traversed them we have ventured into trackless tablelands where water was not found for several marches. With crowbar and pick and axe in hand, we have worked our way over mountains, which seemed to defy aught save the wild goat, and hewed a pass through a chasm of living rock more narrow than our wagons. To bring these first wagons to the Pacific, we have preserved the strength of our mules by herding them over large tracts, which you have laboriously guarded without loss. The garrison of four presidios of Sonora concentrated within the walls of Tucson, gave us no pause. We drove them out, with their artillery, but our intercourse with the citizens was unmarked by a single act of injustice. Thus, marching half naked and half fed, and living upon wild animals, we have discovered and made a road of great value to our country.

Arrived at the first settlements of California, after a single day's rest, you cheerfully turned off from the route to this point of promised repose, to enter upon a campaign, and meet, as we supposed, the approach of an enemy; and this too, without even salt to season your sole subsistence of fresh meat.

Lieutenants A. J. Smith and George Stoneman, of the first dragoons, have shared and given invaluable aid in all these labors.

Thus volunteers, you have exhibited some high and essential qualities of veterans. But much remains undone. Soon, you will turn your attention to the drill, to system and order, to forms also, which are all necessary to the soldier.

By order
[Signed] "Lieutenant Colonel P. St. George Cooke,"
"P. C. Merrill, Adjutant."[34]

Small wonder, though the reading of this Bulletin to the battalion was unaccountably delayed, that the "Mormon" volunteers received this official announcement of their achievements with cheers.[35]

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[34] Cooke's *Conquest*, p. 197. Subsequently, *viz.*, on the 9th of May, on the occasion of General Kearney visiting the battalion at Los Angeles, he is reported to have said that history would be searched in vain for an infantry march equal to the battalion's, and added: "Bonaparte crossed the Alps, but these men have crossed a continent." (Tyler's *Battalion*, p. 282.)

[35] Cooke gives the following introduction to the above Bulletin: "The battalion seemed to have deserved and cheered heartily the following order." (Cooke's *Conquest* p. 196.

NOTE

COLONEL ALLEN ON HIS TREATMENT WHILE IN THE CAMPS OF ISRAEL—CHARACTER OF THE "MORMON" PEOPLE

The appreciation of Captain Allen of the Latter-day Saints, and their treatment of him was expressed in the following letter to Colonel Jesse C. Little, then about to depart for the states:

"Headquarters, Mormon Battalion,
Council Bluffs, July 20th, 1846.

Dear Sir—Colonel Kane has informed me of your intended departure for the east, and of your desire that I would express to you my opinion concerning the character of the Mormon people, as derived from my observation among them on my present duties.

I have been intimately associated with this people since the 26th ult., as my duty required in raising the battalion of volunteers now under my command.

In the hurry of business connected with my immediate march from this place I have only time to say, that in all of my intercourse with the Mormons I have found them civil, polite and honest as a people. There appears to be much intelligence among them, and particularly with their principal men or leaders, to whom I feel much indebted for their active and zealous exertions to raise the volunteer force that I was authorized to ask for, for the service of the United States.

The president of the council, Mr. Brigham Young, is entitled to my particular thanks, all of this people are entirely patriotic, and they have come not only with cheerfulness, but under circumstances of great difficulty, to them, to enlist themselves in the services of their country.

In my official report to the war department, which I shall make on my arrival at Fort Leavenworth, I will speak more fully of the community of the Mormon people or Mormon church, and will here say to you that I think them as a community, and in their circumstances, deserving of a high consideration from our government.

Very respectively, your obedient servant,

[Signed] "J. Allen,"

To J. C. Little, Esq., Lieutenant Colonel Commanding Mormon Battalion."[36]

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[36] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, bk. 2, pp. 96-7).

CHAPTER LXXVI

AN APOSTOLIC MISSION SENT TO ENGLAND—"MORMON" CAMP LIFE ON THE MISSOURI—SAINTS' OCCUPANCY OF INDIAN LANDS

THE Camp of Israel at Council Bluffs and vicinity again becomes the initial point of events to be chronicled. No sooner had the battalion taken its departure than an apostolic mission was designated and sent to England. Elders Orson Hyde, Parley P. Pratt, and John Taylor constituted the mission, and left Council Bluffs on the 31st of July. A party of Presbyterian missionaries with their families were returning to St. Joseph from the Loupe Fork of the Platte river, where they had been laboring among the Pawnee Indians; and with these the three apostles took a working passage down the Missouri. This method of travel was quite common in those days on the western rivers. The flat boat was kept in the main channel of the stream by guide oars, and the speed increased beyond the movement of the current by rowing. At night the boat was tied up, an encampment made on the bank, and the journey renewed usually with the dawn of the next day.

THE ENGLISH MISSION AND THE BATTALION MEET

At St. Joseph the three apostles purchased the flat boat and continued their journey to Fort Leavenworth where they arrived about the time the Mormon Battalion was drawing the years' allowance for clothing. The battalion brethren generously contributed several hundred dollars to aid the apostles on their journey, and Elder Pratt volunteered to carry to the Camp of Israel at Council Bluffs the money the battalion desired to send to their families and to the church. Accordingly Elder Pratt returned through Missouri and Iowa on that business; while Elders Hyde and Taylor continued their journey eastward. They arrived in England on the 3rd of October, and Elder Pratt about ten days later.

REASONS FOR THE APOSTOLIC MISSION TO ENGLAND

The reason for sending this special mission to England grew out of certain impressions experienced by President Young and the council of apostles that all was not well with the church in that land, and that its affairs required the counsel and regulating hand of members of the apostles' quorum.[1]

When Elder Woodruff left England in the latter part of January, 1846, that he might participate with his fellow apostles in the exodus from the United States, Elder Reuben Hedlock was again appointed president of the church in the British Isles with Elder Thomas Ward and John Banks as his counselors.[2]

For some years the supervision of the emigration of the saints from the British Isles to the body of the church in America had been an important duty of the presidency of the British Mission. In 1844 President Hedlock had been instructed to enlarge this business into a general emigration agency, opening "a general shipping office;" and was urged to "show the world" that he could "do a better and more honorable business than anybody else, and more of it."[3] The

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[1] The circular letter issued by Elders Hyde and Taylor immediately upon their arrival in England stated that they had been "appointed on a mission to visit the church in England by a special manifestation of the Spirit of God, through the council of the twelve apostles." (*Millennial Star*, vol. viii, p. 92). The editorial of the *Star* for October 15th, 1846, announcing this mission and signed by Orson Hyde, opens as follows: "During last winter, the council of the church in America under guidance of the Holy Spirit, deemed it necessary to send to you a number of fellow laborers in the gospel. * * * Since the above arrangements were made, and in some measure carried into effect, it hath pleased the Lord to direct the council by his Spirit to send unto you, in addition, a deputation of three of their own number, with instructions to regulate and set in order the various departments of the church."

[2] When Elder Woodruff arrived in England in January, 1845, he took the two brethren who had been presiding in the mission, Reuben Hedlock and Thomas Ward, as his counselors (*Millennial Star*, vol. v, p. 142). And when he departed for America, as stated in the text, he reinstated these two in the presidency, and added Elder Banks as a counselor. With the interval of Woodruff's brief presidency, Hedlock had presided in the British Isles since 1843 (see *Millennial Star* for Feb. 1st, 1846, vol. vii, communication of Wilford Woodruff to the saints in the British Isles; also Elder Hedlock's statement, same number. See also *ante* this *History*, ch. lxvi). The reappointment of Hedlock seems not to have been satisfactory to the council of apostles in America (*Millennial Star*, vol. vii, p. 120).

[3] Letter of Brigham Young and Willard Richards to Hedlock, May 3rd, 1844, *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. vi, pp. 351-4.

British presidency enlarged their shipping agency accordingly, to include not only Latter-day Saints but all who were disposed to emigrate from the British Isles to America. At that time much encouragement was being given by the English government to emigration as a relief from trade and labor depression, and also from the famine that prevailed in Ireland. Elder Hedlock in this connection formed a partnership with a Mr. Hiram Shaw who had large interests in Ireland, and who, it was believed, would be able to give an impetus to the emigration business since it was chiefly from Ireland that emigration was encouraged as a means of relief from the famine. Elder Hedlock also formed business connections in the same line with what are called, in the correspondence upon the subject, "the rascally brokers of Liverpool;" and to this his associate, Thomas Ward, attributes his downfall.[4]

The British and American Joint Stock Company

Soon after the departure of Elder Woodruff for America there was organized under the direction of Elders Hedlock and Ward a joint stock society for general trading and even manufacturing purposes,[5] based upon British law, but its enterprises to be prosecuted in both England and America under the title of "The British and American Joint Stock Company." While necessarily a separate and independent concern, under English law, the company, nevertheless, was improperly represented as an adjunct to the church, and primarily organized to aid the church in the accomplishment of some of her great purposes—the gathering of the saints to the land of Zion (America), and the betterment of the condition of her membership by affording them opportunity for cooperative participation in the profits of trade. This sympathetic connection between the church and the "Stock

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[4] Letter of Thomas Ward to Brigham Young and the council of apostles, *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, bk. 2, pp. 405-6.

[5] "The deed of the company secures to us the privilege of trading as merchants between Great Britain and America, of hiring or purchasing ships, and of raising buildings wherein to manufacture the produce of those countries or either of them." (Editorial, *Millennial Star*, vol. vii, p. 72).

Company" was constantly urged through the columns of the *Millennial Star*, as also in public meetings and conferences of the church.[6] The gathering of the poor and the deliverance of the saints from "the grip of poverty," were the catch phrases of the concern. Considerable stock was purchased, a provisional registration, and then a final one, as required by the law, was obtained. High class offices were taken in the Stanely Buildings, Liverpool, but little business was ever done other than soliciting the purchase of stock and the paying of salaries and the traveling expenses of the officers of the company, although there was much talk of chartering and even of buying ships for trade and emigration purposes, also about starting a general merchandise store in Liverpool, etc., etc.

Elder Thomas Ward was made president of the company, Samuel Downes, treasurer, and Thomas Wilson, secretary; but President Hedlock was earnest and active in the promotion of the company, and considerable of the company's capital was "loaned" to him without security, to assist in his emigration schemes.

The first act of the apostolic delegation from America was to declare that the "Joint Stock Company" was "an institution wholly independent of the church;" and advised that the saints "patronize the 'Joint Stock Company' no more for the present."[7] An accounting was demanded of the company; and the balance sheet finally worked out by the committee appointed by the apostles disclosed the fact that —shillings and pence omitted—one thousand six hundred and forty-four pounds ($8,220) had been received from the over sanguine shareholders; that out of this sum, representing the capital of the company, one thousand four hundred and eighteen pounds ($7,090) had been expended in payment of traveling expenses, for legal counsel in effecting the organization, and office rent, leaving but two hundred and twenty-six pounds ($1,130) of the capital for investment, and much of this was due to creditors! In their report the committee after presenting a detailed statement of the conditions said:

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[6] "In partaking of the responsibilities of the presidency of the churches in the British Islands, we are desirous to discharge our duty faithfully, and we are equally so in the connection with the 'Joint Stock Company;' indeed, so far as we are concerned, we do not separate the two, for if we had not been fully persuaded that such an association would be of incalculable advantage to the church of God, we would never have incurred the responsibility of our connection with it." (Editorial in *Millennial Star*, vol. vii, p. 72). Later, in an address over his own signature, Elder Hedlock declared the object in organizing the company to be "to promote the interests of the whole church, and at the same time repay the shareholders." (*Ibid*, p. 126).

[7] The whole paragraph containing these instructions is admirable: "We would advise the saints, of whose rights and interests Providence has, to a certain extent, made us the guardians, to patronize 'Joint Stock Company' no more for the present. That is an institution wholly independent of the church, and we do not wish to see a religious influence enforced upon the saints to draw money from them, with the ostensible design of conveying them to another country, when indeed that money is applied to purposes other than those for which it was subscribed.

> "The officers are blameable before God and the authorities of this church, because, when they knew that this company was not answering the purposes intended, they did not rise up like honest men and stop the growing evils, but were content to continue till nearly all the funds were devoured; and have thus rendered themselves unworthy of the future confidence of the saints, and of any responsible trust hereafter in this kingdom."

The amount of loss, of course, is trivial in comparison of defalcations common in the world; but this one was peculiarly distressing because the money was taken from the hard earnings of many poor people, struggling in the midst of depressed industrial conditions, and was obtained by the pressure of religious influence upon them.

Elder Hedlock foreseeing the approaching calamity deserted his post as president of the British mission, as early as August, 1846,[8] before the advent of the apostolic delegation, and went to London where he lived in seclusion.[9] At

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There are two ways of transacting business—one is with prudence and economy, and another is with wasteful prodigality. At our conference, proper instructions will be given to the saints upon all these matters."

[8] The fact of his leaving his station in the church in August was stated by Thomas Ward at a conference held in Clithero, August 30th. (*Millennial Star*, vol. viii, pp. 52-3.)

[9] Parley P. Pratt's *Autobiography*, p. 386. *Life of John Taylor*, p. 177; also minutes of a general conference of the church in England at Manchester, *Millennial Star*, vol. viii, p. 120.

the general conference of the British Mission that was held in Manchester, on October 17th, under the presidency of the apostolic delegation from America, President Hedlock was excommunicated. Elder Ward, whatever had been his errors in judgment, at least faced the situation manfully, and while he stood disfellowshipped by act of the council of the twelve in America,[10] and hence under requirement to report himself to that council, the delegation of apostles in England testified that he had "manifested a good feeling and a good spirit since their arrival," and had followed their counsel "in every particular since that time."[11] He did not long survive the shock his errors brought upon him, however, as he died in England five months later.[12]

The fate of Hedlock is unknown. Other officers of the company, Samuel Downes, the treasurer, and Thomas Wilson, secretary, made all the satisfaction to the committee that acted as receivers for the company within their power; as also all the restitution that was possible under the circumstances. "This is all we can ask," said the editor of the *Millennial Star* (temporarily Orson Hyde); "and we say, let the yoke be taken off their necks, and let them go free, with the fellowship of the church, and let them make their calling and election sure, if they will."[13]

The "Joint Stock Company" at meetings of the stockholders during the conference at Manchester—on the 17th and 19th of October, respectively—by *resolution* dissolved, forthwith, that company, "the members present, and votes taken, being superabundant to warrant its dissolution.[14] Ultimately it was found that the company's receivers could pay "one shilling and three pence on the pound of monies actually paid in." Thus ended the "Joint Stock Company" scheme for the temporal and rapid enrichment of the saints; which, however good the intentions that prompted its inception, became a means of robbing the worthy poor, to minister to the folly and vanity of men, some unwise, and some wicked.

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[10] So satisfied were the twelve at the Camp of Israel in the wilderness of the irregularities of both Hedlock and Ward that they disfellowshipped both of them "until they shall appear before the council and make satisfaction for their repeated disregard of counsel." The official act bears date of July 16th, 1846. (See *Millennial Star*, vol. viii, p. 103).

[11] *Millennial Star*, vol. viii, p. 111—notice.

[12] March 4th, 1847. Dropsy and an affection of the liver is assigned as the cause of death. The notice of his demise is most sympathetic; and his one desire seems to have been to render full satisfaction to the presidency of the church in America. (*Millennial Star*, vol. ix, p. 96.)

[13] *Millennial Star*, vol. ix, p. 22. For complete list of officers, *Ibid*, p. 11.

[14] *Millennial Star*, vol. ix, pp. 11 and 22.

Aside from this unpleasant episode of the "Joint Stock Company" the visit of the apostolic delegation to England was of a most pleasant character. The British saints were blessed by it: the church strengthened and a new impetus given to the work in that land for the future. Elder Hyde was recognized as the president of the delegation, and became for the time, president of the mission, and editor of the *Millennial Star,* leaving Elders Pratt and Taylor free to visit all the conferences and most of the branches of the church. Finally, the object of their mission being accomplished, the delegation made arrangements for returning to the body of the church in the frontier wilderness of America. Elders Taylor and Pratt departed on the 7th of February,[15] and Elder Hyde on the 23rd of the same month, having duly installed Elder Orson Spencer, sent by the council of apostles from the Camp of Israel in the wilderness to preside over the British Mission.

ELDER TAYLOR AND THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH—CANADIAN IMMIGRATION

Elder Taylor in the course of his many activities while on this mission, obtained an interview with the Earl of Dartmouth, with a view of interesting him, and through him the British government, in some plan of emigration to the British possessions on the Pacific coast of America—Vancouver's

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[15] Elders Pratt and Taylor left for America on the 19th of January with a company of saints, but met contrary winds in the English channel against which they struggled for nine days without making more than fifty miles headway. The ship returned to port, and made a second start on the 7th of February, the date of the text.

Island being especially mentioned—of which the saints in England might take advantage. To this end also a memorial was drawn up to the queen asking "relief by emigration for a portion of her subjects." The memorial was admirable both in form and spirit, and moderate in its suggestions withal; and had the statesmen of England in that day possessed the practical knowledge of the possibilities in a people for self-support, even in a wilderness, when that wilderness would be either Vancouver's Island or British Oregon, as the men had who were promulgating that memorial—the apostolic delegation from the Church of the Latter-day Saints—they would have seen in the plan no such insurmountable obstacles as led them to be indifferent to it.[16] But England at the time was sore distraught, almost in a state of revolution. Midsummer had witnessed a complete change in the kingdom's fiscal system; Lord John Russell's government was but newly installed, and the memorable famine in Ireland—1845-6, which reduced the population of that land by starvation and emigration from eight millions to six—in its effects still lingered to perplex the government; trade depression was general, political conditions were much complicated, and hence little heed was paid to the saints' memorial, though it was sent to every member of parliament, and Lord John Russell politely acknowledged receipt of it.[17]

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[16] After calling attention to the "unexampled amount of abject, helpless, and unmerited misery" prevailing among the laboring classes, the memorial then states:

"Your memorialists, without attempting to enumerate the many alleged causes of the present national distress and suffering, feel convinced that emigration to some portion of your majesty's vacant territories is the only permanent means of relief left to a rapidly increasing population, which, if retained here, must swell the aggregate amount of misery, wretchedness, and want.

Your memorialists believe that, if a part of the poor and destitute portion of your majesty's loyal subjects were sent to the island of Vancouver, or to the great territory of Oregon, through your majesty's *gracious interference and Royal aid*, they might there find a field of labor and industry, in which, after a short period, they could not only benefit themselves, but open an effectual door for the interchange of commodities with the home country, having brought into cultivation the soil that now lies untenanted, and thus indirectly raise a revenue that would more than balance the expenditure of the present emigration."

This proposition was supplemented by the suggestion that the government survey its American Pacific Coast possession, to which prospective emigrants might go, into townships to be subdivided into sections, on the even numbers of which the emigrants might settle, the government retaining the odd numbers until such time as the improvements of the settlers would give such advanced values to the retained government section as would more than repay the government for present expenditure in giving free passage by government aid to emigrants desirous of going to those lands.

GOVERNMENT IN THE CAMP OF ISRAEL

The Camp of Israel, rapidly spreading out on both sides of, as well as up and down the Missouri river in the vicinity of Council Bluffs, during the summer of 1846, was doubtless a remarkable sight. The life of the people was full of interest and romance, the like of which was never seen before, and in all probability never will be possible again; and therefore we may be justified in contemplating it somewhat in detail. The community had no laws save such as were self-imposed; no officers save those provided in the church organization, and their special appointees to exercise functions of a semi-civic nature such as a marshal of a camp and his aids to enforce order and prevent people from trespassing upon each other in regard to stock running at large, destroying gardens, or intruding into camp grounds; also to hold in check the thoughtless buoyancy of youth which had not yet learned the lessons of self-restraint, and ever grows somewhat impatient of discipline; also to guard the camps from the intrusion of strangers who would spy out their liberties and impose upon the unwary, and likewise to check by punishing promptly, the thieving propensities of the Indians by whom they were surrounded. Their laws were edicts or regulations issued from the councils of their wisest men. It was literally the rule of Carlyle's "*can*-ning, or able-men," voluntarily submitted to by the people with right willing loyalty and nothing doubting, because they recognized in the edicts promulgated "precisely the wisest, fittest" thing which in all ways it behooved them to do.[18]

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[17] See *Millennial Star*, vol. ix, pp. 74-5. An interesting correspondence appears in the same number of the *Star*, No. 5, between Hon. John Browning, M. P., for the burrough of Liverpool, and Elder Thomas D. Brown, upon the subject of the memorial. The signed memorial measured 168 feet in length and contained nearly 1,300 names. (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1847, p. 50).

[18] *Hero Worship*, The Hero as King, Lecture vi.

INTER-COMMUNICATION OF THE CAMPS

The necessity of frequent communication with the remnant of the community left at Nauvoo, and with the trustees there in charge of both such public and private property as could not be disposed of before the departure of the main body of the people; as also the necessity of communication with all the camps and traveling companies between Nauvoo and Council Bluffs, led them to establish an independent mail service since, of course, there was none established by the government between those two points. Occasional mails also were carried between the Camp of Israel and the battalion until the latter marched from Santa Fe. By this means the presiding council of the church kept in touch with practically the whole people whose movements they were directing. It afforded also to separated families and friends the means of keeping informed of each other's movements—of knowing each other's good or evil fortunes, of the need of help on the one hand, and of ability to give succor on the other, and thus bound them together in mutual sympathies and ability to be helpful. No other circumstances contributed so much to the unity of the saints, or ministered so much to their mental peace as this postal service, except always, of course, that spiritual bond of their mutual faith and trust in God, constantly kept alive by frequent religious instructions, admonitions and prayer—prompted by the felt need in their peculiar circumstances of the sustaining hand of Divine Providence.

The land they occupied was beautiful, consisting of alternating stretches of prairie and woodlands, the latter following streams which are numerous in that region, for among other natural advantages it was a well watered country. The great Missouri, in its meandering course hemmed in by sharp, irregular bluffs, along its bottom lands afforded stretches of scenery unsurpassed in beauty.

The fact that the old "Mormon" encampments are now the site of such populous and prosperous commercial and manufacturing cities as Council Bluffs and Omaha,[19] is evidence that the "Mormon" leaders had halted at a point where natural advantages and resources had so converged as to sustain a large population; all which their industrious energy and enterprise would have developed long before those cities rose to any importance if only they could have felt free to remain and apply labor force under intelligent leadership. But it is this region as it existed under the "Mormon" encampments with which I am here concerned, the environment and atmosphere that goes with the events I am chronicling, that I would preserve; and perhaps the happiest and most detailed description of those encampments is the one given by Colonel Thomas L. Kane when he came upon them *en route* from Fort Leavenworth to the east. He was seeking the "Mormon" camps when suddenly he came in view of them:

COLONEL KANE'S DESCRIPTION OF THE CAMPS OF ISRAEL

"They were collected a little distance above the Pottawattomie agency. The hills of the 'high prairie' crowding in upon the river at this point, and overhanging it, appear of an unusual and commanding elevation. They are called the 'Council Bluffs'; a name given them with another meaning, but well illustrated by the picturesque congress of their high and mighty summits. To the south of them, a rich alluvial flat of considerable width follows down the Missouri, some eight miles, to where it is lost from view at a turn, which forms the site of an Indian town of Point aux Poules. Across the river from this spot the hills recur again, but are skirted at their base by as much low ground as suffices for a landing.

This landing, and the large flat or bottom on the east side of the river, were crowded with covered carts and wagons; and each one of the Council Bluff hills opposite, was crowned with its own great camp gay with bright white canvas, and alive with busy stir of swarming occupants. In the clear blue morning air the smoke steamed up from more than a thousand cooking fires. Countless roads and bypaths checkered all manner of geometric figures on the hillsides. Herd boys were dozing upon the slopes; sheep and horses, cows and oxen, were feeding around them, and other herds in the luxuriant meadow of the

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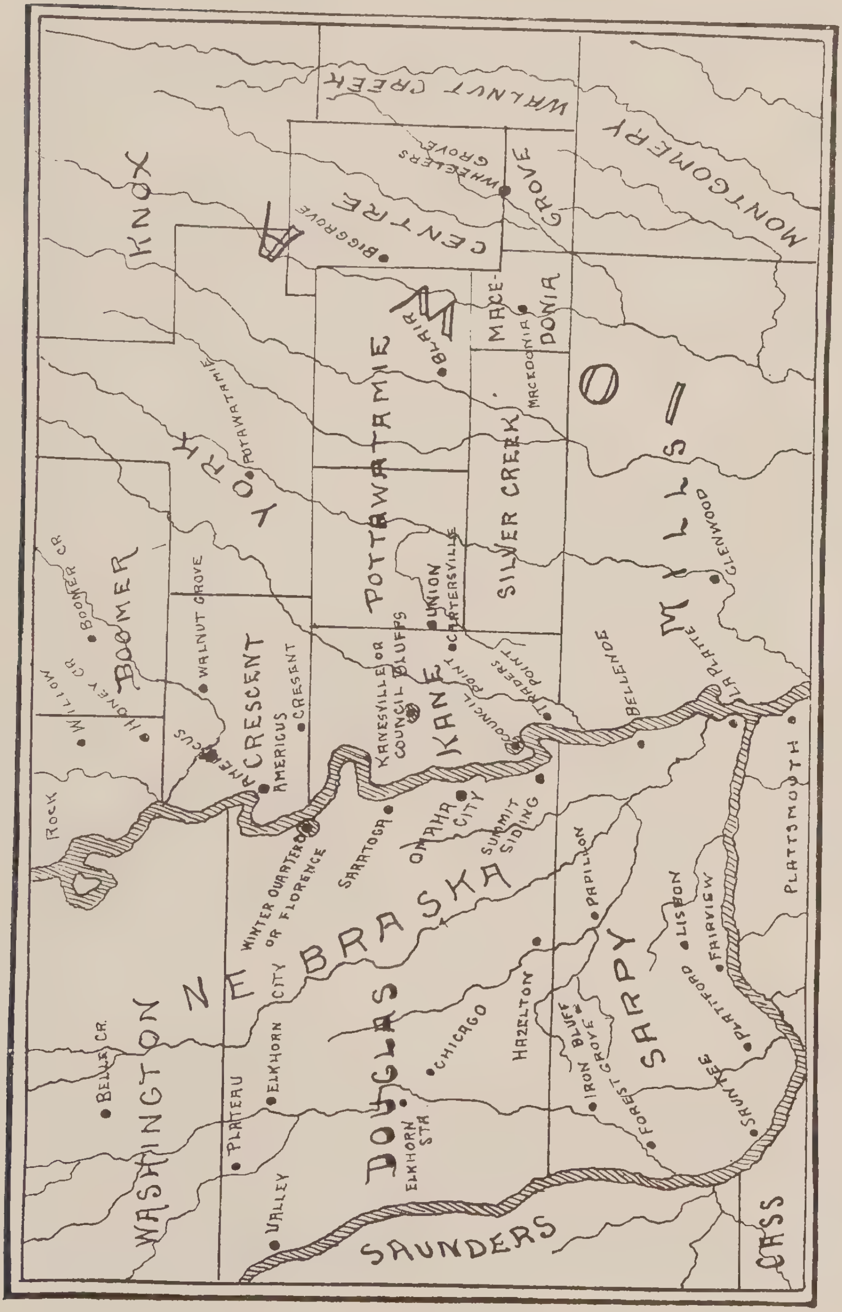
[19] Council Bluffs' population, July 1, 1928, was 42,300; Omaha's, 222,800. (*World Almanac*, 1929).

REGION OF THE MORMON ENCAMPMENTS ON THE MISSOURI RIVER, 1846-7


WALNUT CREEK
MONTGOMERY
KNOX
CENTRE
WHEELERS GROVE
GROVE
BIGGROVE
MACE-DONIA
MACKDONIA
BLAIR
POTTAWATAMIE
POTTAWATAMIE
SILVER CREEK
MILLS
GLENWOOD
YORK
POTAWATAMIE
BOOMER
BOOMER CR
HONEY CR
WILLOW
WALNUT GROVE
CRESCENT
CRESENT
AMERICUS
AMERICUS
UNION
CARTERSVILLE
KANESVILLE OR COUNCIL BLUFFS
KANE
COUNCIL POINT
TRADERS POINT
BELLENOE
LA PLATTE
PLATTSMOUTH
ROCK
WINTER QUARTERS OR FLORENCE
SARATOGA
OMAHA CITY
SUMMIT SIDING
PAPILLON
NEBRASKA
SARPY
LISBON
FAIRVIEW
PLATTFORD
HAZELTON
IRON BLUFF
FOREST GROVE
SAUNKEE
CHICAGO
DOUGLAS
ELKHORN STA
ELKHORN CITY
ELKHORN
PLATEAU
VALLEY
BELLS CR.
WASHINGTON
SAUNDERS
CASS

then swollen river. From a single point I counted four thousand head of cattle in view at one time. As I approached it seemed to me the children there were to prove still more numerous. Along a little creek I had to cross were women in greater force than *blanchisseuses* upon the Seine, washing and rinsing all manner of white muslins, red flannels, and particolored calicoes, and hanging them to bleach upon a greater area of grass and bushes than we can display in all our Washington Square.

Hastening by these, I saluted a group of noisy boys, whose purely vernacular cries had for me an invincible home-savoring attraction. It was one of them, a bright-faced lad, who, hurrying on his jacket and trousers, fresh from bathing in the creek, first assured me I was at my right destination. He was a mere child; but he told me of his own accord where I had best go and seek my welcome, and took my horse's bridle to help me pass a morass, the bridge over which he alleged to be unsafe.

There was something joyous for me in my rambles about this vast body of pilgrims. I could range the wild country wherever I listed, under safeguard of their moving host. Not only in the main camps was all stir and life, but in every direction, it seemed to me I could follow 'Mormon roads,' and find them beaten hard, and even dusty, by the tread and wear of the cattle and vehicles of emigrants laboring over them. By day, I would overtake and pass, one after another, what amounted to an army train of them; and at night, if I encamped at the places where the timber and running water were found together, I was almost sure to be within call of some camp or other, or at least within sight of its watchfires. Wherever I was compelled to tarry, I was certain to find shelter and hospitality, scant, indeed, but never stinted, and always honest and kind. After a recent unavoidable association with the border inhabitants of western Missouri and Iowa, the vile scum which our own society, to apply the words of an admirable gentleman and eminent divine,[20] 'like the great ocean washes its frontier shores,' I can scarcely describe the gratification I felt in associating again with persons who were almost all of eastern American origin—persons of refined and cleanly habits and decent language, and every day seemed to bring with it its own special incident, fruitful in the illustration of habits and character."[21]

COLONEL KANE'S ILLNESS IN THE CAMP

It was while Colonel Kane was still in the "Mormon" camps that he was stricken by an illness which held him bound at President Young's headquarters throughout the greater part of the summer. At one time it was feared his illness would prove fatal. The colonel's solicitude for the welfare of his new-found friends—the apprehension that his death might be charged to their account through design or neglect—led him to send to Fort Leavenworth for medical aid, to which a Dr. H. I. W. Edes responded. He visited the colonel, and certified over his signature the nature of his illness, "The violent bilious fever of this region, connecting itself seriously with the nervous system;" and, "after the disappearance of this malady, an intermittent fever has supervened." Relative to the colonel's treatment by the "Mormons" the doctor certified: "From Colonel Kane's unmeasured assurances to me, and from what I myself have observed during my visit to this place, I have no hesitation in testifying to the devoted care and kindness with which he has been treated by his friends, the Mormon people. Throughout this entire camp, where I observe a spirit of harmony and a habit of good order, wonderful in so large an assemblage of people, I find that there prevails towards him the warmest and most cordial benevolence and feeling."[22] Such was the precaution thought necessary by Colonel Kane in order to preserve the Latter-day Saints from a possible false charge of conniving at his death in the event of death befalling him in the "Mormon" camps, so viciously were they subjected to misrepresentation at the time.[23]

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[20] Reverend Dr. Morton, of Philadelphia.

[21] From Kane's Lecture before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, *The Mormons*, 26th March, 1850, pp. 25-27.

But the colonel recovered, and in September returned to the east *via* Nauvoo, arriving there just after the mob had expelled the remnant of the Latter-day Saint population from the city; which "victory," and the "battle" which preceded it, were detailed in chapter lxx of this *History*.

THE EXPELLED REMNANT OF THE CHURCH FROM NAUVOO

The remnant expelled from Nauvoo under circumstances of such great cruelty, was made up of those who were either too poor to purchase an outfit with which to leave the city, or else of those who could not dispose of property to buy teams with which to remove. When driven from their homes by the mob they took refuge on the Iowa side of the Mississippi, where they bivouacked as best they could on the river bottoms. They numbered about six hundred and forty, all told. An encampment was improvised of such materials as were at hand. There were a few old wagons with covers; tents were constructed by stretching quilts and blankets over frames made of small poles; other shelters still were made by weaving brush between stakes driven into the ground; and here were huddled women and children destitute of both food and adequate clothing. It was the latter part of September, and the cold fall rains frequently drenched them. It was the sickly season of the year and most of the camp suffered from alternating chills and fever. Such as were able to leave camp went into neighboring towns up and down the river and applied to farmers and settlers about them for work and relief from starvation. Their camp from the general destitution that prevailed is called in the church annals "the poor camp."[24] In the midst of their greatest distress for want of food, a most remarkable circumstance, yet well attested, happened. This was no other than the falling into their camp—and for several miles up and down the river—of immense numbers of quails. The birds are quite common in that country, but these flocks were so exhausted, evidently from a long flight, that the women and children and even the sick, since they came tumbling into the tents or bowers, could take them up with their hands. Thousands were so caught, and the sick and the destitute were fed upon daintiest food.[25]

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[22] The certificate is dated Aug. 19, 1846, Omaha country above Council Bluffs and signed by H. I. W. Edes, M. D., from Weston, Mo. (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, bk. 2, pp. 172-3).

[23] In his *History Ms.*, bk. 2, p. 173, Brigham Young writes: "The certificate of Dr. Edes was procured from him by Colonel Kane in consequence of an apprehension on his part that if his sickness proved fatal, the 'Mormons' would be wrongfully charged by their enemies; and he subsequently stated that that was his only reason for sending to Leavenworth for a physician."

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[24] Colonel Kane, as previously stated (chapter lxx) called at this encampment, after he had visited Nauvoo while that city was still in the hands of the mob forces who had taken possession of it and thus described conditions as he found them: "Here, among the docks and rushes, sheltered only by the darkness, without roof between them and the sky, I came upon a crowd of several hundred human creatures, whom my movements roused from uneasy slumber upon the ground. * * * Dreadful indeed, was the suffering of these forsaken beings; bowed and cramped by cold and sunburn, alternating as each weary day and night dragged on, they were, almost all of them, the crippled victims of disease. They were there because they had no homes, nor hospitals, nor poor house, nor friends to offer them any. They could not satisfy the feeble cravings of their sick; they had not bread to quiet the fractious hunger-cries of their children. Mothers and babes, daughters and grandparents, all of them alike, were bivouacked in tatters, wanting even covering to comfort those whom the sick shivers of fever were searching to the marrow. These were Mormons, famishing in Lee county, Iowa, in the fourth week of the month of September, in the year of our Lord 1846. * * * They were, all told, not more than six hundred and forty persons who were thus lying on the river flats. But the Mormons in Nauvoo and its dependencies had been numbered the year before at over twenty thousand." (Kane's lecture, *The Mormons,* pp. 8-10).

No sooner was the news of the results of the Battle of Nauvoo carried to the headquarters of Brigham Young, on the Missouri, and the destitute condition of the expelled saints made known, than a relief company was organized consisting of teams with tents and provisions to make the journey back to the Mississippi, to gather up the victims of the mob's hate and violence. This relief company started eastward under the direction of O. M. Allen. In due time the saints of "the poor camp"—as these helpless refugees were called—were brought away from the scenes of their afflictions, and found refuge among their friends in the camps on the Missouri.

THE CAMPS OF ISRAEL ON INDIAN LANDS

Some difficulty arose between the local Indian agents and the saints concerning the occupancy of the Indian lands on both sides of the Missouri, but more especially in regard to the lands of the Omahas on the west side. Before departing from Council Bluffs with the enlisted battalion, Colonel

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[25] The quail incident occurred upon the 9th of October and is thus recorded in the *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*: "On the 9th of October, while our teams were waiting on the banks of the Mississippi for the poor saints, * * * left without any of the necessaries of life, * * * and nothing to start their journey with, the Lord sent flocks of quail, which lit upon their wagons and their empty tables, and upon the ground within their reach, which the saints, and even the sick caught with their hands until they were satisfied." (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, bk. 2, pp. 382-3). This phenomenon extended some 30 or 40 miles along the river, and was generally observed. The quail in immense quantities had attempted to cross the river, but it being beyond their strength, had dropped into the river boats or on the bank. (Wells, in *Utah Notes, Ms.*, 7. History of the Church, Cannon, *Juvenile Instructor*, vol. xviii, p. 107. Also letter of Brigham Young to Elders Hyde, Pratt and Taylor, of Jan. 6th, 1847; *Millennial Star*, vol. ix, p. 99).

Allen gave to Brigham Young the following permit of passage through and permission to temporarily occupy Indian lands:

> "HEADQUARTERS, MORMON BATTALION,
> U. S. VOLUNTEERS,
> July 16th, 1846.
>
> The Mormon people, now *en route* to California, are hereby authorized to pass through the Indian country on that route, and they may make stopping places at such points in the Indian country as may be necessary to facilitate the emigration of their whole people to California, and for such time as may be reasonably required for this purpose.
>
> At such stopping points they may entrench themselves with such stockade works or other fortification as may be necessary for their protection and defense against the Indians. This during the pleasure of the president of the United States.
>
> [Signed] "J. ALLEN,"
> Lt. Col. U. S. A. Commanding Mormon Battalion of U. S. Volunteers."[26]

Colonel Allen obtained a written and duly signed permission from representative chiefs of the Pottawattomie tribe for the "Mormon" people then upon their lands and as many more as might come, in their western movement, to settle on their lands, to occupy the same, cultivate and improve them so long as the "Mormons" should not give positive annoyance to these Indians.[27] Subsequently, with much flourish of Indian ceremony and a speech by the chief Pied Riche—surnamed *Le Clerc,* on account, it is said, of his scholarship[28]—the same privileges of occupancy of land was again pledged to the saints; which, however, loses much of its effectiveness when it is known that the Indian title had been extinguished, and they were merely granting what really they neither had the power to give or withhold, and they themselves were to remove from these lands in the ensuing spring.[29]

Of much more importance was the permit granted by Colonel Allen for a portion of the "Mormon" people to occupy the Pottawattomie lands, during the pleasure of the president of the United States, in view of the "Mormons" having, "on due application, raised and furnished for the service of the United States a battalion of volunteers to serve with the Army of the West," in the war with Mexico.

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[26] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.,* bk. 2, pp. 98-9.

[27] See *Note* (b), end of chapter for this document.

[28] Kane's lecture *The Mormons,* p. 99.

[29] See Kane's letter to Brigham Young, *Note* (e), end of chapter.

The colonel also secured from R. B. Mitchell, Indian subagent at Pottawattomie agency, a statement to the effect that the permission of the Pottawattomie Indians was given of their own free will and consent, and apparently was for the good of both parties, "with no prospect of evil arising therefrom."[30] Copies of these documents Colonel Allen placed in the hands of both Brigham Young and Colonel Kane; and it was the understanding that Allen would make this matter of passage through and temporary occupancy of Indian lands an item in his report to Washington. But evidently his sudden illness and death occurred before his report was drafted; and as Colonel Kane about the same time was taken ill and rendered incapable of taking the matter up directly with the Washington authorities, the absolute necessity for the saints remaining at their present encampment on the Indian lands was not clearly presented for some time to the government, and some unpleasantness, arising from officiousness on the part of local Indian agents, was the result. Willingness on the part of the general government to do the right thing in the premises is manifest from the following communication on the subject issued from the office of Indian Affairs, War Department, to Major Thomas H. Harvey, superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis:

LETTER FROM THE WAR DEPARTMENT ON SAINTS OCCUPANCY OF INDIAN LANDS

"WAR DEPARTMENT,
OFF. INDIAN AFFAIRS,
Sept. 2, 1846.

SIR:—Since my letter to you of the 27th July and the 22nd *ult.*, in relation to the Mormons and the desire expressed by them to remain for a time on the lands recently purchased by the United States from the Pottawattomie Indians, and which lie within the limits of Iowa, the subject has been brought to the immediate notice of the president and secretary of war.

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[30] For the several documents in question see *Note* end of chapter.

The object and intention of the Mormons in desiring to locate upon the lands in question, are not very satisfactorily set forth, either in the application to the president or in the letter transmitted to this office, which contained the assent of the Indian chiefs. If their continuance is really to be temporary and for such length of time only as will enable them to supply their wants and procure the necessary means for proceeding on their journey, the government will interpose no objections.

The want of provisions and the near approach of winter, which will have set in before they can reach their proposed destination, would necessarily expose them to much suffering, if not to starvation and death; while on the other hand, a location and continuance for any very considerable length of time near Council Bluffs, would interfere with the removal of the Indians, an object of much interest to the people of that region of country, delay the survey and sales of the lands in question, and thus in all probability bring about a difficulty between Iowa, now about to come into the union as a state, and the general government. Both these extremes, in the opinion of the president, should be avoided. The rights and interests of Iowa, now that the Indian title has been extinguished, may not be jeopardized, while the laws of humanity and the rights of hospitality should not be disregarded.

You will ascertain, if possible, the real intention of these people in desiring to remain, and if you are satisfied that they will leave and resume their journey in the spring, or at such period as the season for traveling will justify, and that no positive injury is likely to arise to the Indians from their stay among them, you will instruct the subagent, and give notice to any other officers of the general government in that quarter, to interpose no objection to the Mormon people remaining on the lands referred to, during the suspension of their journey, or to their making such improvements and raising such crops as their convenience and wants may require; taking care, however, at the same time, to impress upon them the necessity of leaving at the earliest moment their necessities and convenience will justify, and of observing all laws and regulations in force upon the territory for the time being.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

[Signed] "W. MEDILL."[31]

MAJOR THOMAS H. HARVEY,
Supt., etc., St. Louis, Mo."

Colonel Kane not being able on account of his illness to present the matter of the saints' occupancy of Indian lands to the authorities at Washington requested his father, Judge Kane, to do so, which he did with the result that the president after full consideration of the subject in all its bearings deemed it best to "give the permission in the form and on the condition contained in a letter to Major Harvey, the efficient superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis."[32]

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[31] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, bk. 2, pp. 231-233. In a letter to Major Harvey somewhat later President Young said of this communication: "*If the principles advanced by the war department in said communication are carried out, we shall be satisfied;*" and quotes the part of the above letter which virtually amounts to a permission from the government to remain a reasonable length of time upon the Indian lands, and which was intended, doubtless, to be so interpreted by the president and the war department. (See letter of Medill of the Indian office to Judge J. K. Kane, *Note* (f), end of chapter).

The Caring for Stock Problem

In order to preserve their stock through the winter—and it should be remembered they had some 30,000 head of cattle besides horses, mules and sheep—the saints needed a wider range than the Pottawattomie lands afforded, and hence had formed encampments on the west side of the Missouri as well as on the east side. These lands were occupied by the Omaha Indians, now but a wretched remnant of a once powerful tribe. The ravages of small-pox had greatly reduced their number, and the Sioux, their war-like and powerful neighbors, had made successful war upon them until their spirits were broken.[33] They welcomed the saints among them and gave them written permission to remain on their lands two years or as long as might suit their convenience, and to use all the wood and timber they might require, all, however, subject to the approval of their "great father, the president of the United States." The Omahas furthermore agreed not to molest or steal stock or other property.[34] On their part the saints agreed to help the Indians gather their crop of maize, which they were afraid to harvest because of the likelihood of being ambushed and murdered by the Sioux; also to assist them in building some houses, enclosing fields, teaching their young men husbandry, doing some blacksmith ing for them, and trading with them. By making their chief encampment north of the Omaha villages the "Mormon" camp would also act as "a breakwater between the Omahas and the destroying rush of the Sioux."[35]

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[32] See Medill's letter to Judge J. K. Kane in *Note* (f) end of this chapter.

[33] "The whole Omaha nation are a poor, miserable, degraded race of beings, so far as we have any knowledge, and it would seem that they must soon come to an end, if they don't alter their course." (Letter of Brigham Young to Hyde, Pratt and Taylor, *Millennial Star*, vol. ix, p. 98).

[34] See copy of agreement, *Note* (g) end of chapter. The saints were much annoyed by the thievery practiced by the Omahas, however, and it was a matter of much complaint and of several formal conferences between the chiefs and the church leaders. (See *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, for winter of 1846-7, *passim.*)

Notice of these measures of mutual helpfulness between the saints and the Omaha Indians was sent direct to Washington by Brigham Young, asking the president of the United States to ratify the same.[36] But, as in the case of securing permission to settle on the Pottawattomie lands, the matter moved slowly at Washington, and meantime there were petty acts of officiousness on the part of local Indian agents, and especially concerning the use of firewood and timber for building purposes. Having secured a copy of the instructions issued from the war department to Major Harvey, by which both he and the subagents were to be governed in the matter of the Pottawattomie lands, and having confidence that the attitude of the government would not be different with reference to the Omaha lands, and backed as they were by the powerful influence of the Kanes, and following especially the advice of Colonel Kane,[37] President Young and his brethren refused to be disturbed in the matter of settling on Omaha lands, using such wood and timber as they needed, and in preparing for putting in crops in the spring. On their part the agents and subagents continued from time to time to grumble about the use of wood and timber from the Indian lands; and Major Harvey informed the Pottawattomie chiefs that none of the "Mormons" in their tribe—some of the half breeds in the tribe had accepted the "Mormon" faith—would receive any of the annuities, a thing which the chiefs resented but whether successfully or not cannot be ascertained. Major Harvey also discharged a Mr. Case, government Indian farmer for twenty years among the Pawnees, apparently for no other reason than that he had a short time before accepted the "Mormon" faith. A farmer had for some time been promised to the Ottoe Indians, and when they expressed a preference for Mr. Case, whom they had long known, Harvey refused to appoint him, for no other reason, so far as known, than the one for which he had discharged him from the position of farmer among the Pottawattomie Indians, *viz.*, he was a "Mormon."[38] Such were the acts of prejudiced petty officials.

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[35] Kane's lecture *The Mormons*, p. 101.

[36] See *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, bk. 2, pp. 238-240. The communication also calls attention to the fact that a small division of the "Mormon" people are camped some two or three hundred miles west of the Omaha villages on the north bottoms among the Puncas, "where similar feelings are manifested towards our people. Should your excellency consider the requests of the Indians for instruction reasonable, and signifying the same to us, we will give them all the information in mechanism and farming the nature of the case will admit, which will give us the opportunity of getting the assistance of their men to help us herd and labor, which we have much needed since the organization of the battalion." The communication bears date of September 7th, 1846.

[37] For the nature of that advice, see letter of Colonel Kane, bearing date of Sept. 11, *Note* (e) end of chapter.

Finally, however, Colonel Kane recovering from his illness visited Washington in the interests of his friends, the Latter-day Saints, and obtained permission for them to occupy Omaha lands upon the same terms as his father had procured for their occupancy of Pottawattomie lands; and their troubles on that score were practically ended.[39]

NOTE

LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS RELATIVE TO "MORMON" OCCUPANCY OF INDIAN LANDS

(a) LETTER OF COLONEL JAMES ALLEN

"HEADQUARTERS, MORMON BATTALION,
COUNCIL BLUFFS, July 16th, 1846.

The Mormon people having on due application raised and furnished for the service of the United States a battalion of volunteers to serve with the Army of the West in our present war with Mexico, and many of the men composing this battalion having to leave their families in the Pottawattomie country, the within permission to a portion of the Mormon people to reside for a time on the Pottawattomie lands, obtained from the Indians on my request, is fully approved by me, and such of the Mormon people as may desire to avail themselves of this privilege are hereby fully authorized to do so, during the pleasure of the President of the United States.

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[38] Report of Wm. Clayton to the council of the twelve, Nov. 6, 1846, *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, bk. 2, p. 446. Also letter of Willard Richards to Colonel Kane. (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, bk. 2, pp. 470-4).

[39] See excerpt of letters of Orson Spencer to President Brigham Young, dated at Philadelphia, Nov. 26, 1846, *Note* (h) end of chapter.

J. ALLEN,
Lieut. Col. U. S. A., Commanding Mormon Battalion."

(b) THE WRITTEN PERMISSION OF THE POTTAWATTOMIES FOR THE "MORMONS" TO OCCUPY THEIR LANDS, SECURED BY COLONEL J. ALLEN

"Subagency of Pottawattomie at Council Bluffs, July 2, 1846. We the undersigned chiefs and braves representing the Pottawattomie tribe of Indians near this subagency do voluntarily consent that as many of the Mormon people now in or to come into our country as may wish from cause or necessity or convenience to make our lands a stopping place on their present emigration to California may so stop, remain and make cultivation and improvement upon any part of our lands not now cultivated or appropriated by ourselves, so long as we remain in the possession of our present country, or so long as they shall not give positive annoyance to our people.

Oh-be-te-ke-shick. X His mark.
Joseph La Trombois. X His mark.
Wash-e-ash-kak. X His mark.
Mack-e-etow-shuck. X His mark.
Lee-ko. X His mark.
Myn-co. X His mark.
Ton-a-bois. X His mark.
Nau-Kee. X His mark.
Pat-e-go-shuck. X His mark.
Wau-ve-nu-me. X His mark.

Signed in the presence of

J. ALLEN,
Capt. First Dragoons."

(The foregoing is copied from the *Journal of Elder John Taylor,* subsequently president of the church, and stands in the entry for July 2nd, 1846).

(c) INDIAN SUBAGENT MITCHELL'S INDORSEMENT OF POTTAWATTOMIE PERMISSION FOR "MORMONS" TO SETTLE ON THEIR LANDS

"SUBAGENCY OF POTTAWATTOMIES,
NEAR COUNCIL BLUFFS, July 20, 1846.

With regard to the foregoing permission of the Pottawattomie Indians near my subagency given of their own free will and accord to the Mormon people, I willingly certify that it is for the apparent good of both parties, and that there is no prospect of evil arising therefrom.

R. B. MITCHELL,
Indian Subagent."

(d) COLONEL KANE'S LETTER TO PRESIDENT POLK INDORSING ABOVE DOCUMENTS

"CAMP OF ISRAEL, NEAR COUNCIL BLUFFS,
MISSOURI RIVER, July 20, 1846.

DEAR SIR:—Annexed is a copy of a permission of the chief men of the Pottawattomies to the Mormon people to remain in their country as long as suits their convenience, together with a full approbation of the same given by Captain James Allen of the first dragoons detailed to the special service in this region by Colonel Kearney, and a paper of similar purport from Mitchell, subagent for the tribe in question.

Being requested to approve these documents I have no hesitation in at the same time saying that while I can see no reason why the Mormon people should not winter in the valleys of this neighborhood, I consider it exceedingly important to them to be allowed the privilege of so doing. My own advice to them has been opposed to the crossing of too large a body of them over the Missouri during the present year.

Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
THOMAS L. KANE.

The President of the United States."[40]

(e) LETTER OF COLONEL THOMAS L. KANE TO GENERAL (BRIGHAM) YOUNG, WRITTEN FROM POINT A POULES—AFTER HE HAD LEFT THE CAMP OF ISRAEL TO RETURN TO THE EAST

"DEAR SIR:—Mr. Subagent Mitchell has requested me to communicate to you orders he has received from Major Harvey, superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis, to enjoin your people to be careful not to commit any waste of timber upon the lands of the Pottawattomies during your passage through their country, as they have no right to give you the permission you have received from them, the treaty being already ratified by which they have conveyed said lands to the United States; and, he says, your passage through the country should occupy no longer time than is altogether necessary.

I have just informed him that I think it would be more in order for him to write to you in person; and, at the same time offering him the services of Mr. Rockwell, to convey to you his message, have declined the office, which my present weak and low state makes exceedingly difficult to me; yet I must not, in spite of my wavering hand, abstain from saying in comment upon his notification to you, which you may not understand, that it need not give you uneasiness. The Pottawattomies, it is true, have no right to convey to you their timber, etc., title to it being already fully vested in the United States; but there is no reason, in my opinion, wherefore your people should not be justified *ex post facto*, so to speak, by the government in using all that is necessary for their perfect comfort and convenience. My papers will be arranged in a day or two, I trust, in such a manner as to represent themselves, in case my present drawback continues to be of moment, and thus, whether I reach Washington in safety or not, I feel justified in saying to you to stop where befits you, and cut all needful wood and to continue in your present course unchanged.

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[40] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.* 1846, bk. 2, pages 99, 100, 101.

The letter from Major H. and that from Mr. Medill (head of bureau of Washington) upon which it is founded, which have been shown me, are, it is true, quite in rule, but matters shall all be arranged, believe me, as is proper in a few weeks, and you will hear as little of your using timber as of the 'necessity' that your passage through the country should occupy any shorter time than such as suits you best.

Farewell. I am constrained to be brief, very much against my will. Dr. Richards will understand why this stands as my only answer to his kind letter. I did not credit myself with force to write so much when I began. Farewell. Say to my friends for me that which I would say, and yourself and your own, remember me as

Yours sincerely,

THOMAS L. KANE.

GENERAL YOUNG.
Point a Poules, Sept. 11, 1846."[41]

(f) LETTER OF W. MEDILL, HEAD OF OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C., TO JUDGE J. K. KANE, ANNOUNCING PERMISSION TO OCCUPY POTTAWATTOMIE LANDS

"WAR DEPARTMENT, OFFICE INDIAN AFFAIRS,

Sept. 3, 1846.

SIR:—The president has handed me your letter of the 29th *ult.*, and its enclosures, on the subject of giving permission to a party of Mormons, who are emigrating to the west of the Rocky Mountains, to remain for a while and winter in the country recently purchased from the Pottawattomie Indians, near Council Bluffs where they now are.

After a full consideration of the subject in all its bearings, the president has deemed it best to give the permission in the form and upon the conditions contained in a letter to Major Harvey,[42] the efficient superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis, who has already given his special attention to the subject and corresponded with the department in relation to it, and who can communicate rapidly with the Mormons through the subagent for the Pottawattomies, or through Colonel Kane, should he remain in that country.

By the president's direction, a copy of the letter to Major Harvey is herewith enclosed with the request that you will be good enough to transmit it to Colonel Kane.

Very respectfully,
Your most obedient servant,

W. MEDILL,

JUDGE J. K. KANE,
Philadelphia, Penn."[43]

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[41] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, pp. 249-250.

[42] This letter is given on a previous page of this chapter, which see.

[43] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1846, bk. 2, pp. 460-1.

(g) WRITTEN PERMISSION OF THE OMAHA'S FOR THE MORMONS TO TEMPORARILY OCCUPY THEIR LANDS

"WEST SIDE OF THE MISSOURI RIVER,
NEAR COUNCIL BLUFFS, August 31, 1846.

We, the undersigned chiefs and braves, representatives of the Omaha nation of Indians, do hereby grant to the Mormon people the privilege of tarrying upon our lands for two years or more, or as long as may suit their convenience, for the purpose of making the necessary preparations to prosecute their journey west of the Rocky Mountains, provided that our great father, the president of the United States, shall not counsel us to the contrary.

And we also do grant unto them the privilege of using all the wood and timber that they shall require.

And furthermore agree that we will not molest or take from them their cattle, horses, sheep or any other property.

Big Elk, his X mark.
Standing Elk, his X mark.
Little Chief, his X mark."

(h) EXCERPT OF LETTER FROM ORSON SPENCER, ANNOUNCING COLONEL KANE'S SUCCESS IN OBTAINING PERMISSION FOR THE MORMONS TO OCCUPY OMAHA LANDS

"PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 26, 1846.

President B. Young,

I arrived here well on the 23rd inst. in company with Brother Cahoon, twenty-six days from camp; called upon Colonel Kane the next day and was most agreeably welcomed and entertained for several hours. He said he had notified you of the permission of government to remain on the Omaha lands. Had also made an unsuccessful effort to create subagencies to be filled by yourself and others, among several Indian tribes. Did not certainly know what names to nominate to agencies among the Puncas, Creeks, Choctaws, etc. I mention this, that if you think best you may furnish them in case that he should renew the attempt and succeed. He informed me that Lyman Wight had been with the Creeks, but owing to nominal or real intermeddling (he thought the former) had been driven away by them. He wished that your influence might be felt in setting him in order if possible, as his conduct was the occasion of prejudice to the body of saints. * * * The cabinet instructed the Indian agents to disabuse the Mormons and allay prejudice."[44]

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[44] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1846, bk. 2, pp. 535-539

CHAPTER LXXVII

THE FOUNDING OF "WINTER QUARTERS"—PREPARATIONS FOR COMPLETING THE MARCH WESTWARD

THE lateness of the arrival of the Camp of Israel upon the Missouri had rendered impossible any attempt that season to lead more than a small and an especially equipped company of Pioneers into the Great Basin of the Rocky Mountains. The time employed in raising the battalion for the United States army, together with the reduction of efficient men in the camp by reason of so large an enlistment, made it impractical now even to send an efficient company of Pioneers across the plains and into the mountains. Accordingly word was sent to Bishop George Miller's advance encampment not to attempt a journey into the mountains the present season, even countermanding previous recommendations that he move his camp to Fort Laramie or its vicinity;[1] and suggesting that an encampment be made at Grand Island, where his stock could be wintered, and communication be maintained with the principal camp.

A TEMPORARY ENCAMPMENT—"WINTER QUARTERS"

Meantime a place for winter encampment to which most of the saints on the Missouri could be gathered was sought. The design of moving the camps on the Missouri to Grand Island was abandoned. Up and down the Missouri river was a rich growth of wild pea vines on which stock could feed through the winter, and it was finally determined to select winter quarters in the vicinity the camps then occupied. Some twelve miles north of the main camp's first ferry on the Missouri was a "high plateau overlooking the river," and this was the site selected for temporary abode, and given the name of "Winter Quarters," the present Florence, Nebraska, some five or six miles above the city of Omaha.

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[1] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, bk. 2, pp. 129-30.

No sooner was this designated as the temporary gathering place of the saints than the greatest activity prevailed among nearly all the camps to secure a place at what was to be headquarters as well as "winter quarters." As the subdivisions of the camps moved to the designated place the labor forces were organized much as they had been in the founding of Pisgah and Garden Grove. They were divided and subdivided into groups; and soon the "miracle" of a city regularly laid off with streets and byways appeared in the wilderness. It was enclosed by a stockade, chiefly to keep out the thieving Omahas; some rude fortifications were also erected and a blockhouse, a precaution against a possible incursion of war bands of Sioux. A meeting house for council and public worship was built. Workshops of various kinds were erected, and a water power gristmill installed on the river, which relieved the people from the inconvenience, long endured, *en march*, of grinding their grain in coffee mills and between hand stones. The houses were chiefly of logs covered with clapboards or with willows laid across poles and covered with dirt. In some instances open cuts were made in the hillside and then covered with willows and dirt, that made comfortable dwelling places, called "dugouts."[2] By January the 6th there were, of all classes of houses, but chiefly of logs, more than seven hundred, and these by spring were increased to about one thousand.[3]

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[2] "The buildings [at Winter Quarters] were generally of logs from 12 to 18 feet long, a few were split, and made from lynn and cottonwood timber; many roofs were made by splitting oak timber into boards, called shakes, about 3 ft. long and 6 in. wide, and kept in place by weights and poles; others were made of willows, straw and earth, about a foot thick; some of puncheon. Many cabins had no floors; there were a few dugouts on the sidehills—the fireplace was cut out at the upper end. The ridge-pole roof was supported by two uprights in the center and roofed with straw and earth, with chimneys of prairie sod. The doors were made of shakes, with wooden hinges and string latches; the inside of the log houses was daubed with clay; a few had stoves." (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, bk. 2, 1846, p. 534).

[3] "The city was laid off into 41 blocks; and there were 820 lots" (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, bk. 3, p. 61). "Upward of 1,000 houses were built—700 of them in about 3 months, upon a pretty plateau overlooking the river and neatly laid out with highways and byways and fortified with breastwork and stockade." (*Liverpool Route*, published by F. D. Richards, 1855, p. 83. Letter of Brigham Young to Elders Hyde, Pratt and Taylor. *Millennial Star*, vol. ix, pp. 96-100. Also Kane's *The Mormons*, p. 101).

While this "city" was building, others of the organized industrial forces were breaking up lands and putting in the next year's crop; others were herding the great droves of cattle on the rush bottoms of the river, constructing stock shelters, or gathering hay to eke out the range when winter in all its severity should close in upon them. "The miles of rich prairies enclosed and sowed with the grain they could spare," says Colonel Kane, "and the houses, stacks, and cattle shelters, had the seeming of an entire county, with its people and improvements transplanted there unbroken."[4]

At first the city was divided into thirteen wards with a bishopric appointed to preside over each,[5] with instructions to look after both the spiritual and temporal welfare of the people, to suggest industrial activities, and look to the maintenance of the sanitary conditions so needful to the health of the community. Before the winter set in, the number of wards increased to twenty-two.[6] A high council was also selected for Winter Quarters which was in this case authorized to exercise the functions both of an ecclesiastical high council,[7] and also a municipal council. Such a council was given also to the camps at Pisgah, Garden Grove, Kanesville (Council Bluffs), Council Point, and also at Bishop Miller's camp *L' Eau qui Coule,* or Running Water River, about one hundred and fifty miles northwest of Winter Quarters.[8] The nature of the duties of these high councils may be learned from the instructions to Father Morley, the president of the one when installed at Kanesville: "The council was instructed to oversee and guard the conduct of the saints, and counsel them that the laws of God and good order are not infringed. * * * *It will be wisdom and necessary to establish schools for the education of children during the coming winter in this region, and we wish you to see that this is done.*"[9]

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[4] Kane's *The Mormons,* p. 101.

[5] Following is a list of the bishops of these wards: First ward, Levi E. Riter; second, William Fossett; third and fourth, Benjamin Brown; fifth and sixth, John Vance; seventh, Edward Hunter; eighth, David Fairbanks; ninth, Daniel Spencer; tenth, Joseph Mathews; eleventh, Abraham Hoagland; twelfth, David D. Yearsley; thirteenth, Joseph B. Noble.

[6] Letter of Brigham Young to Elders Hyde, Pratt and Taylor: "Our great city sprang up in a night, as it were, like Jonah's gourd; it is divided into 22 wards over which 22 bishops with their counselors preside, and no one suffers for food or raiment unless it be through their own fault, that is, in not asking for it, or being well and too lazy to work; but the fact of so many houses having been built in so short a time, is a proof of the general industry of the people, which will bear comparison with the history of all the nations of the earth, and in all periods of time." (*Millennial Star,* vol. ix, pp. 96-100).

[7] For a description of the organization and functions of a high council see *ante,* chapter lxii, this *History.*

[8] Of the extent of the "Mormon" camps at this time on the United States Missouri frontier, Colonel Kane says: "They had no camp or settlement of equal size [to Winter Quarters] in the Pottawattomie country. There was less to apprehend

It was the policy of President Young to keep everybody employed. It was in pursuance of this policy that he built a gristmill—more to give employment to the men at Winter Quarters than hope of any good his community would get of it, since to them Winter Quarters was but an abode of a few months, two years at the most. "And then," as Brigham Young remarked, "if the saints did not reap any material benefits from it, the Indians whose lands they then occupied, probably would."[10] Besides the building of the mill many engaged in the making of willow baskets, wash boards, half bushel measures, to be sold to the Iowa and Missouri settlers in the spring.[11] These chiefly the occupations of the men. On their part the women, in addition to their house-

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here from Indian invasion and the people scattered themselves, therefore, along the rivers and streams, and in the timber groves, wherever they found inviting localities for farming operations. In this way many of them acquired what have since proved to be valuable preemption rights. [This in 1850 when the lecture was delivered]. Upon the Pottawattomie lands, scattered through the border regions of Missouri and Iowa, in the Sac and Fox country, a few among the Iowas, among the Poncas in a great company upon the banks of the *L'Eau qui Coule*, or Running Water river, and at Omaha, Winter Quarters—the Mormons sustained themselves through the heavy winter of 1846-1847." (Kane's *The Mormons*, p. 101).

[9] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1846-1847, bk. 2, p. 91. The italics are mine. This instruction is emphasized for the reason that the church has been grievously slandered as to its attitude on education. It will be remembered in this connection that at the last conference of the church held at Nauvoo, W. W. Phelps "was appointed to make provision for the writing of books for the education of the youth in the new location"—i. e. in the western wilderness into which the church was then about to remove. (*Ante*, ch. lxix, this *History*). "*December 31st*: * * * Several schools for children have been started in camp [i. e., Winter Quarters] within the last ten days." (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, bk. 2, p. 534).

[10] History of the Church, Cannon, *Juvenile Instructor*, vol. xviii, p. 237.

[11] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, bk. 2, p. 534, 6th of Jan., 1847. "Hundreds of dollars worth have already been completed and there is a prospect of quite an income from this source in the spring." (Letter to Elders Hyde, Pratt and Taylor, 6th Jan., 1847, *Millennial Star*, vol. ix, p. 100).

hold duties, engaged in spinning, knitting, making leggings from deer hides, and family clothing.

INDIAN TROUBLES

In the midst of these industrial activities there were occasional annoyances, chiefly occasioned by the thieving propensities of the Indians surrounding them, and the intermittent assaults made upon the Omahas by the Iowas and the Sioux. Early in December, Big Head, second chief of the Omahas, his family and a few friends were camped near Winter Quarters when they were attacked in the night by a band of Iowas. The Omaha chief was severely wounded, as were a number of others of his party. They were received into the stockade of Winter Quarters and cared for until another party of their tribe passed through the city on their way south, when Big Head and his party went with them to an encampment a little above the old ferry over the Missouri. This second party had been as roughly treated by the Sioux, as Big Head's party had been by the Iowas. Sixty miles north of Winter Quarters they had been attacked, while asleep, and seventy-three of their number killed. Most of the Omaha warriors at the time of these assaults were off on a hunting expedition; "and those who were killed, or remained here," says Brigham Young, "have lived mostly on our cattle, *either by gift or theft*."[12]

THE GREAT SICKNESS AT WINTER QUARTERS

During the fall and winter there was considerable sickness and many deaths in the camps. Colonel Kane in his lecture, *The Mormons,* from furnished data, reports six hundred burials at Winter Quarters before cold weather brought the camp relief.[13] In one of the camps on the west of the river, as early as the 31st of July, he reports 37 per cent of its members down with fever and a sort of "scorbutic disease, frequently fatal, which they (the saints) named the 'black canker'."[14] The camps on the east side of the river fared worse than those on the west, due, it is supposed, to the prevailing southwest winds which carried to them the *miasmata* of the river bottoms. The Missouri Bottom—punned into "Misery Bottom" by the saints, in memory of what they suffered there—with its marshes made by the overflow of the stream in early summer, and fed by sluggish streams that empty into it from both sides—these, in the late summer months, together with the main shrunken stream, become "impure as open sewers," and under the blazing sun give off *miasmata* that render the air heavy of disease germs. The Indians living in the river bottom, the previous year—which was not more unhealthful than 1846—are said to have lost one-ninth of their number. Sure it is that mortality among the saints was heavy, due no doubt as Colonel Kane suggested, "to the low state to which their systems had been brought by long continued endurance of want and hardship." "It must be remembered also," he continues, "that they were the first turners-up of the prairie sod, and that this of itself made them liable to the sickness of new countries. It was where their agricultural operations had been most considerable, and in situations on the left bank of the river, where the prevalent southwest winds wafted to them the *miasmata* of its shores, that disease was most rife.

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[12] Letter of Brigham Young to Elders Hyde, Pratt and Taylor, Jan. 6th, 1847, *Millennial Star,* vol. ix, p. 98. Notwithstanding these annoyances, Brigham Young doubtless here formed his Indian Policy, practiced both now and later in Utah—*"It is cheaper to feed the Indians than to fight them."*

[13] Kane's The Mormons, in Tyler's *History of the Mormon Battalion,* p. 94, note.

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[14] It was also called "blackleg," according to George Q. Cannon who thus describes it: "Among other difficulties with which the saints at Winter Quarters had to contend there was sickness of a serious character. The want of vegetables, and the poor diet to which they were confined, had the effect to produce scurvy, or 'blackleg,' as it was called there. The limbs would swell, become black and the flesh be very sore. There was much suffering and many deaths from this disease. Potatoes, brought from Missouri, had an excellent effect in checking and curing the disease. Above Winter Quarters some miles there had been an old fort, which had been abandoned some time. There horse-radish was discovered growing. It proved a very great boon to the sick at Winter Quarters, as it was a most excellent antidote for the scurvy." (History of the Church, Cannon, *Juvenile Instructor*, vol. xviii, p. 237).

> "In some of these [districts] the fever prevailed to such an extent that hardly any escaped it. They let their cows go unmilked, they wanted for voices to raise the psalm of Sundays. The few who were able to keep their feet, went about among the tents and wagons with food and water, like nurses through the wards of an infirmary. Here at one time the digging [of graves] got behind hand: burials were slow; and you might see women sit in the open tents keeping the flies off their dead children, sometimes after decomposition had set in."[16]

Fires on the Altars of Faith

In the midst of these physical afflictions of the saints every effort was made to keep the fires burning upon the altars of their faith. Religious gatherings were frequent, at which spiritual instruction and admonition were given, and accepted as injunctions to duty. Fortunately the saints passed through the trying experiences of fall and winter of 1846 without being hardened in their spirits; and undoubtedly sorrows that do not harden, tend to sanctification of the heart of man, broaden his sympathies, and make him more quickly responsive to the woes of others—prepare him truly for brotherhood with his fellows. Is that the explanation of of these afflictions which visited the saints in their Missouri river camps? I would not venture dogmatically to say so; but the afflictions came, and that upon the eve of the Church of the Latter-day Saints' embarking upon a community effort of colony planting, the greatest of modern times, and in which brotherhood of man, not a pretty sentiment merely, but a working principle, resulting in mutual and unselfish helpfulness, was of first importance—the one thing needful, since it would beget all else.

Also it should be remembered when counting those who may be regarded as martyrs to the work of the Lord in the New Dispensation, that those who here found premature graves through the enforced hardships and privations of this Nauvoo exodus period, ought not to be omitted, for they who prematurely came to death here at Winter Quarters were

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15. Kane's *The Mormons*, p. 50.

as truly martyrs as those who were killed outright or who perished in the hardships of the flight from Missouri.

The saints were also united during this eventful period of their experience by their joys as well as by their sorrows. Their religion, not of their life a thing apart, but more nearly their whole mental and emotional existence, was fortunately, not austere to the point of crowding out of life the joy of living. It did not bar "rose-lipped laughter," sparkling merriment, intellectual playfulness,[16] the lively strains of the violin, social intercourse, or the dancing party. There were also family gatherings, birthday and wedding day anniversaries were celebrated, music and song nowhere and at no time better served their purpose of cheering the hearts of men than in these wilderness encampments of the Latter-day Saints. Of these things somewhat was said in the chapter describing the march of the Camp of Israel from Nauvoo to Council Bluffs;[17] in the chapter in which was given the account of the departure of the battalion on its "war march," Colonel Kane has described how the "modern Israel" could dance.[18] These innocent amusements were indulged in the camps upon the Missouri, and lightened somewhat the gloom of the trying winter months of 1846-7.

WESTWARD HO!—"THE WORD AND WILL OF THE LORD"

Meantime the serious business of preparing for the continuation of the march into the wilderness, the completion of the exodus from the United States, was not neglected. It was considered in many council meetings of the presiding authorities, it was the chief topic of conversation and of discussion wherever two or three were gathered together. Thought upon it finally so crystallized in the mind of Brigham Young that on the 14th of January, 1847, at Winter Quarters, he was prepared to announce *"The Word and Will of the Lord"* upon the march of the Camps of Israel to the west. The following are excerpts from the—

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[16] "The Mormons took the young and hopeful side [i. e., of their hardships]. They could make sport and frolic of their trials, and often turn right sharp suffering into right round laughter against themselves. I certainly heard more jests and 'Joe Millers' while in this Papillion camp than I am likely to hear again in all the remainder of my days." (Kane's *The Mormons*, p. 48).

[17] *Ante*, chapter lxxii.

[18] *Ante*, chapter lxxiii, note 61.

REVELATION

"Let all the people of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and those who journey with them, be organized into companies, with a covenant and promise to keep all the commandments and statutes of the Lord our God.

Let the companies be organized with captains of hundreds, captains of fifties, and captains of tens, with a president and his two counselors at their head, under the direction of the twelve apostles.

And this shall be our covenant, that we will walk in all the ordinances of the Lord.

Let each company provide themselves with all the teams, wagons, provisions, clothing and other necessaries for the journey that they can.

When the companies are organized, let them go to with their might, to prepare for those who are to tarry.

Let each company with their captains and presidents decide how many can go next spring; then choose out a sufficient number of able-bodied and expert men, to take teams, seeds, and farming utensils, to go as pioneers to prepare for putting in spring crops.

Let each company bear an equal proportion, according to the dividend of their property, in taking the poor, the widows, the fatherless, and the families of those who have gone into the army, that the cries of the widow and the fatherless come not up into the ears of the Lord against this people.

Let each company prepare houses, and fields for raising grain, for those who are to remain behind this season, and this is the will of the Lord concerning his people.

Let every man use all his influence and property to remove this people to the place where the Lord shall locate a stake of Zion.

And if ye do this with a pure heart, in all faithfulness, ye shall be blessed; you shall be blessed in your flocks, and in your herds, and in your fields, and in your houses, and in your families. * * *

And let my servants that have been appointed go and teach this my will to the saints, that they may be ready to go to a land of peace.

Go thy way and do as I have told you, and fear not thine enemies; for they shall not have power to stop my work.

Zion shall be redeemed in mine own due time.

And if any man shall seek to build up himself, and seeketh not my counsel, he shall have no power, and his folly shall be made manifest.

Seek ye and keep all your pledges one with another, and covet not that which is thy brother's.

Keep yourselves from evil to take the name of the Lord in vain, for I am the Lord your God, even the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob.

I am he who led the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt, and my arm is stretched out in the last days to save my people Israel.

Cease to contend one with another, cease to speak evil one of another.

Cease drunkenness, and let your words tend to edifying one another.

If thou borrowest of thy neighbor, thou shalt restore that which thou hast borrowed; and if thou canst not repay, then go straightway and tell thy neighbor, lest he condemn thee.

If thou shalt find that which thy neighbor has lost, thou shalt make diligent search till thou shalt deliver it to him again.

Thou shalt be diligent in preserving what thou hast, that thou mayest be a wise steward; for it is the free gift of the Lord thy God, and thou art his steward.

If thou art merry, praise the Lord with singing, with music, with dancing, and with a prayer of praise and thanksgiving.

If thou art sorrowful, call on the Lord thy God with supplication, that your souls may be joyful.

Fear not thine enemies, for they are in mine hands, and I will do my pleasure with them.

My people must be tried in all things that they may be prepared to receive the glory that I have for them, even the glory of Zion, and he that will not bear chastisement, is not worthy of my kingdom.

Let him that is ignorant learn wisdom by humbling himself and calling upon the Lord his God, that his eyes may be opened that he may see, and his ears opened that he may hear.

For my Spirit is sent forth into the world to enlighten the humble and contrite, and to the condemnation of the ungodly.

Thy brethren have rejected you and your testimony, even the nation that has driven you out;

And now cometh the day of their calamity, even the days of sorrow, like a woman that is taken in travail; and their sorrow shall be great, unless they speedily repent; yea, very speedily;

For they killed the prophets, and them that were sent unto them, and they have shed innocent blood, which crieth from the ground against them:

Therefore marvel not at these things, for ye are not pure; ye can not yet bear my glory; but ye shall behold it if ye are faithful in keeping all my words that I have given you from the days of Adam to Abraham; from Abraham to Moses; from Moses to Jesus and his apostles; and from Jesus and his apostles to Joseph Smith, whom I did call upon by mine angels, my ministering servants; and by mine own voice out of the heavens to bring forth my work.

Which foundation he did lay, and was faithful and I took him to myself.

Many have marveled because of his death, but it was needful that he should seal his testimony with his blood, that he might be honored, and the wicked might be condemned.[19]

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[19] cf. *Heb.* ix:16, 17.

> Have I not delivered you from your enemies, only in that I have left a witness of my name?
>
> Now, therefore, hearken, O ye people of my church; and ye elders listen together; you have received my kingdom.
>
> Be diligent in keeping all my commandments, lest judgment come upon you, and your faith fail you, and your enemies triumph over you."[20] * * *

After this revelation was received and announced to the saints, preparations were made both for the formation of a Pioneer company and companies to follow immediately on its trail. Word was sent to the various encampments naming the men whom President Young desired to go with him in the first Pioneer company and those who were to take the lead in organizing the other companies to follow.

BISHOP MILLER'S DEFECTION

Bishop Miller's company on the Running Water occasioned some anxiety to the council of the apostles. The bishop had for some time manifested a restless, insubordinate spirit.[21] Elders Ezra T. Benson, (who had been ordained in July a member of the quorum of apostles to fill the vacancy occasioned by the apostasy of John E. Page) and Erastus Snow, were sent to present to Miller's camp *"The Word and Will of the Lord* to the Camp of Israel"—the revelation received by President Young; also to take charge of the camp and organize it preparatory to the westward march with a view to its intercepting either the pioneer company or some of the companies immediately following at some point *en route.*[22] Also carrying instructions to Bishop Miller to come to Winter Quarters with his family. The camp at Running Water accepted the revelation and proceeded with the organization of the camp by appointing Titus Billings president, with Erastus Bingham and Joseph Holbrook as his counselors. Miller was disposed to resent the action of the twelve through their representatives, for he claimed the right to lead the camp himself "by virtue of a special appointment from the Prophet Joseph Smith." But Anson Call and ten members of the council opposed Miller's claim, insisting that the twelve apostles were the properly constituted leaders of the church, and they persuaded all but the occupants of about ten wagons, the immediate family and special friends of Bishop Miller, to accept that view of the case.[23] Bishop Miller returned with his family to Winter Quarters, and on the 23rd of March the instructions to the camp on the Running Water were changed, and instead of moving westward, to intercept the pioneers *en route* they were directed to "come down as

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[20] *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. cxxxvi. This is the only formal and written revelation which Brigham Young issued during his long leadership of the church, 1844-1877, thirty-three years; it must not be supposed, however, that because no other revelation was written that none was received. It is matter of certainty, with the immediate official associates of Brigham Young, and of the saints, that a divine spirit attended upon him during his administration as president of the church, giving divine guidance to him both in his words and in his administrative actions; and the inspiration of God bourn in upon his soul was not less real because he did not see proper to commit it to writing. For President Young's views upon this subject and a further discussion, (see *ante*, ch. lxvi. this *History*). This revelation, as is proper in relation to all revelations designed to become a law unto the church, was presented to the several quorums of the priesthood, and enthusiastically accepted by them in a general assembly of quorums met for that purpose in the "tabernacle" at Winter Quarters. (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, Jan., 1847, pp. 19-21).

[21] Bishop Miller's camp among the Ponca Indians, at the junction of the Running Water river and the Missouri consisted of 62 wagons. When he left the main encampment at Council Bluffs his camp numbered 52 wagons; but at the Pawnee villages on the Loupe Fork, Miller's camp was overtaken by ten wagons under the leadership of Anson Call, which from that time became part of Miller's camp. Previous to the coming of Captain James Allen to raise the battalion, Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball had each organized a company of 75 wagons to make a forced march for the mountains that season and Anson Call was made captain of the first of President Young's division. His ten wagons had crossed the Missouri shortly after Miller's camp had crossed, and went as far as the Elkhorn river, nearly fifty miles west of Winter Quarters. From this point on the 22nd of July, Call, under instructions from President Young, continued his westward march until he overtook Miller at the Pawnee villages, as already stated. When the

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united Miller and Call camps were resting on the west side of the Loupe, a tributary of La Platte, an express arrived from President Young instructing them to move no further westward that season, but to go into winter encampment on Grand Island; also appointing twelve men, with Bishop Miller as president, to direct the affairs of the camp, as in other camps that were being settled for the winter. About the same time eight chiefs of the Ponca tribe arrived at Miller's camp, and proposed that he move to their villages on the Running Water. This invitation Miller accepted instead of following President Young's instructions to winter at Grand Island, and dragged his company eleven days' drive almost due north from the general course of the western march of the church. (Biography of William C. Staines, in Whitney's *History of Utah,* vol. iv, p. 118, and Biography of Anson Call, *Ibid,* p. 144).

[22] They also carried with them a long letter from the council of the twelve (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.,* 1847, pp. 30-39), outlining the general plan of the intended movement westward and giving all the news that had come to them from the missions and the battalion.

[23] Biography of Anson Call, Whitney's *History of Utah,* vol. iv, p. 144.

quickly as possible to Winter Quarters, to put in a spring crop,"[24] and under this instruction the camp moved to Winter Quarters. A few days later, namely, on the 2nd of April, Bishop Miller came out in open opposition to President Young and the council of the apostles, and declared that it was his conviction that the church should move to the southern part of Texas, to the country between the Neuces and the Rio Grande.[25] His views not being accepted, he withdrew from the Camp of Israel with a few followers, and went to Texas where he joined Elder Lyman Wight who had gone to the southern part of that state in 1845. He did not long remain united with Wight, however, but left him to become a follower of James J. Strang.[26] Of his later movements and death our annals give no information but his career illustrates the truth of President Young's remarkable prophecy, delivered on the 8th of August, 1844:

"All that want to draw away a party from the church after them, let them do it, if they can, but they will not prosper."

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[24] This action of the council of the twelve was upon the motion of Elder Geo. A. Smith, *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1847, p. 72.

[25] The following is from the *History of Brigham Young*: *"April 2nd,* [1847] * * * I met with the brethren of the twelve apostles, Bishop Whitney, and Miller and others. Bishop Geo. Miller gave his views relative to the church moving to Texas to the country lying between the Neuces and the Rio Grande rivers. I informed Bishop Miller that his views were wild and visionary, that when we moved hence it would be to the Great Basin where the saints would soon form a nucleus of strength and power sufficient to cope with mobs." (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1847, p. 79).

[26] For an account of Strang, see *ante*, this *History*, chapter lxv.

CHAPTER LXXVIII

THE PIONEER JOURNEY: FROM WINTER QUARTERS TO FORT LARAMIE

THE opening of the spring of 1847 brought due the time for the departure of the Pioneer company for the Rocky Mountains. Under instructions from President Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, on the 5th of April, moved with six of his company's wagons to a point about four miles west of Winter Quarters and occupied an abandoned place of former encampment known as Cuttler's Park. This was the beginning of the journey and the neucleus of the Pioneer camp. Other wagons joined Kimball's company as they could get ready, and moved westward to the banks of the Elkhorn, a tributary of the Platte river flowing from the northwest, the road striking it at a point about thirty-five miles from Winter Quarters. The advance divisions of the forming camp here built a ferry boat to cross the entire camp over the river as fast as it should arrive.

INITIAL GATHERINGS AND MOVEMENTS

Meantime, on the 6th of April, the 17th annual conference of the church was held, at which Brigham Young "was sustained as president of the church and (of) the twelve apostles."[1] Meeting was held only in the forenoon. The day previous had been rainy, but on this sixth of April "the sun shone brightly, the heavens smiled,"[2] and seemed to encourage the redezvousing of the Pioneer encampment, so the conference was cut short—preaching and exhorting must give place to action.

President Young left Winter Quarters on the 7th of April and encamped with twenty-five wagons about ten miles west,[3] but returned the next day with the members of the apostles' quorum and others to meet with Elder Parley P. Pratt, who, meantime, had returned from his mission to England. Anxiety to learn the conditions prevailing in the British Mission before departing into the wilderness overcame the president's impatient desire to hasten the movements of the Pioneer company. Elder Pratt gave a full account of the labors of the apostolic delegation to England, and the settlement of the difficulties connected with the "Joint Stock Company" affair, and Hedlock's peculations in emigration matters. Elder Pratt also gave the information that Elder John Taylor would arrive within a few days with the scientific instruments that had been "sent for from Winter Quarters" for use by the Pioneers,[4] and it was resolved to await his arrival. The time was spent by the twelve in directing the movements of the gathering sections of the Pioneer camp rendezvousing at the Elkhorn, which occasioned movements back and forth on their part between that point and Winter Quarters. Elder Taylor arrived on the evening of the 13th, bringing with him the following instruments; "Two sextants, one circle of reflection, two artificial horizons, two barometers, several thermometers, telescopes, etc."[5] The Pioneers were also furnished with maps of the route to Oregon,[6] and also the maps of Captain John C. Fremont's route to California *via* the Great Salt Lake in 1843, and of his return in 1844, *via* southern California, Mohave river, Las Vegas, Rio Virgin, the Sevier, Utah Lake, Spanish Fork canon, Uintah river, and so to Pueblo and the east.[7] Possession of these maps and scientific instruments and the use of them by this company dissipates the claim sometimes made for the Pioneers that they made their journey of a thousand miles through a wilderness without charter or compass or that by which they could be guided.

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[1] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1847, p. 81.

[2] *Woodruff's Journal, Ms.*, entry of 6th April, 1847.

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[3] *Woodruff's Journal, Ms.*, entry for 7th April, 1847.

[4] Orson Pratt's Journal, published in *Millennial Star*, vols. xi and xxi. In support of the above statement vol. xii is quoted, p. 18: "During our stay in Winter Quarters we had sent to England and procured the following instruments preparatory to our exploring expedition," which he then enumerates as given in the text.

[5] Orson Pratt's Journal, *Millennial Star*, vol. xii, p. 18; Woodruff also says: "One telescope," (*Woodruff's Journal, Ms.*, April 13th, 1847).

[6] In his journal entry for 27th of March, 1847, Brigham Young says: "We heard the news read, and examined a map (Fremont's map undoubtedly) received from General Atchison" (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, bk. 3, p. 76). Atchison it will be remembered, was the friend of the saints in Missouri, and their counselor at law during their later troubles in that state. He was now—1847—United States' senator from Missouri (See *ante* this *History*, chapter xxxiv, *passim*). In his journal entry for April 4th, President Young says: "Thomas Bullock made a sketch of Captain Fremont's topographical map of road to Oregon for the use of the Pioneers" (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1847, p. 80).

Leaving the two apostles who had returned from England to take charge at Winter Quarters and supervise the preparations to be made by the larger companies of the saints to start later in the season, when the grass would be more abundant for the support of their teams, the apostles of the Pioneer company returned to the Elkhorn to find their advanced companies all ferried over that stream, and encamped about twelve miles beyond on the Platte river, where the twelve and others from Winter Quarters joined them late in the afternoon of the 14th of April. And now the real journey of the camp could begin, for which all were impatiently anxious.

"I called the Pioneer camp together," says President Young, speaking of the events of the 15th of April, "and addressed the brethren on the necessity of being faithful, humble and prayerful on the journey. Exhorted the camp to vigilance in guarding, and informed the brethren that I had intimations that the Pawnee Indians were advised to rob

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7. Fremont's map of the route and especially of the Salt Lake region is excellent. See section of his map extending from Fort Laramie region to the Great Salt Lake which accompanies this chapter. Fremont's reports are dated respectively March 1st, 1843; and March 1st, 1845; and both reports were published with maps by order of the United States senate in 1845. It was in his second expedition—1843—that Fremont visited the Great Salt Lake. Turning from the Oregon route at a point then called "Beer Springs," a name given the springs by "the voyageurs and trappers of the country, on account of the effervescing gas and acid taste" of the water, but now called "Soda Springs,"—Fremont followed down Bear river—through what is now called Cache valley—to its mouth; but finding the approach to the lake over its marshy delta well-nigh impossible, he skirted the mountain bench land southward to the Weber river. Here he made an encampment and spent several days in exploring the lake.

us. Said we should go in such a manner as to claim the blessings of heaven."[8]

Composition of the Pioneer Company

It was not until the afternoon of the 16th that the Pioneer camp, now complete in its personnel, made its final start on the westward journey. Four miles was the distance traveled that day, and eight the next.[9] But during those two days the camp was undergoing a thorough organization, and formulating its method of travel. The camp numbered 143 men; 3 women; 2 children.[10] Originally the number of men was 144—"twelve times twelve men"[11]—but one of the number, Ellis Eames, taking sick on the 18th, returned to Winter Quarters.

"It was no part of the original plan to include women and children in the Pioneer company," remarks O. F. Whitney, in his *History of Utah.*[12] "The hardships and dangers in prospect were foreseen to be such as would test the strength and endurance of the hardiest and healthiest of men;" therefore men of that class only had been chosen. But Harriet Page Wheeler Young, the wife of Lorenzo D. Young, brother of Brigham Young, being in feeble health, and her life imperilled by the malaria atmosphere of the Missouri bottoms, pleaded successfully for the privilege of accompanying her husband to the mountains. The other two women were Clara Decker Young, wife of President Brigham Young, and Ellen Sanders Kimball, wife of Heber C. Kimball. The success of the first of the trio—born of her necessities—made possible the permission for the other two; and it speaks well for the discipline of the people that the rule that men only should constitute the Pioneer company, thus infringed, was not further violated. The children were Isaac Perry Decker, son of Mrs. Lorenzo D. Young, by a former husband, and Lorenzo Sobieski Young, by her present husband.

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[8] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, bk. 3, p. 83.

[9] *Woodruff's Journal, Ms.*, entry 16th April; also *Erastus Snow's Journal*, entry of April 17th. Snow's Journal is published in the *Improvement Era* (Utah), vols. xiv and xv, 1911, 1912.

[10] For names of all the Pioneers as grouped into companies, called tens, see *Note* 1 end of chapter.

[11] "Whether this was by design or not is unknown." (See Whitney's *History of Utah*, vol. i, pp. 301-2.

[12] *Ibid*, vol. i, p. 302.

There were 73 wagons in the camp;[13] 93 horses; 52 mules; 66 oxen; 19 cows; 17 dogs, and some chickens.[14]

There may be said to have existed in the camp a dual organization, one Israelitish in its character, based upon the revelation received by Brigham Young, and already of record in these pages,[15] and one military in character. The first consisted of a division of the camp into hundreds, fifties, tens, with a captain over each. Two captains of hundreds were appointed, *viz.*, Stephen Markham and A. P. Rockwood; five captains of fifties;[16] and fourteen captains of tens.[17]

THE ORDER OF THE JOURNEY OF THE PIONEERS

In the military organization Brigham Young was elected lieutenant general; Stephen Markham, colonel; John Pack, and Shadrach Roundy, majors; the divisions into tens, with their respective captains of the previously named organization, were brought over and incorporated into this military organization. The camp carried with them one cannon for defensive purposes, and Thomas Tanner was given charge of it as captain, with the privilege of choosing eight men to assist him. The cannon was mounted on wheels, and usually brought up the rear. The captains of tens selected forty-eight men for a constant night guard, "who were divided into four watches to be on duty half the night at a time;" Stephen Markham was made their captain.[18] In special times of danger the night guard was augmented by volunteers, Brigham Young and other members of the twelve are named among those doing such guard service.[19] The order of travel is thus described by William Clayton, the order being issued by Brigham Young:

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[13] In these statements I follow the *Journals* of Wilford Woodruff—see entry for April 16th; of John Brown, see entry of same date; also of Erastus Snow, see entry for May 20th. Others give the number at 72 wagons, among them Wm. Clayton—see his *Journal* published in *Juvenile Instructor*, vol. xxi, p. 230, and now, 1929, published in book form. On the Pioneer Monument at the head of Main street, Salt Lake City, the number is given: 70 wagons; one boat; one cannon. As the boat was put on the running gears of a wagon and used as a wagon bed; and as the cannon was also mounted, these two vehicles were doubtless numbered as wagons by the other authorities.

[14] *Clayton's Journal* entry for 16th of April, 1847.

[15] *Ante*, ch. lxxvii, this *History*.

[16] The captains of fifties were (1) Addison Everett, (2) Tarlton Lewis, (3) James Case, (4) John Pack, (5) Shadrach Roundy. (*Clayton's Journal*, entry for the 16th of April). Why two captains of hundreds and five captains of fifties were chosen when there were less than one hundred and fifty souls in the camp, does not appear. Perhaps however, the excess of officers was chosen in anticipation of the Pioneer camp being joined by the company of Mississippi saints and members of the Mormon Battalion who had wintered at Pueblo, and whom the Pioneers expected to meet in the vicinity of Fort Laramie.

[17] The Captains of tens were as follows:

1. Wilford Woodruff,
2. Ezra T. Benson,
3. Phineas H. Young,
4. Luke Johnson (formerly of the twelve apostles),
5. Stephen H. Goddard,
6. Charles Shunway,
7. James Case,
8. Seth Taft,
9. Howard Egan,
10. Appleton Harmen,
11. John S. Higbee.
12. Norton Jacobs,
13. John Brown,
14. Joseph Mathews.

(*Clayton's Journal*, entry for 16th April).

> "After we start from this spot, every man must carry his loaded gun, or else have it in his wagon where he can seize it at a moment's notice. If the gun is cap-lock, he should take off the cap and put on a piece of leather to exclude moisture and dirt; if a flint-lock, he must take out the priming and fill the pan with toe or cotton. The wagons must now keep together while traveling and not separate as heretofore they have separated. Every man is to keep beside his own wagon and is not to leave it except by permission."[20]

The next day the following order was issued:

> "At five o'clock in the morning the bugle is to be sounded as a signal for every man to arise and attend prayers before he leaves his wagon. Then the people will engage in cooking, eating, feeding teams, etc., until seven o'clock, at which time the train is to move at the sound of the bugle. Each teamster is to keep beside his team with loaded gun in hand or within easy reach, while the extra men, observing the same rule regarding their weapons, are to walk by the side of the particular wagons to which they belong; and no man may leave his post without the permission of his officers. In case of an attack or any hostile demonstration by Indians, the wagons will travel in double file—the order of encampment to be in a circle, with the mouth of each wagon to the

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[18] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1847, p. 83; also *Erastus Snow's Journal*, entry for 16th April.

[19] See *Woodruff's Journal*, entry of 21st April; also *Clayton's Journal*.

[20] Clayton's Journal, entry for April 17th, *Juvenile Instructor*, vol. xxi, p. 230.

outside[21] and the horses and cattle tied inside the circle. At half past eight each evening the bugles are to be sounded again, upon which signal all will hold prayers in their wagons, and be retired to rest by nine o'clock."[22]

On the 19th of April the camp for the first time moved under the above regulations. About twenty miles were covered that day, and the "Mormon" Pioneer journey was fairly begun. The line of march was on the north side of the Platte river, which it closely followed to Fort Laramie, although the choice of the route brought some disadvantages. On the south side of the Platte was the plain, broad road of the "Oregon Trail" from Independence, Missouri, to the Willammette valley, Oregon;[23] and which, by 1847, was a national highway to the great west and northwest, having been opened as a wagon road for many years as far as Fort Laramie; and as far west as the American Fur Company's station on Green river since 1836;[24] thence to the sinks of the Humbolt river, *via* Soda Springs, down Bear river and around the north end of Salt Lake since 1841;[25] and to the Columbia river since 1842.[26] But notwithstanding the national highway to the west and northwest was so near them, the church leaders were persuaded that the inconvenience of making a new trail over the Platte plains was preferable to contact with the western emigration pressing up the right bank of the stream, a large portion of which was from western Missouri, and among the companies were many of the old enemies of the saints, who less than a decade before had aided in their expulsion from that state.

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[21] The wagons were so placed that the forewheel of one wagon locked with the hind wheel of the next, forming a strong and solid corral, except for a gateway on opposite sides of the camp which were always strongly guarded.

[22] *Clayton's Journal*, entry for 18th of April. Also *Woodruff's Journal*, entry for 18th of April.

[23] The "Oregon Trail" up to 1846 extended from Independence either *via* the Kansas river thence down the north fork of the Platte to Fort Laramie, or else up the right bank of the Platte, from near its junction with the Missouri, to the same point; thence continuing up the Platte to the mouth of the Sweetwater, where the north fork of that river was crossed, the route continuing up the Sweetwater to South Pass. Up to 1843, the "Trail" ran from the South Pass westward to Green river, where the American Fur Company had a station, thence veering northwestward to Fort Hall, Fort Boise, Walla Walla, then down the Columbia to the Willammette valley; but in 1843 the very large Oregon emigration of that year, directed by letter from Dr. Marcus Whitman, a Presbyterian missionary to the Indians of Oregon, went *via* Fort Bridger to Bear river. The route followed down this stream northward to what was then called "Beer Springs," but now "Soda Springs," and so made Fort Hall, whence the "Trail" continued to Oregon as stated above. By this new route the emigrants avoided "the mountains about the western heads of Green river, and saved some distance." (See Fremont's *Report of his Second Expedition*, pp. 128-134; and Bancroft's *Oregon*, vol. 1, p. 398).

[24] Loaded wagons as early as 1829 had been driven to Wind river, north of the South Pass, and at different times to various mountain posts. In 1832, for instance, Captain B. L. E. Bonneville, an army officer on leave, led a company of 110 trappers to the mountains "in search of profit and adventure." They traveled the Platte route with a train of 20 wagons, some drawn by oxen. The wagons were loaded with Indian goods, provisions, ammunition, etc. They went through the South Pass to Green river, "being the first wagons to roll down the western slope of the Rocky Mountains." A fortified camp was made on Green river which for a number of years was the meeting place between white traders and the Indians (See Bancroft's *History of Wyoming*, pp. 681-2). But notwithstanding such

REASONS FOR MAKING A NEW ROAD ON THE NORTH SIDE OF THE PLATTE

Once only were the Pioneers tempted to abandon the north bank for the Oregon road before reaching Fort Laramie. This was on the 4th of May. On that date a company of nine French fur traders with three heavily loaded wagons were seen moving eastward on the south bank of the Platte. When opposite the Pioneer camp they sent over the river one of their number to ascertain who the north bank travelers were, and their destination. This was Mr. Charles Beaumont,—

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expeditions as this, westward of Fort Laramie, in 1836, there was no beaten track for wagons as there was eastward of that place (See Bancroft's *History of Oregon*, vol. i, p 129, following Hines' *Oregon History*, pp. 408-9). That year, however,—1836—the American Fur Company took one of its wagons to its Green River station, and Whitman, the Presbyterian missionary physician to the Indians, took another wagon to the same point and thence to Fort Hall, where it was reduced to a two-wheeled cart and driven to Fort Boise, where Whitman was prevailed upon to abandon it. This was the farthest west, up to that time, a wheeled vehicle had been driven (See Bancroft's *History of Oregon*, vol. i, p. 133, also *Note* 2, end of chapter).

[25] This journey was made by Captain John Bartleson's train of 19 vehicles from Kansas river *via* South Pass to Soda Springs, where the company divided; thence Bartleson's division of 32 men, one woman and one child, went down Bear river through Cache valley, thence into Salt Lake valley and round the north end of Salt Lake to the Humbolt river where the wagons were abandoned and the remainder of the journey made as a pack train. (See Bancroft's *History of California*, vol. iv, pp. 268-271; and same author's *History of Utah*, p. 29).

[26] As the overland emigration to the great west and northwest is a movement of which the "Mormon" exodus or migration was an important incident, it is thought proper to deal briefly with the general subject. But as a statement even in mere outline would be too extended for a footnote, and would too long suspend the narrative of the regular text, the subject is dealt with in *Note* 2, at the end of this chapter.

though the leader of the fur traders was Mr. Papan of the American Fur Company, *en route* for the east with furs that had been collected at Fort Laramie. Mr. Beaumont reported a good road on the south side of the Platte, with plenty of feed, and their party had encountered no Indians after leaving Fort Laramie, sixteen days before. This was all in such marked contrast with the conditions under which the Pioneers were making the journey—scant feed, burning prairies, troublesome Indians, no trail—that a council of the whole camp was held that night, after Beaumont had departed, to take into consideration the wisdom of crossing the Platte in order to have the advantage reported of the south bank route. In the council it was decided that it would evidently be to the advantage of the present company to cross to the south bank route; but when the welfare of subsequent companies of saints was considered, it was concluded that the advantage of the north bank route preponderated, and a decision was rendered accordingly. The spirit in which the matter was considered was admirable and perhaps is best reflected in the journal entry of Wilford Woodruff dealing with the incident:

> "We were convinced that it would be better for us as a company to cross the river and take the old traveled road to Laramie, as there was good grass all the way on that side, while the Indians were burning it all off on the north of the river where we were traveling. But when we took into consideration the situation of the next company, and the thousands that would follow, and as we were the Pioneers and had not our wives and children with us—we thought it best to keep on the north side of the river and brave the difficulties of burning prairies to make a road that should stand as a permanent route for the saints independent of the then emigrant road, and let the river separate the emigrating companies that they need not quarrel for wood, grass, or water; and when our next company came along the grass would be much better for them than it would be on the south side, as it would grow up by the time they would get along; and the vote was called and it was unanimous to go on the north side of the river; so the camp again moved on."[27]

The making of a new trail on the north side of the

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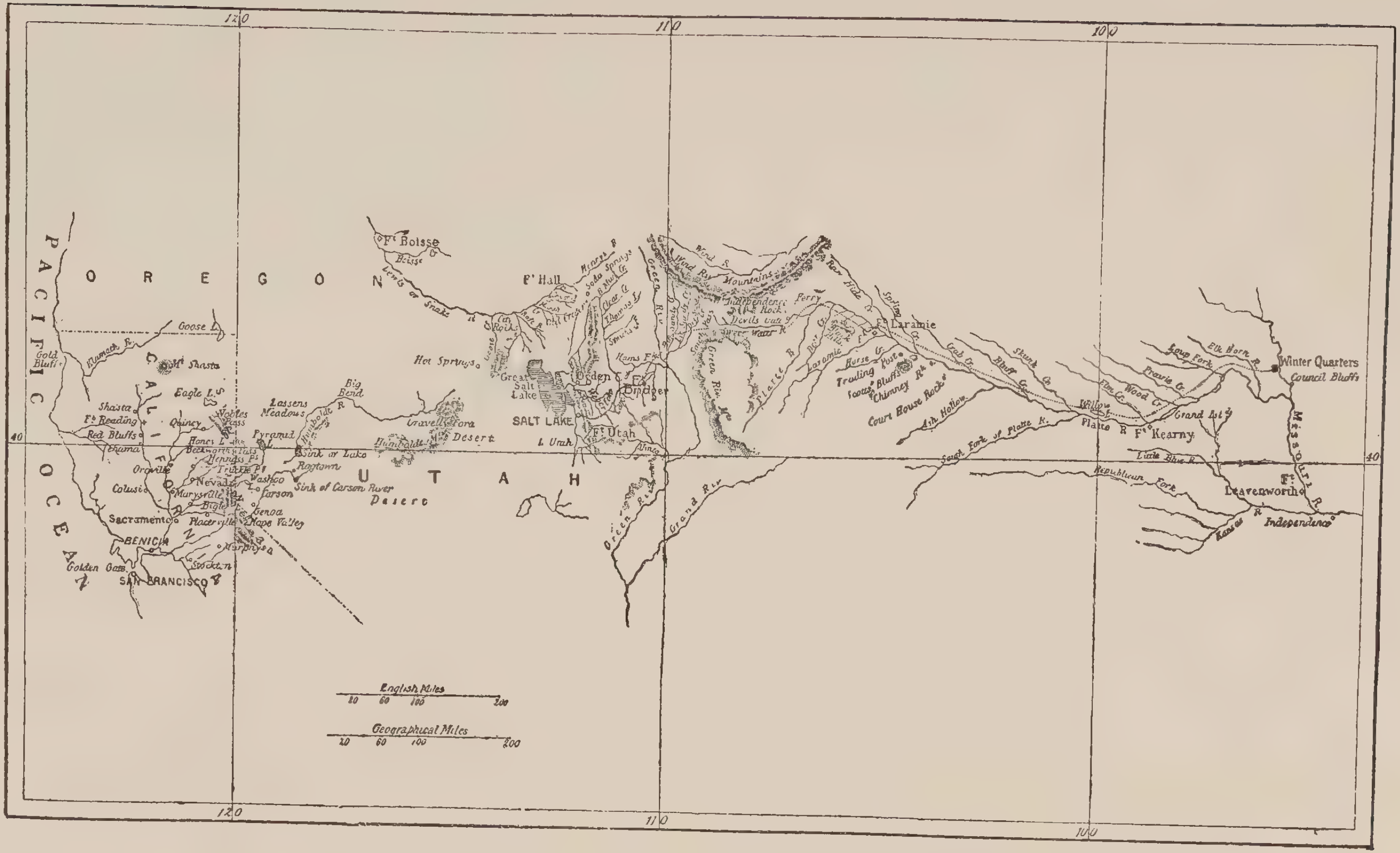
[27] *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, entry for 4th May, 1847.

ENTIRE PIONEER ROUTE FROM WINTER QUARTERS TO SALT LAKE VALLEY, 1847

Map From Fremont's Government Report, 1845.


120
110
100
40
PACIFIC OCEAN
OREGON
CALIFORNIA
UTAH
Gold Bluffs
Klamath R.
Goose L.
Mt Shasta
Shasta
Ft Reading
Red Bluffs
Eagle L.
Quincy
Nobles Pass
Lassens Meadows
Big Bend
Humboldt R.
Pyramid L.
Oroville
Colusi
Nevada
Marysville
Sacramento
Placerville
Genoa
Hope Valley
Carson
Washoo
BENICIA
Golden Gate
SAN FRANCISCO
Stockton
Sink or Lake
Ragtown
Sink of Carson River
Desert
Gravelly Ford
Hot Springs
Ft Boisse
Boisse
Lewis or Snake R.
Ft Hall
Great Salt Lake
Ogden
Ft Bridger
SALT LAKE
L. Utah
Ft Utah
Green Riv.
Grand Riv.
Wind R.
Wind Riv. Mountains
Independence Rock
Devils Gate
Sweet Water
Platte R.
Laramie
Ft Laramie
Raw Hide Cr.
Horse Cr.
Trading Post
Scotts Bluffs
Chimney Rk.
Court House Rock
Ash Hollow
South Fork of Platte R.
Skunk Cr.
Bluff Cr.
Crab Cr.
Willow L.
Elm Cr.
Wood Cr.
Prairie Cr.
Loup Fork
Elk Horn R.
Grand Isl.
Ft Kearny
Little Blue R.
Republican Fork
Kansas R.
Ft Leavenworth
Independence
Missouri R.
Winter Quarters
Council Bluffs
English Miles
20 60 100 200
Geographical Miles
20 60 100 200

Platte was not a difficult thing, the country was flat, the streams to be crossed between the Loupe Fork and Fort Laramie were few and not difficult; and often the camp moved two and sometimes even four and five wagons abreast for the sake of moving in compact form.[28] The roads along the route between Loupe Fork and Fort Laramie are spoken of as "good" in various journal entries.[29] The greatest difficulty that was encountered was the crossing at Loupe Fork, where the company encountered some bars of quick sand in the river bed. A raft was constructed with which to ferry over the goods of the camp, the Pioneers thinking that by doubling their teams they could then take over the empty wagons. After a number of teams were thus crossed over the stream—which at the point of crossing was some eighty rods wide—it was discovered that by following in the same tracks the sand packed and hardened, "so that the teams began to move over with more ease, and finally most of the company forded with their loads by putting about three times the amount of the ordinary team."[30]

Here also they brought into use what they called the

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[28] *Ibid*, also *Fifty Years Ago Today*, May 4th, 1847. This *Fifty Years Ago Today* was a series of daily entires in the *Salt Lake Tribune*, in the semi-centennial year of the "Pioneer Journey," 1897, giving a brief digest of each day's happenings in the Pioneer camp fifty years before, from the time of starting, April 5th, 1847, to the arrival of the Pioneer camp in Salt Lake valley, July 24th, 1847. The collection of incidents is, in the main, made from original sources of information, and is a valuable addition to the literature of the great journey. The *data* for this compilation was furnished chiefly by Elder F. D. Richards, church historian, and Elders John Jaques and Milton M. Musser, assistant church historians.

[29] *Erastus Snow's Journal*—covering from 24th of April, to 28th, "Today we had good roads but very dry and sandy." "The country we passed over today is the most beautiful I ever beheld. A continuous unbroken plain covered with green grass." *May 12th*, "We have traveled about 12 miles today, we have had a warm southwind and good roads." *May 20th*, "We have had good roads along the river bank today, or rather a good chance to make a road, in which we played our part, and left a very good trail behind us, as good as 73 teams, seventeen cows, and 143 men could make"; and so from this entry, *passim*, "good roadways" are spoken of, with occasional mention of sandy hills to cross, or a marshy bottom, but no serious difficulties, to the 1st of June, when the company crossed to the south side of the Platte to the Oregon Trail. So also Clayton's Journal, *passim*, *Juvenile Instructor*, vol. xxi. Orson Pratt speaking of the whole course up the Platte says in his *Journal*: "Our course was up the north bank of the Platte river, along which we traveled slowly; finding the roads very good, the country being level, and the soil somewhat dry and sandy." (*Millennial Star*, vol. xii, p. 18).

[30] *Erastus Snow's Journal*, entry for 24th of April, 1847.

"revenue cutter," a boat made of sole leather, on which they loaded some of their goods and ferried them over the river. This boat in the journey was placed on the running gears of a wagon, like a wagon bed, and filled with the fishing seine the company carried with them, and other fishing tackle and camp paraphernalia. Fish, by the way, at different points *en route* became an important article of diet, especially as a relief from fresh and dried buffalo meat.[31]

Indian Problems En March

Before crossing Loupe Fork the camp was visited by the grand chief of the Pawnee tribe, named Shefmolan. Presents of powder, lead, tobacco, salt, flour and some trinkets were given to the chief, but he was not at all satisfied with the bounty of the camp, saying, through an interpreter, that the presents were not enough. The whites from his point of view were rich and had tea, coffee, sugar, and an abundance of everything, and the camp had given him but little. He said the whites would drive away their buffalo, and that the camp should go back, and not go on, "and other talk of the same import." He refused to shake hands with President Young on departing from the camp. "All of which," says Erastus Snow, "showed to us the influence the traders, the Missourians and others were using with the Indians against us, and which bade us be on our watch."[32] That night the guard was increased to one hundred, fifty on duty each half of the night; including a picket guard of ten in each watch; and here was utilized the well known antipathy of the mule for Indians, by stationing them with the pickets to help them note the approach of Indians if any were prowling about.[33]The cannon was prepared for action. Indian fires were burning all round the camp through the night, and the Pioneers thought it necessary occasionally to fire a few guns, to serve notice upon their red brethren that the camp was watchful.[34] The morning came in quietness, however, and the Pioneers heard no more of the wrathful chief—Shefmolan.

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[31] *Woodruff's Journal, passim.*

[32] *Erastus Snow's Journal*, entry for April 21, 1847. If, however, the childishness of the Indian nature be considered, the disappointment in the smallness of the gifts from so large a company, will be sufficient to account for the petulance of the chief.

[33] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1847, bk. 3, p. 85.

Every care was taken to avoid giving offense either to the Indians or the Indian agents in these parts. As an example of this carefulness, attention is called to the fact that on the 22nd of April the Pioneer company arrived at what used to be a government Indian farming station, and also the site of the Presbyterian mission, at which "Father Case," —now a member of the church of the New Dispensation, and also with the Pioneer company—had been employed by the government as farmer to the Indians. It was at this point also that Bishop Miller's company the year before had halted, and put up some hay and corn fodder for feed, and thence, contrary to the counsel of the apostles, had turned northward to winter at Running Water on the Missouri. A few months before the arrival of the Pioneers at the place the Sioux Indians in one of their raids upon the Pawnees had burned down the government station, blacksmith shop, houses, etc., everything, in fact, but the hay and fodder and the mission station. The result was that the iron work of many plows, wagons, etc., was lying about, many things that emigrants moving into a new country would be glad to take with them. President Young, however, called the camp together and told them "they might use some of the wasting hay and fodder for their teams, but they must not carry anything away, even to the value of a cent."[35] The next day, however, the president seems to have recalled the fact that "Father Case" had been summarily dismissed from the government services by the Indian agents, and that without paying him his salary which was in arrears, and therefore the president so far modified his first instructions as to say concerning plow irons and the like:

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[34] *Erastus Snow's Journal*, entry for April 21st, 1847. It was enjoyed as a good joke next day in the camp that some of the pickets "lost" their hats and guns by falling asleep while on duty during the night; their companions who discovered them "appropriated" these articles to the chagrin of the pickets caught napping. The ridicule to which they were subjected in the camp seems to have been a sufficient corrective, as the fault was not repeated. (See *Clayton's Journal*, entry for April 22nd.)

[35] *Clayton's Journal*, entry 22nd of April, 1847, also *Erastus Snow's Journal*, entry same date. Snow says the hay and fodder was "saved"—i. e. put up "by the brethren who were here last fall."

> "As the government is indebted to Father Case in a considerable amount on unsettled accounts, we are at liberty to take such of these materials and implements as we need; [but] we must make satisfactory settlement with Father Case for them, and he must inform the proper governmental authorities of the amount which he thus collects on account."[36]

Throughout the journey, along the lower Platte,—the home of the four tribes of the Pawnee nation—the Indians were a source of constant anxiety to the Pioneer camp because of their thieving propensities. They made several attempts to creep into the camp, evidently with the intention of stealing horses, and in one instance were successful in getting two of the best in the camp, one belonging to Dr. Willard Richards, and the other to Elder Jesse C. Little. An effort to recover the stolen animals nearly led to an open conflict and bloodshed between the Indians and a party of the camp. The horses were stolen about eight o'clock on the evening of the 26th of April, and several parties went out to search for them, Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball with the rest, these two not returning to camp until eleven o'clock at night. On the morning of the 27th a party was sent back on the line of march to see if anything could be learned of the missing animals. They nearly covered the march of two days, when, observing some movement in the tall grass between them and the river at the foot of a knoll, the horse-hunting party approached the place and when within a few rods of the moving object one of the party raised his gun to shoot, about twelve or fifteen Indian sprang from the tall, dry grass, all naked, except for breech-cloths, and armed both with rifles and bows and arrows. The Indians approached the party of white men evidently with hostile intentions, but when the party of Pioneers presented their fire arms and warned the Indians not to come nearer, the latter changed their manner and asked for "bacco," and one sought to shake hands with a brother Mathews, and at the same time clutch the bridle rein of his horse. But Mathews presented a cocked pistol at him and shouted at him to "go," and the Indian hastily retreated. There were further efforts at parleying by these Indians, and they sought to have the white men accompany them to the river, but the invitation was declined lest it might lead to ambush or to a stronger party of Indians. When the white men turned to leave the Indians fired several shots at them, whereupon the camp party turned upon their foe, but the Indians fled. No shots were fired by the camp party. The tracks of the missing horses were seen in this vicinity, and there was no doubt that the Pawnees had stolen them.[37]

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[36] *Clayton's Journal*, entry for April 23rd, 1847.

THE DIFFICULTY OF FEED FOR TEAMS

A real difficulty confronted the Pioneers in the matter of providing feed for their teams. In their anxiety to get to their destination in the mountains in time to plant crops that season they had started somewhat earlier than the western emigration usually started, indeed before the grass had begun to grow; and this had entailed upon them the added burden of taking along with them some grain for their teams. Moreover, as the camp advanced into the buffalo country they found the Indians giving the plains their "spring-burning." That is to say, it was the custom of the Indians in the spring to set fire to the dry grass left over from the previous year, in order to give the new growth a better and earlier start, and thus bring the buffalo herds to these new pastures. The desire to have the grass of the plains start to grow as early as possible in the spring had led those interested in traveling along the route on the south side of the Platte to fire the grass in the fall, and thus provided earlier pasturage for immigrant and fur traders' trains. But the Indian "spring-burning" on the north side of the Platte often left the "Mormon" Pioneers only blackened plains in which to camp,[38] and their teams nothing but the stinted grain feed, supplemented by such isolated patches of dry grass as had escaped the flames, or the browsing of cottonwood trees growing on the streams and cut down to make such browsing possible. As a result of this scant feed supply their teams weakened, and often the day's journey had to be shortened on that account. It was observed in this connection that the ox teams endured the journey better than horses.[39]

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[37] The story is told in great detail in all the *Journals* of this date—26th and 27th of April.

The Buffalo Herds

Later the company encountered another range difficulty, the immense herds of buffalo that thronged their route and ate down the grass. The first buffaloes were sighted on the first day of May, chiefly in two herds of about two hundred each. The hunters of the camp gave chase and during the day secured ten buffalo; which, the inexperience of the hunters with that class of game considered, was a good "bagging." After this buffalo were plentiful and constantly increased in numbers for some days as the camp proceeded up the Platte; and they left the plains as clean swept of grass as did the prairie fires.[40]

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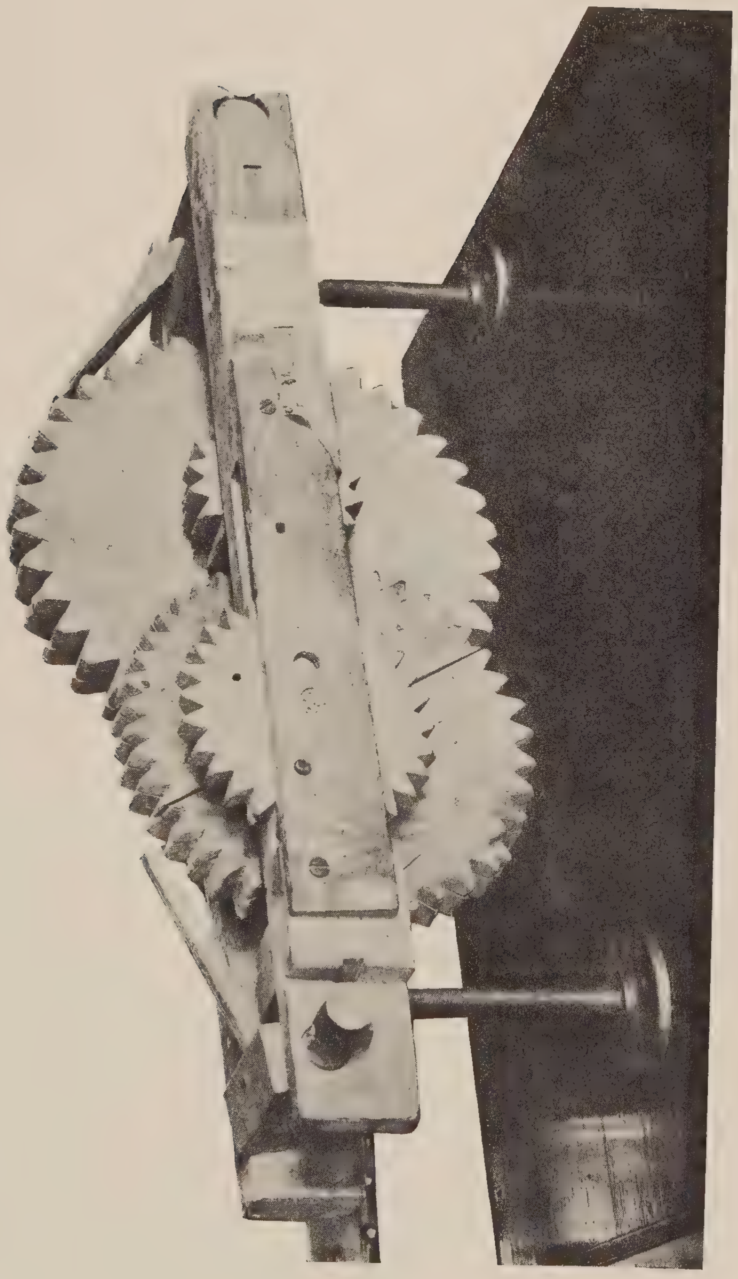
38. One instance of such burning is given by Orson Pratt: "The Indians for a number of days have been burning the old grass; and the fire when once commenced extends its ravages for scores of miles on all sides where it can find dry grass and other combustibles. The prairies and hills in all directions present a blackened surface, with only here and there small spots of green grass mingled with the dry." (Orson Pratt's Journal, entry for May 4th, 1847, *Millennial Star*, vol. xii, pp. 18-19).

39. *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1847, entry for May 24th.

40. *Erastus Snow's Journal*, entry for May 6th. "Many of our animals are nearly famished for want of food, for every green thing is cut off by the buffalo." *Orson Pratt's Journal* for May 8th. *Woodruff's Journal*, entry for 6th and 8th of May, *Erastus Snow's* and *Young's Journals* for the same date. Orson Pratt says in his *Journal* entry for May 6th: "During the time of our halts, we had to watch our teams to keep them from mingling with the buffalo. I think I may safely say that I have seen 10,000 buffalo during the day." "The prairie appeared black,

PIONEER ODOMETER



The march of the Pioneers was so completely under organization that even the killing of game was done by hunters who had been appointed for the camp.[41] An interesting item in connection with killing game *en route* was the instruction of President Young not to kill more than could be used, or that the camp needed.[42] It appears, however, that the instructions, so reasonable, had to be enforced by sharp admonition.[43]

MEASURING THE DISTANCE OF TRAVEL—ODOMETER

The distance of each day's march was recorded by the camp historian. This was ascertained at first by guessing at the distance;[44] and later by tying a piece of red flannel to one of the spokes near the tire of a wagon wheel beside which a man walked—generally William Clayton—who counted the revolutions of the wheel, which, multiplied by the circumference, gave the distance of each day's march.[45] About the 10th or 12th of May an "odometer" was installed, by which the distance traveled was automatically measured. The odometer was the joint product of William Clayton and Appleton M. Harmon, the latter a skillful mechanic. According to Orson Pratt it was constructed upon "the principle of the endless screw."[46] This machine is now in the Deseret Museum at Salt Lake City, and a cut of it accompanies this chapter, though evidently some parts of it are missing.[47]

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being covered with buffalo." "We have seen something, near 100,000 since morning," (*Orson Pratt's Journal*, entry of May 8th, *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1847, entry for May 6th, 1847).

[41] See *Journals* quoted above in this chapter.

[42] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1847, p. 88.

[43] "This morning President Young gave some good instructions to the camp, and sharp admonitions to some for being wasteful of flesh; to the hunters for killing more than was really needed." (*Journal of Erastus Snow*, entry of May 18th).

[44] *Clayton's Journal* for the 8th of May; also *Fifty Years Ago Today*, April 19th, 1897.

[45] Erastus Snow says "During the forepart of our journey we had to guess the distance, and sometimes overstated it. (*Snow's Journal*, entry for 20th of May).

[46] *Orson Pratt's Journal* entry for May 12th. President Young gives the 10th of May as the time when the machine was completed. (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1847, p. 88.)

[47] See *Note* 3 end of chapter.

INTER-CAMP COMMUNICATION—TRAVELING POST SYSTEM

Whenever an opportunity presented itself to communicate with the camps of the saints on the Missouri, the Pioneers availed themselves of it. Thus on the 4th of May when Beaumont crossed the Platte to meet the Pioneers, to which incident reference has already been made in this chapter, the camp halted long enough to write fifty-two letters to their friends and families at Winter Quarters, and the twelve wrote an epistle to the church encamped on the Missouri. These communications were entrusted to Mr. Beaumont who engaged to deliver "the mail" at Sarpee's agency, near Winter Quarters, whence it would be forwarded to the "Mormon" encampments. Quite a supply of provisions was given Mr. Beaumont as compensation for his trouble.[48] Again on arriving at Fort Laramie letters were written some to be sent to Sarpee's agency, thence to the camps of the saints; and others to be held by one of the storekeepers at the Fort,—who kindly consented to act as "postmaster" in the case, until the arrival of other "Mormon" camps, when they would be delivered to the leaders of said companies.[49]

Another means of communicating with the camps that would follow was the erection of posts at striking points of the journey with a message written upon it. For example: On the 8th of May, the north bluff of the Platte valley approaching near to the river, a cedar post was erected, on which the following inscription was written:

From Winter Quarters, 295 Miles,
May 8th, '47. Camp, all well.
W. Clayton.[50]

Two days later a letter was addressed to the officers of the next camp, which it was expected would pass that point in about six or eight weeks. A piece of board 6x18 inches was sawed into a sufficient depth parallel to its surface and the letter placed in the track of the saw; cleats were then nailed on the top and sides to protect it from the weather, and the following direction written upon the board:

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[48] *Woodruff's Journal*, entry for May; also *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, same date.

[49] *Woodruff's Journal*, entry for 4th June, speaking of this volunteer "postmaster" in the wilderness, whose name unfortunately he fails to record, Elder Woodruff says:—"He truly manifested much friendship toward us."

[50] *Clayton's Journal*, entry for May 8th, '47.

Open this Box and you will find a Letter:
316 miles to Winter Quarters, Pioneers.
Latitude 41 degrees.

The letter contained an account of the journey up to that point. The board was then nailed to a pole four or five inches in diameter and fifteen feet long and set in the ground about five feet.[51]

At other times the whitened skull of a buffalo would be used for the same purpose. An engraving of one such "Bulletin of the Plains" accompanies this chapter. Not, however, as an actual reproduction of any one of these "bulletins" but an idealized representation of what they were like.[52] It is engraved as follows:

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[51] *Orson Pratt's Journal*, entry for 10th of May. *Woodruff's Journal*, same date. The inscription is from the latter's *Journal*.

[52] The engraving herewith produced, "Bulletin of the Plains," is photographed from one such "bulletin" on exhibition at the Commercial Club building, Salt Lake City. That skull bears date of "June 3/47, making 15 miles today." Reference to the *Journals* of the Pioneers on the 3rd of June, however, brings them to Fort Bridger and the crossing of the Platte river on that date, which continued also through June 4; so that no "15 miles" was made that day of June 3rd, since the 3rd and 4th of June were consumed in crossing the river. To get rid of this anachronism of this false date and false statement, I have in this engraving changed the date of June 3d/47 to June 23d/47, as close inspection will disclose, and have written this note in explanation, the Commercial Club buffalo skull being the only one available as a "Bulletin of the Plains." I present it in this place well knowing that if not literally a true representation of a skull so inscribed from the plains, it is nevertheless a reminder of many that had been similarly inscribed. (For confirmation of activity of June 3d and 4th, see the *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 3d and 4th, 1897, *Fifty Years Ago Today*.)

"At the sight of these words, traced on the skull of a buffalo, as a guide to the friends who were behind in the great hegira, imagination rouses itself. From the shadow of the past, long vanished yesterdays emerge. The west's wild, free, vivid day's return. With its hardships, its heroism, its romance, and its story of splendid achievement written across the landscape of half a continent, the Old Trail lives for us again." (Charles M. Harvey in *Atlantic Monthly*, July, 1910.)

Pioneers
camped here
June 23rd, 1847
making 15 miles today
All well
Brigham Young.

Westward of Fort Laramie, where they were following the Oregon-California route, the Pioneers planted posts every ten miles, the distance being measured by their odometer. They improved the road as they journeyed over it. "We fully work our poll tax," says Orson Pratt, in his journal entry for the 9th of June, "for we have ten or twelve men detached daily whose business it is to go in advance of the company with spades, iron bars and other necessary implements to work the road."

PIONEER CAMP JOURNEY A SCIENTIFIC EXPEDITION

The Pioneer journey in some respects resembled a scientific expedition. By means of his full equipment of the latest and best scientific instruments for ascertaining latitude and longitude, altitude and the state of the atmosphere, Orson Pratt recorded each day's encampment in respect of these particulars, except on such days or nights—few in number—when solar or luna observation could not be taken.[53] At Fort Laramie he made very careful observations, using the tower in the central part of the fort's buildings for this purpose. "By the meridian altitude of the sun," he records in his *Journal* entry of the 2nd of June, "I determined the latitude of Fort Laramie to be 42 deg. 12 min. 13 sec., differing from Captain Fremont only 3 sec. of a degree, or about 8 rods. By a mean of several barometrical observations during our

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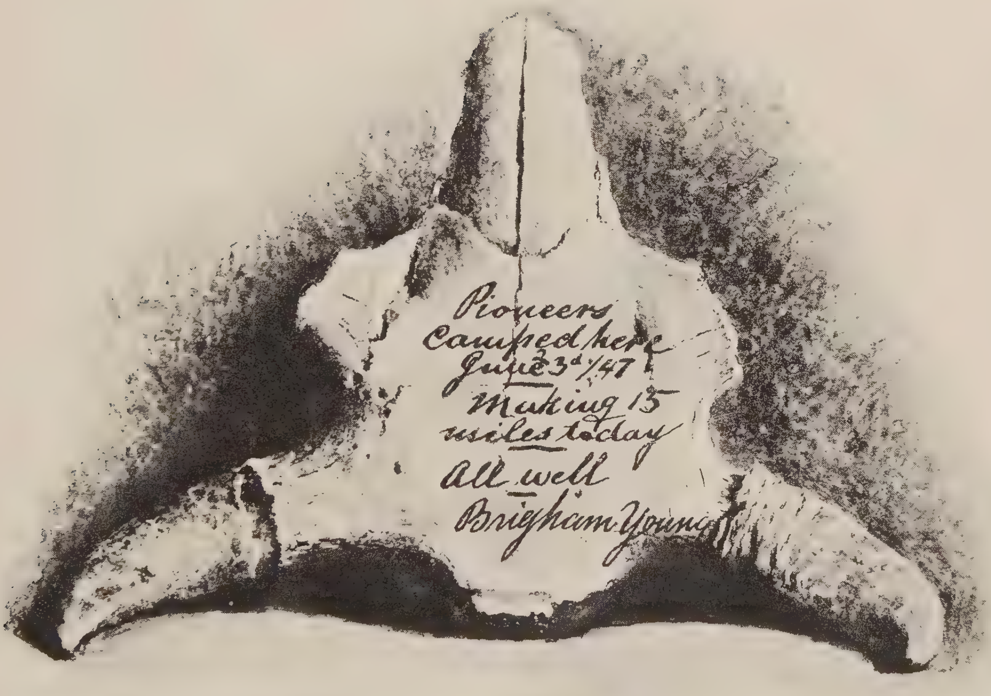
[53] See Pratt's Journal as published in *Millennial Star*, vol. xii, where daily the record is given; see also *Woodruff's Journal, passim.*

"BULLETIN OF THE PLAINS"
An Idealized Representation.


Pioneers
Camped here
June 3d/47
Making 15
miles today
All well
Brigham Young

short stay of three days, the height of the fort above the level of the sea was calculated to be 4,090 feet." On the 4th of June he makes this entry:

> "I again visited the fort, and ascended the tower, which is built over the main entrance of the fort, from which I took the angular distance of the sun and moon, and from a mean of six sights with the sextant, determined the longitude to be 104 deg., 11 min., 53 sec."

And so throughout the journey the careful man of science took and recorded his observations.

In like manner Elder Pratt noted the *flora* and *fauna* and the geological formation of the country through which the route of the company passed. Along the windings of the Platte, of course, there was great uniformity in the structure of the country and in vegetation and animals: yet such physical changes as came into view were carefully noted. After entering the mountain country west of Fort Laramie there was greater variety of scenery and physical structure, with corresponding variation in animal and vegetable life. A few extracts from *Elder Pratt's Journal* will illustrate the care with which he noted and recorded his observations in respect of these subjects:—

> "*May 25th*: A hard frost last night, and at 5½ o'clock the barometer stood 26:350, attached thermometer 40 deg., detached thermometer 35.8 deg. The morning is calm with a beautiful clear sky. * * * We traveled five and a quarter miles, when I halted a few minutes to take the sun's meridian which gave the latitude 41 deg. 41 min. 46 sec. * * * I here took a luna distance for the longitude; also by an imperfect trigonometrical measurement with the sextant at the distance of three miles, Chimney Rock appeared to be about 260 feet in altitude. * * * On account of the late rains the ground has been quite wet during the day. The soil being of soft marly formation causes the water to stand in ponds and pools, which have been numerous for 15 or 20 miles.
>
> *May 26th*: * * * In about four and three-quarter miles we arrived at the meridian of Chimney Rock, our road being about three miles to the north of it. The Platte valley is here about 3,790 feet above the level of the sea. * * * Grasshoppers seem to be an inhabitant of this country: I noticed that they were plenty in dry places. Prickly pears are becoming more numerous. * * * No buffalo seen for several days; antelope yet plentiful.

June 5th: * * * Timber much more plentiful than below Laramie. It consists of ash, cottonwood, willows, and box elder in low places, with mountain cherry, wild currants, pine, and cedar thinly scattered upon the bluffs. The wild sage grows in great quantities, and increases in size as the country increases in elevation. The wild rose flourishes in great abundance. The principal herbs and plants of this elevated region are highly odoriferous, perfuming the atmosphere with their fragrance. A thunder shower passed over just after sundown.

June 7th: This forenoon we have gained in elevation very fast. Laramie Peak, about 12 or 15 miles to the southwest, shows from this position to good advantage. Its top is whitened with snow, that acts the part of a condenser upon the vapour of the atmosphere which comes within its vicinity, generating clouds which are precipitated in showers upon the surrounding country. This peak has been visible to our camp for eight or ten days, and I believe that almost every afternoon since, we have been visited with thunder showers, which seem to originate in the vicinity of this peak.

June 9th: * * * Our road this forenoon passed over a red clay formation, numerous *strata* of rocks appeared in various directions of the same red argillaceous formation. * * * We observed some few stalks of wild flax blossom, the first that we have seen.

June 10th: * * * The rock in the bluffs at this place would make excellent grindstones, being a fine grit sandstone. * * * On the right bank (i. e. the stream on which the camp was formed called "Fourche Boisee") and about three-quarters of a mile from our ford, we found an extensive bed of bituminous coal of superior quality.

June 22nd: At 4 a. m. barometer stood at 24:250, attached thermometer 46 deg., detached thermometer 42 deg. The morning is calm and clear. Early this morning I visited the top of 'Devil's Gate Rock,' having with me my barometer and thermometer. By a barometrical measurement, the perpendicular walls were about 400 feet high above the river, which here cuts through a granite rock, forming a chasm about 900 or 1000 feet in length, and 130 feet in breadth. The rock upon the right bank runs back from the river about a quarter of a mile, and consists of alternated and perpendicular *strata* of gray granite and scoriated trap rock. I observed five alternate *strata* of trap rock trending to the northeast and southwest: these varied in breadth from one to five rods. The bed of the river in this chasm is nearly choked up by massive fragments of rock, which have been precipitated from above. About a quarter of a mile from the river, near the point of this granite hill, appeared some sandstone and conglomerate formation.

And so *Elder Pratt's Journal* continues to chronicle such matters to the end of the journey. The fact that the Pioneers had a man among them capable of doing such work; and also the fact that they had with them a large number of skilled artisans in many lines, and a still larger number of men of general affairs, marked off this company of "Mormon Pioneers" as an exceptional band of western emigrants.[54]

More Redmen Visitors

The troubles experienced by the Pioneers from the thieving proclivities of the Pawnee Indians have already been detailed in this chapter. After leaving the Pawnee country, about Loupe Fork, they had no further trouble from the redmen either of the plains or of the mountains. On the 24th of May, however, they received a friendly visit from the Sioux Chief Owastate-cha, and a band of his people, numbering about thirty-five, including a few boys and women. The visit came about in the following manner: At the midday halt on that date two Sioux Indians came into camp; they were treated kindly, fed and they then passed on, not before signifying, however, that a band of their people were not far off. As the Pioneers were forming their night encampment they observed a party of Indians on the opposite bank of the Platte, who, by hoisting a flag and various maneuvers sought to indicate that they desired to visit the camp. President Young directed a flag to be hoisted in answer, "to let them know that they would be welcome;" and as soon as they saw the flag they began crossing the river. At first the precaution was taken to admit only the chief into the camp, but as the entirely friendly spirit of the band became manifest all were admitted. They had with them a United States flag and presented a written recommendation from Mr. Papan, one of the agents of the American Fur Company. When night came the chief sent his men some distance—half a mile—from the camp to lodge, but he himself requested the privilege of staying with the Pioneers, and a tent was accordingly pitched for his accommodation. Notwithstanding the confidence entertained in the friendly disposition of these Indians precaution was taken to more securely stake down the horses that night; nothing occurred, however, to disturb the camp's rest.

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[54] "There were sailors and soldiers, accountants and students, bricklayers, carpenters, blacksmiths, wagon-makers, lumbermen, farmers, dairymen, stock-raisers, engineers, millers and mechanics of all kinds. They are the ones who were apportioned to perform the labor of building up the future city of the Great Salt Lake, the city of today bearing innumerable monuments of their skill and ingenuity, while in various other parts of the state are public works, factories and settlements which arose under their supervision. (*Fifty Years Ago Today,* April 18, 1897).

The whole company of Indians were fed both on the night of the 24th and the next morning; there was some trading of horses between the Indians and the brethren, some peltries bought, also moccasins and other trinkets, and the Indians recrossed the Platte "in high glee," apparently well satisfied with their visit.[55] These Indians were much better dressed, according to Orson Pratt, "than the Indians on the frontiers [i. e. at Council Bluffs], many of them wearing broadcloth, blankets, and fur caps, ornamented with an abundance of beads and other ornaments, having bows and steel pointed arrows. They were (of) the Dacotah tribe, which interpreted signifies 'cut throat,' but generally known to the whites by the name of Sioux."[56]

"THE LORD'S DAY"—BRIGHAM YOUNG'S REPROOF

The camp in its march usually observed "The Lord's Day" by resting from their journey and holding religious services. Only the emergencies of securing food for their animals, the necessity of making some point for encampment or fording streams to that end, seem to have occasioned the breaches of the custom. There was at times much merriment in camp. There were musical instruments brought along and those who could play them. There was dancing, too, occasionally, notwithstanding the absence of ladies;[57] the games of quoits, of checkers, some card-playing for amusement, scuffling, wrestling, the telling of humorous stories of doubtful propriety, loud laughter, the playing of practical jokes and the like were indulged. If these things were an offense in a company made up of churchmen engaged in a New Dispensation of the gospel of the Christ, and seeking then a home for the exiles of a religious persecution, it should be remembered that in the main the company was composed of young men. Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball were then forty-six years old, respectively; Willard Richards forty-three. These were the recognized leaders of the camp; the rest of the personnel of the Pioneers, with very few exceptions, ranged below this age, and many of them far below it; and they were possessed of the exuberance natural to youth, and that youth alive in a new atmosphere of freedom—of open plains and boundless physical prospects, to which environment their souls were unconsciously expanding.

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[55] *Erastus Snow's Journal*, entry for 24th of May, 1847.

[56] *Orson Pratt's Journal*, entry for 24th and 25th of May. Erastus Snow also says—"They were by all odds the cleanest and best appearing Indians we have seen west of the Missouri River." (Entry 24th of May).

[57] "While I write I hear the sound of music and dancing on the other side of the circle [i. e. of the wagoned encampment]. This is a very common recreation in camp, though we have to dispense with the ladies, a very great *desideratum*." (*Erastus Snow's Journal*, entry for 27th of May).

All this may be urged in extenuation of the sport-loving spirit of the camp; but it did not appeal to the leader, Brigham Young, whom, it should always be remembered, was of Puritan extraction, and in sympathy with that stern school of moral uprightness by training as well as by birth; therefore what he regarded as the somewhat lax camp life of his associates did not escape censure. He had engaged if the camp would attend strictly to its duties, "abide his counsels and observe his directions, they should go safely, and they and their teams be preserved from the Indians and from every enemy."[58] When completing the organization of the camp on the Elkhorn he had predicted their success upon the condition of their faithfulness, humility, vigilance and prayerfulness, while on the journey, "and if they would go in such manner as to claim the blessing of heaven."[59] He therefore reproved the camp from time to time for its tendency to light-

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58. *Erastus Snow's Journal,* entry for 16th of April, 1847.
59. *History of Brigham Young, Ms.,* 1847, p. 83.

mindedness, and sternly reminded his brethren of their obligations to humility and sober-mindedness.[60]

Finally, respecting these matters, things reached a climax on Saturday the 29th of May. The morning of that day was cold and rainy. The horn for gathering up the horses and cattle was sounded, but instead of proceeding on the journey, President Young required each captain to call out his men and each group to stand by itself. It was found that when this was done the whole camp, excepting two, were present, and these two were out hunting. President Young then addressed himself to the camp in the following terms—the account is from *Woodruff's Journal*:

> "I think I will take for my text to preach my sermon from—(these words):
>
> *'I am about to revolt from traveling with this camp any further with the spirit they now possess'.*"

He then proceeded to say:

> "I had rather risk myself among the savages with ten men that are men of faith, men of mighty prayer, men of God, than to be with this whole camp when they forget God and turn their hearts to folly and wickedness. Yes, I had rather be alone; and I am now resolved not to go any further with the camp unless you will covenant to humble yourselves before the Lord and serve him and quit your folly and wickedness. For a week past nearly the whole camp has been card-playing, and checkers and dominoes have occupied the attention of the brethren, and dancing and 'hoeing down'—all this has been the act continually. Now, it is quite time to quit it. And there has been trials of law suits upon every nonsensical thing;[61] and if those things are suffered to go on, it will be but a short time before you will be fighting, knocking each other down and taking life. It is high time it was stopped."[62]

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[60] See *Journals* of Young, Snow and Woodruff for the 18th of May, also for Sunday, 23rd of May, 1847.

[61] This doubtless refers to 'mock trials' in the camp by courts instituted for amusement. In later years such courts were quite common in the camps while crossing the plains.

[62] *Woodruff's Journal*, entry for 29th of May. Also *Erastus Snow's Journal*, same date, and *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1847, p. 90. In Erastus Snow's account of President Young's arraignment of the camp, in addition to the defects and the results pointed out by Elder Woodruff, he adds—"finding fault with one another, all of which would lead their minds away from the Lord to the neglect of their prayers and other duties; and if these things were suffered in this church, and carried out to their ultimate limits, they could lead to insubordination and rebellion against the priesthood, and to dissensions."

So he continued in this spirit to admonish and reprove the camp, showing the brethren how inconsistent the course of the camp had been for a week past or more, for men who were going "to seek out a location in the mountains for a resting place for the saints, even the whole church of God, who have been driven out from the Gentiles and rejected of them; * * * a resting place for the saints where the standard of the kingdom of God would be reared, and a banner unfurled for the nations to gather unto."[63]

Finally he called first upon his fellow apostles of the twelve to know if they were willing to humble themselves before the Lord and covenant to do right; if so they must manifest it by the uplifted hand. Every hand in that council was raised. The same question was put to the high priests, to the seventies, to the elders, and to the members, and all unanimously covenanted to repent of their sins and keep the commandments of the Lord. President Young then addressed himself to the few members of the camp who were not members of the church—"as there were some present."[64] He informed them "that they would be protected in their rights, but they must not introduce wickedness in the camp, for it would not be suffered."[65]

The day following—which was Sunday—was set apart as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer. Prayer meeting was held by the whole camp; and a second meeting at which the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered. "The Lord seemed to accept the offerings of our hearts," wrote Erastus Snow that day, "and poured out his spirit upon us."[66] The twelve and a few others, in addition to attending these public services, "went into the valley of the hills; and, according to the order of the priesthood, prayed in a circle."

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[63] *Woodruff's Journal*, entry for the same date.

[64] *Ibid.*

[65] *Ibid.*

[66] *Snow's Journal*, entry for 30th of May, 1847.

Two of the brethren were stationed on guard to protect these brethren from interruption by the Indians.[67]

The repentance of the camp seems to have been most effectual as we hear no more complaint of their conduct *en route* for their destination.

On the 1st of June the Pioneer camp arrived opposite Fort Laramie. Here the Black Hills project abruptly down from the north to the banks of the Platte river, and the Pioneers learned that further progress with wagons on the north bank of that stream was impracticable, and preparations had to be made for crossing over to the south bank. The distance from Winter Quarters to the point they had now reached was 543 miles. The company had a good road from Winter Quarters to Loupe Fork, a distance of about 140 miles, but for four hundred miles the Pioneers had made a new trail across the plains, and now were about one half the distance from Winter Quarters to Salt Lake valley.

NOTES

1. ROSTER OF THE PIONEER CAMP

The personnel of the Pioneer band, was as follows. They are given as divided into companies of "Tens":

First Ten—Wilford Woodruff, captain; John S. Fowler, Jacob D. Burnham, Orson Pratt, Joseph Egbert, John M. Freeman, Marcus B. Thorpe, Geo. A. Smith, Geo. Wardle.

Second Ten—Ezra T. Benson, captain; Thomas B. Grover, Barbaras L. Adams, Roswell Stevens, Amasa M. Lyman, Starling G. Driggs, Albert Carrington, Thomas Bullock, George Brown, Willard Richards, Jesse C. Little.

Third Ten—Phineas H. Young, captain; John Y. Green, Thomas Tanner, Brigham Young, Addison Everett, Truman O. Angell, Lorenzo D. Young, Bryant Stringham, Joseph S. Scofield, Albert P. Rockwood.

Fourth Ten—Luke S. Johnson, captain; John Holman, Edmund Ellsworth, Alvarus Hanks, George R. Grant, Millen Atwood,

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[67] The spirit in which the reformation was carried out is well illustrated by the course pursued by Wilford Woodruff on the day set apart for fasting and prayer. "In the morning I shaved, cleansed my body, put on clean clothing, etc., read a chapter in the Book of Mormon, humbled myself before the Lord, and poured out my soul in prayer before him: and his spirit descended upon me, and I was blessed and prepared for the service of the day." (*Woodruff's Journal*, entry 30th of May, 1847.)

Samuel B. Fox, Tunis Rappleyee, Harry Pierce, Wm. Kykes, Jacob Weiler.

Fifth Ten—Stephen H. Goddard, captain; Tarlton Lewis, Henry G. Sherwood, Zebedee Coltrin, Sylvester H. Earl, John Dixon, Samuel H. Marble, George Scholes, Wm. Henrie, Wm. A. Empey.

Sixth Ten—Charles Shumway, captain; Andrew Shumway, Thos. Woolsey, Chauncey Loveland, Erastus Snow, James Craig, Wm. Wordsworth, Wm. Vance, Simeon Howd, Seeley Owen.

Seventh Ten—James Case, captain; Artemas Johnson, Wm. C. A. Smoot, Franklin B. Dewey, Wm. Carter, Franklin G. Losee, Burr Frost, Datus Ensign, Franklin B. Stewart, Monroe Frink, Eric Glines, Ozro Eastman.

Eighth Ten—Seth Taft, captain; Horace Thorton, Stephen Kelsey, John S. Eldredge, Charles D. Barnum, Alma W. Williams, Rufus Allen, Robert T. Thomas, James W. Stewart, Elijah Newman, Levi N. Kendall, Francis Boggs, David Grant.

Ninth Ten—Howard Egan, captain; Heber C. Kimball, Wm. A. King, Thomas Cloward, Hosea Cushing, Robert Byard, George Billings, Edison Whipple, Philo Johnson, Wm. Clayton.

Tenth Ten—Appleton M. Harmon, captain; Carlos Murray, Horace K. Whitney, Orson K. Whitney, Orrin P. Rockwell, Nathaniel T. Brown, R. Jackson Redding, John Pack, Francis Pomeroy, Aaron Farr, Nathaniel Fairbanks.

Eleventh Ten—John S. Higbee, captain; John Wheeler, Solomon Chamberlain, Conrad Klineman, Joseph Rooker, Perry Fitzgerald, John H. Tippetts, James Davenport, Henson Walker, Benjamin Rolfe.

Twelfth Ten—Norton Jacobs, captain; Charles A. Harper George Woodward, Stephen Markham, Lewis Barney, George Mills, Andrew Gibbons, Joseph Hancock, John W. Norton.

Thirteenth Ten—John Brown, captain; Shadrach Roundy, Levi Jackman, Lyman Curtis, Hans C. Hansen, Mathew Ivory, David Powers, Hark Lay (colored), Oscar Crosby (colored).

Fourteenth Ten—Joseph Mathews, captain; Gilbroid Summe, John Gleason, Charles Burke, Alexander P. Chessley, Rodney Badger, Norman Taylor, Green Flake (colored), Ellis Eames, who, it will be remembered, returned to Winter Quarters from the Pioneer camp on the 18th of April on account of sickness.

Besides the men, there were three women and two children in the camp. Their names are given in the text of this *History*, and their presence in the camp is also explained.

2. EMIGRATION TO OREGON AND CALIFORNIA, 1834-1847

The published account of the Lewis and Clark Expedition of 1804-6 created a lively interest in the great west and northwest; and men of bold spirits saw the opening both for a life of adventure and a prospect of profit in the fur trade that might be opened with the native tribes of the vast region partly explored and in hunting and trapping either on their own account or for the fur companies then forming in the United States. This threw into the intermountain west an irregular vanguard of the civilization that was to follow; for the trading posts of the fur companies, usually called "forts"—though for the most part without ordinance or garrisons or governmental authority—became the objective points to which the subsequent missionaries and settlers successively moved in their irregular march through and conquest of the west. Following these rough men of the wilderness came the missionaries to the Indians. The missionaries so far as they were Protestants and from the United States, began their work in the northwest in 1834. The first company was headed by Jason and Daniel Lee, sent out under the auspices of the missionary board of the Methodist Episcopal church. They went *via* Kansas river, the forks of the Platte, Fort Laramie, Green river, Fort Hall, Walla Walla and down the Columbia to the Willammette valley.[68]

The next company of Protestant missionaries for Oregon went under the auspices of the Presbyterian church in 1835. These were Rev. Samuel Parker and Dr. Marcus Whitman. They traveled under the protection of a company of sixty trappers and hunters of the American Fur Company, and took the same route as the Methodist missionaries and with wagons as far as Fort Laramie; but at the rendezvous on Green river Dr. Whitman returned to the east to obtain teachers for the proposed mission.

Dr. Whitman in the spring of 1836, was again on the Missouri ready to start a second time for the northwest, and now accompanied by his wife whom during the winter he had married and persuaded to share his missionary labors. Also he had persuaded the Rev. H. H. Spalding and wife, both of Ohio, to join him in missionary work. The wives of these missionaries were the first white women to make the overland journey to the northwest.

There were almost yearly efforts at migrations to either California or Oregon after 1836, but none of any great importance until 1841, in which year a company of forty-eight men and fifteen women, formed into a company to go to California, subsequently joined by a small party of missionaries, hunters and gentlemen seeking pleasure—seventeen in all. John Bartleson was chosen captain of this company, and in emigrant annals the company usually bears his name; but John Bidwell was the historian of the camp. The missionaries carried their effects upon five carts; thirteen wagons made up the rest of the train. The route followed was the Kansas river, north fork of the Platte, South Pass, Green river and "Beer" or "Soda Springs," where the company divided, part going to Oregon *via* Fort Hall, the others making their way down the Bear river through Cache valley, thence round the north end of Salt Lake to the sinks of the Humbolt and so to California.[69]

In 1842 the main body of western emigrants was led by Elijah

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[68] *History of the Northwest Coast,* Bancroft, vol. ii, p. 585.

[69] Bancroft's *History of California,* vol. iv, pp. 268-271; also *Ibid, History of Utah,* p. 29.

White. White had been in Oregon with the Lees, with whom, however, he had quarrelled and as a consequence had returned to the east. But when the settlers of the Willammette valley asked that a civil magistrate or governor be sent to execute such laws of the United States as might obtain there, White was appointed sub-Indian agent with the understanding also that "the settlers, if they chose to do so, could by mutual consent sustain the sub-Indian agent's claim to be regarded as a magistrate among them, although without definite authority from the United States, White was also authorized to use every reasonable effort to induce emigrants to accompany him. By the middle of May, 1842, a company of 112 persons, 52 being men over eighteen years of age, chiefly from Jackson and Platte counties, Mo., rendezvoused about twenty miles southwest of Independence. The start was made on the 16th of May, the train consisted of 18 Pennsylvania wagons with a long procession of horses, pack mules and cattle. The company went *via* the Kansas river, forks of the Platte, Fort Laramie, South Pass, Green river and Fort Hall. At Fort Laramie they abandoned one-half the number of their wagons, at Green river a number of the wagons were cut up and pack saddles made of them; the remainder of wagons were abandoned at Fort Hall and the rest of the journey to the Willammette valley was made as a pack train.[70]

In 1843 a still larger emigrant company was formed near Independence, under various leading spirits from Arkansas, Kentucky, Tennessee, Illinois, Iowa and Missouri, nearly one thousand in all: 120 wagons, and 5,000 cattle. This company veered from the usual route, in that after reaching Green river, *via* Fort Laramie, they went *via* Fort Bridger, and down Bear river to Soda Springs, and so to Fort Hall, where part of the company turned off with L. W. Hastings as leader for California. According to the register kept by McLoughlin, agent of the Hudson Bay Company at Fort Vancouver, on the lower Columbia, the number of emigrants arriving in Oregon for 1843, was registered as 875, men, women and children.[71]

The emigration of 1844 collected at different points on the Missouri, amounted in all to about 1,400 persons. One of the chief companies was that which assembled at Weston, Mo., under the leadership of Cornelius Gilliam of Platte county, who took a prominent part in mobbing the saints at Far West in 1838. (See *ante*, this *History*, ch xxxv.) His company numbered 48 families, 323 persons; 410 oxen, 160 cows, 143 young cattle, 54 horses, 41 mules, and 72 wagons. The emigration followed the Platte route to Laramie, South Pass, Bear river, Fort Hall and so following to the lower Oregon.[72]

The emigration to Oregon in 1845 "was larger than any that had preceded it, three thousand persons are registered as arriving in the Columbia valley that year;" following practically the same route of travel. Speaking of the Oregon California route *via* Fort Hall,

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[70] Bancroft's *History of Oregon*, vol. i, ch. x.

[71] See *United States History*, Morris, p. 315, and note.

[72] Bancroft's *History of Oregon*, vol. i, ch. xviii.

Bancroft says: "Let it suffice to regard the route to Fort Hall as a great national highway along which ox and mule teams passed westward during the season, not with the frequency or regularity or convenience of the more modern railroad trains, but yet without hardships and dangers so excessive as to prevent the travelers from being born and married and buried on the way."[73] Morris declares that in 1845 there were "seven thousand Americans and only a few British in Oregon."[74]

The emigration of 1846 was not so large as that of the previous year. The best evidence yet collected gives the number of emigrants leaving Missouri river points that year as 2,500 persons. Of these, from fifteen to seventeen hundred went to Oregon, the remainder to California, turning to the Oregon route at Fort Hall,[75] though some went *via* Echo and Weber canons and around the south end of Salt Lake; and one company—the Donner party, turning off at the head of Weber canon, followed up Ogden's Fork of the Weber, which was afterwards called "Canon Creek," now "East Canon Creek"—down Emigration canyon to the road around the south end of the lake: thence bearing northwestward for the Humbolt river. In 1847 the number of emigrants to Oregon numbered from four to five thousand, following the same route *via* the Platte, South Pass, Bear river, and Fort Hall. The above are exclusive of those who went to California *via* Fort Hall and other routes.[76]

3. THE PIONEER ODOMETER

The following is the description of the Pioneer odometer given by William Clayton; "The whole machinery consists of a shaft about eighteen inches long, placed on gudgeons, one in the axletree of the wagon, near which are six arms placed at equal distances around it, and in which a cog works which is fastened on the hub of the wagon wheel, turning the shaft once around at every revolution of the wagon wheel. The upper gudgeon plays in a piece of wood nailed to the wagon box, and near this gudgeon, on the shaft, a screw is cut. The shaft lays at an angle of 45 degrees. In this screw a wheel works on an axle (fixed in the side of the wagon) of 60 cogs, and which makes one revolution for each mile traveled. In the shaft on which this wheel runs four cogs are cut on the forepart, which plays in another wheel of 40 cogs, which shows the miles and quarters of miles up to ten miles. The box incasing the whole is 18 inches long, 15 inches high and 3 inches thick."[77]

According to the Deseret Museum Curator's report upon the machine in that institution and the above description by the principal inventor, there are material differences, both as to the size of the machine over all, and the number of cogs in wheels and in the levers for transmitting motion, etc. Which differences may be accounted for either by defectiveness in the description, or by the absence of parts of the machine, perhaps by both of these circumstances.

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[73] Bancroft's *History of California*, vol. iv, p. 575.
[74] *United States History*, Morris, p. 315, note.
[75] Bancroft's *History of Oregon*, vol. i, ch. xx.
[76] Bancroft's *History of Oregon*, vol. i, ch. xxi.
[77] Whitney's *History of Utah*, vol. i, p. 310.

It is said on the label of the machine in the museum that it "was used by Brigham Young and his company to measure the distance from the Missouri river to Salt Lake valley;" and that the "difference between the measurements made with this instrument and those made by the government surveyors, who subsequently passed over the route, *was less than 60 feet.*" Of course this use of the odometer by Brigham Young and "his company" must refer to some journey made by the great leader subsequent to the Pioneer journey; for, as stated in the text of this *History*, the odometer was not installed until about the 12th of May, when the Pioneer company was midway between Council Bluffs and Fort Laramie. It may have been used—this museum odometer—and this record made on President Young's journey the following year,

CHAPTER LXXIX

THE PIONEER JOURNEY FROM FORT LARAMIE TO SALT LAKE VALLEY

FORT LARAMIE was situated about two miles from the south bank of the Platte, on the left bank of the Laramie river, and about a mile and a half from its confluence with the Platte. The Laramie is a mountain stream and its pure, clear water, for the Pioneers, was in pleasant contrast with the muddy, yellow waters of the Platte. It took its name from a french trapper who in the earlier fur-hunting times was killed on the stream by the Arapahoe Indians.

FORT LARAMIE

The walls of Fort Laramie were built of clay or unburnt brick, being about 15 feet high, "and of a rectangular construction, measuring on the exterior 116 by 168 feet. Ranges of houses were built in the interior adjoining the walls, leaving a central yard of about 100 feet square. The post belonged to the American Fur Company, and was occupied by about eighteen men with their families under the charge of Mr. Boudeau."[1] A mile further down the river, but nearer to the right bank of the Platte than to the Laramie stream, was "Fort Platte," founded in 1842, but at the time of the arrival of the Pioneers it was vacated and just crumbling into ruins.[2]

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[1] "Such is the description of the fort by Orson Pratt, see journal entry for June 1st. It differs but slightly from Colonel Fremont's description of five years before. The latter adds the following concerning the entrances to the Fort: "There are two entrances, opposite each other and midway the wall, one of which is a large public entrance; the other smaller and more private, a sort of postern gate. Over the great entrance is a square tower with loopholes, and like the rest of the work, built of earth. At two of the angles, and diagonally opposite each other are large square bastions, so arranged as to sweep the four faces of the walls" (Report of *Fremont's First Expedition*, 1842, p. 39). For a brief history of Fort Laramie see *Note* 1, end of this chapter.

[2] As a matter of fact this "fort" was never completed, "having one side open towards the river." It was erected by Sabille Adams and Co. (See Bancroft's *History of Wyoming*, p. 685).

When it was learned that the north bank of the Platte could be followed no further, the Pioneers obtained the use of a good flat boat from the agents of the American Fur Company at Fort Bridger for the sum of $15.00, and the 2nd, 3rd and part of the 4th of June was occupied in ferrying their seventy-three wagons over to the south bank of the Platte. While the ferrying over was in progress a pit of charcoal was burned and the blacksmiths at three portable forges set to work to repair wagons, shoe horses, etc., preparatory to encountering the harder roads of the mountains; and by the time the ferrying was completed the camp was in condition to resume its journey.

THE MISSISSIPPI COMPANY OF SAINTS

Arriving on the "Oregon Trail," for the Pioneer company, was like coming back into the world again after a temporary absence—like renewing social relations that had been severed. The first item of news they received from the outside world was conveyed to their camp on the evening of its arrival opposite Fort Laramie. This was by two brethren, Robert Crow and George Therlkill, from what is known in Latter-day Saints annals as the "Mississippi company of saints,"[3] which had wintered at Pueblo, two hundred and fifty miles south of Fort Laramie, with the several detachments of the Mormon Battalion that had been invalided and sent there for the winter. Part of this Mississippi company—seven wagons and seventeen people, chiefly the Crow and Therlkill families—had been at Fort Laramie for two weeks, anxiously waiting the arrival of the first company of saints from Winter Quarters with whom they expected to cross the mountains. The rest of the Mississippi company were with the detachments of the battalion at Pueblo and would start for Fort Laramie about the first of June, expecting to follow on the trail of the Pioneer company into the mountains; the battalion detachment, of course, then expecting to go on to California, as per their orders.[4] The Mississippi brethren could give information of the detachments of the battalion at Pueblo, of the four deaths that had occurred, but nothing of the main part of the battalion except its departure from Santa Fe.

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[3] The Mississippi company of saints were converts chiefly from Monroe county, Mississippi, who under instruction from President Young had left their homes in the south, to take up the journey westward. For the history of this company, see *Note* 2 end of chapter.

The next day Amasa M. Lyman, Thomas Woolsey, Raswell Stevens and J. H. Tipets were designated as a party to go to meet the detachments of the battalion and the remainder of the Mississippi company of saints and hasten their journey to Fort Laramie, in order to follow the Pioneer company into the mountains. This party of four men departed on their mission about midday of the 3rd of June, not without anxious solicitude on the part of the camp for their safety, as it was a dangerous mission owing to hostile bands of Indians on their route.

At Fort Laramie the Pioneer company also learned of the immense emigration *en route* from the eastern states to Oregon and California that year. While the Pioneer company was still at Fort Laramie a party of four men arrived from St. Joseph, Missouri, having made the journey in seventeen days. They had passed 2,000 wagons in detached companies *en route* for the west, and some of the advanced companies would reach Fort Laramie within a day or two.[5]

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[4] *Woodruff's Journal* entry for June 1st. Also *History of Brigham Young, Ms.,* 1847, p. 91. The names of the Mississippi detachment here met were as follows:

Robert Crow,
Elizabeth Crow,
Benjamin B. Crow
Harriet Crow.
Elizabeth J. Crow,
Jno. McHenry Crow,
Walter H. Crow,
Wm. Parker Crow,
Isa Vinda Exene Crow,
Ira Minda Almarene Crow,
George J. Therlkill,
Matilda J. Therlkill,
Milton Howard Therlkill,
Jas. Wm. Therlkill,
Archibald Little,
James Chesney,
Lewis B. Myers,

(*Fifty Years Ago Today,* June 4, 1847). This company had a splendid outfit, strong, fresh mule teams, four to a wagon, and good wagons. John Brown gives the number of wagons as six. (*Brown's Journal* for 1847, p. 63.)

[5] *Orson Pratt's Journal,* entry for June 3rd, 1847. These emigrants were represented to be from Missouri, Iowa and Illinois. (See *Erastus Snow's Journal* of same date).

On the "Oregon Trail"

The first and second day out from Fort Laramie the Pioneer company was in contact with two companies of Oregon emigrants, one of which they overtook, consisting of eleven wagons; and one which overtook them, consisting of twenty-one wagons.[6] On the 8th of June they met a small number of wagons loaded with peltries, traveling east from the west side of the Rocky Mountains—these from Fort Bridger. The company—nine in all—was led by Jas. H. Grieve—"from whom we learned," says Brigham Young, "that Mr. Bridger was located 300 miles west, that the mountaineers could ride from Bridger to Salt Lake in two days, and that the Utah country was beautiful."[7]

Grieve also told the Pioneers of a boat made of buffalo skins his party had concealed at the crossing of the North Fork of the Platte, near the mouth of the Sweetwater, and gave the Pioneer company permission to use it. A company of about forty men and nineteen wagons was sent forward as an advanced detachment to secure the Grieve boat, build a raft, kill game, and make all preparations for ferrying the whole Pioneer company over the river.[8]

On the 9th of June the Pioneers were overtaken by a pack train of from fifteen to twenty horses with a small party of men *en route* for San Francisco Bay, *via* the Great Salt Lake.[9]

The Pioneers were now passing over the most pleasant part of their journey. Writing of the camp at Deer Creek, half a mile back from the right bank of the Platte, Erastus Snow says:

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[6] *Orson Pratt's Journal*, entry for 5th and 6th of June. Erastus Snow gives the number in the 2nd company as 19 wagons. (*Snow's Journal*, entry 6th of June).

[7] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1847, p. 92. Wilford Woodruff says: "We visited the traders and got some information from the Salt Lake country which was flattering: good account was given of it." (*Woodruff's Journal*, entry 8th of June).

[8] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1847, p. 92. In this incident I follow the text of Young's *History*... *Woodruff's Journal* gives the number of wagons in the detached company as fifteen; Snow at "about twenty," entries for 9th of June.

[9] *Orson Pratt's Journal*, entry for June 9th. These "Packers" seem to have given out different stories as to where they were from and whither bound, hence there are different accounts of them in the *Journals* of the Pioneers.

> "This is the most delightful place we have seen since we left the states,—a large creek of clear water with a stony bottom, and the way our boys are hauling out the fish is not so slow. Excellent feed, thrifty timber, plenty of game, beautiful scenery; and, added to this, one of our miners had discovered a very excellent bed of bituminous coal up the creek, a sample of which he has brought into camp; also a quarry of excellent sandstone. I have been agreeably surprised in the country of the Black Hills, over which we have traveled a distance of ninety miles from Fort Laramie. Instead of sand and continual barrenness, without water, as I had expected, we have found hard roads through the hills, and at convenient distances beautiful creeks skirted with timber, and bottoms covered with grass, though the country otherwise presents generally a rough and barren appearance."[10]

On the 12th of June the main company of the Pioneers arrived at the Platte ferry, to find that their advanced company was employed in ferrying over the Oregon emigrants, carrying their goods over in the "revenue cutter"— their leather boat,[11] floating over the empty wagons by means of ropes; but the stream was so swift and deep that the wagons would roll over several times *in transit* in spite of all efforts to prevent it. Ordinarily the Platte was fordable at this point, but this was the season of high water. The brethren received for ferry over the Oregon emigrants "1,295 lbs. of flour, at the rate of two and a half cents per pound; also meal, beans, soap and honey at corresponding prices, likewise two cows, total bill for ferrying $78.00."[12]

The ferriage price agreed upon was from $1.50 to $2.00 per wagon, paid in the articles and at the prices named above. "As flour was readily worth $10 per cwt. at that point, it was a good bargain" is one comment, non-"Mormon," however;[13]

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[10] Erastus Snow's Journal, entry 10th June, *Improvement Era*, vol. xv, p. 165.

[11] This boat was capable of carrying from 1,500 to 1,800 lbs. (*Orson Pratt's Journal*, entry for 12th of June).

[12] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1847, p. 94. "It looked as much of a miracle to me," says Wilford Woodruff, "to see our flour and meal bags replenished in the midst of the Black Hills, as it did to have the children of Israel fed on manna in the wilderness." (*Woodruff's Journal*, entry for 13th of June).

[13] *Fifty Years Ago Today*," June 12, 1897.

"We received it as the providence of God in getting the supplies we needed," is what Erastus Snow said of it.[14]

The Pioneer company remained five days at the Platte crossing. They made various experiments in ferrying over their wagons, first stretching a rope across the stream and trying to float single empty wagons over attached to the aforesaid over-stream rope, and drawn by other ropes; but the current, deep and swift, rolled them over and over as if they were logs, much to the injury of the wagons. Then the experiment was made of fastening from two to four wagons together to prevent capsizing *in transit*, but the mad stream would roll them over in spite of all the ingenuity and care of the men. Then small rafts were tried with a single wagon, but the difficulty of polling a raft in water so deep and swift was so great that frequently they would be swept down from one to two miles, though the stream was not more than from forty to fifty rods wide.[15] The plan that proved the most successful was to use a raft,—of which two were made—constructed with oars, well manned, with which a landing with a single wagon could be effected in about a half a mile. In this way wagons even partly loaded could be ferried over, but most of the goods of the camp were carried across in the leather boat—the "revenue cutter."

Meantime a company of the Pioneers had been at work on the construction of a large ferry boat capable of carrying over loaded wagons for the use of the large companies of saints about now starting from the Elkhorn;[16] besides companies of Oregon emigrants were daily arriving, and very willing to pay from $1.50 to $2.50 per wagon to be ferried over; so that the prospect was that the ferry would be very profitable to those who would establish it. Accordingly a company of ten men—one of whom was a blacksmith—under the leadership of Thomas Grover was left in charge of the ferry, and the main company continued its journey.

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[14] *Erastus Snow's Journal*, entry for 13th of June.

[15] *Erastus Snow's Journal*, entry 13th of June.

[16] "From that point, between the 18th of June and the latter part of that month, 560 wagons started for the west, bringing with them 1,553 souls. These companies had 2,213 oxen, 124 horses, 887 cows, many of which had to do service under the yoke; 358 sheep, 716 chickens, and a number of pigs." (Whitney's *History of Utah*, vol. 1, p. 358, also *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1847, p. 94).

AT THE SOUTH PASS—SUMMIT OF THE CONTINENT

The Pioneer company now followed up the Sweetwater river, which they forded back and forth several times, to the South Pass, along the Oregon route.

The name of this noted landmark of the early pioneer days is likely to be misleading since "pass" as marking a continental divide in a mountainous country is generally thought of as some "gorge-like" passageway between abrupt walls of mountains, approached by "winding assents." The South Pass was nothing like that. "It was with great difficulty," writes Orson Pratt, "that we could determine the dividing point of land which separates the waters of the Atlantic from those of the Pacific. * * * The South Pass from some fifteen or twenty miles in length and breadth is a gently undulating plain or prairie, thickly covered with wild sage from one to two feet high. * * * The elevation above sea level [ascertained by him by scientific observation] was seven thousand and eighty five feet. The distance of this pass from Fort Laramie as measured by our mile machine [odometer] is two hundred and seventy five and one half miles.[17]

Fremont's description of the pass is as follows: "The ascent had been so gradual [i. e. from the place of their encampment of the night before—six miles east of the summit of the pass] that with all the intimate knowledge possessed by Carson, who had made this country his home for seventeen years, we were obliged to watch very closely to find the place at which we had reached the culminating point. This was between two low hills, rising on either hand fifty or sixty feet. When I looked back at them, from the foot of the immediate slope on the western plain, their summits appeared to be about one hundred and twenty feet above. From the impression on my mind at this time, and subsequently on our return, I should compare the elevation which we surmounted immediately at the Pass, to the ascent of the capitol hill from the avenue, at Washington. It is difficult for me to fix positively the breadth of this pass. From the broken ground where

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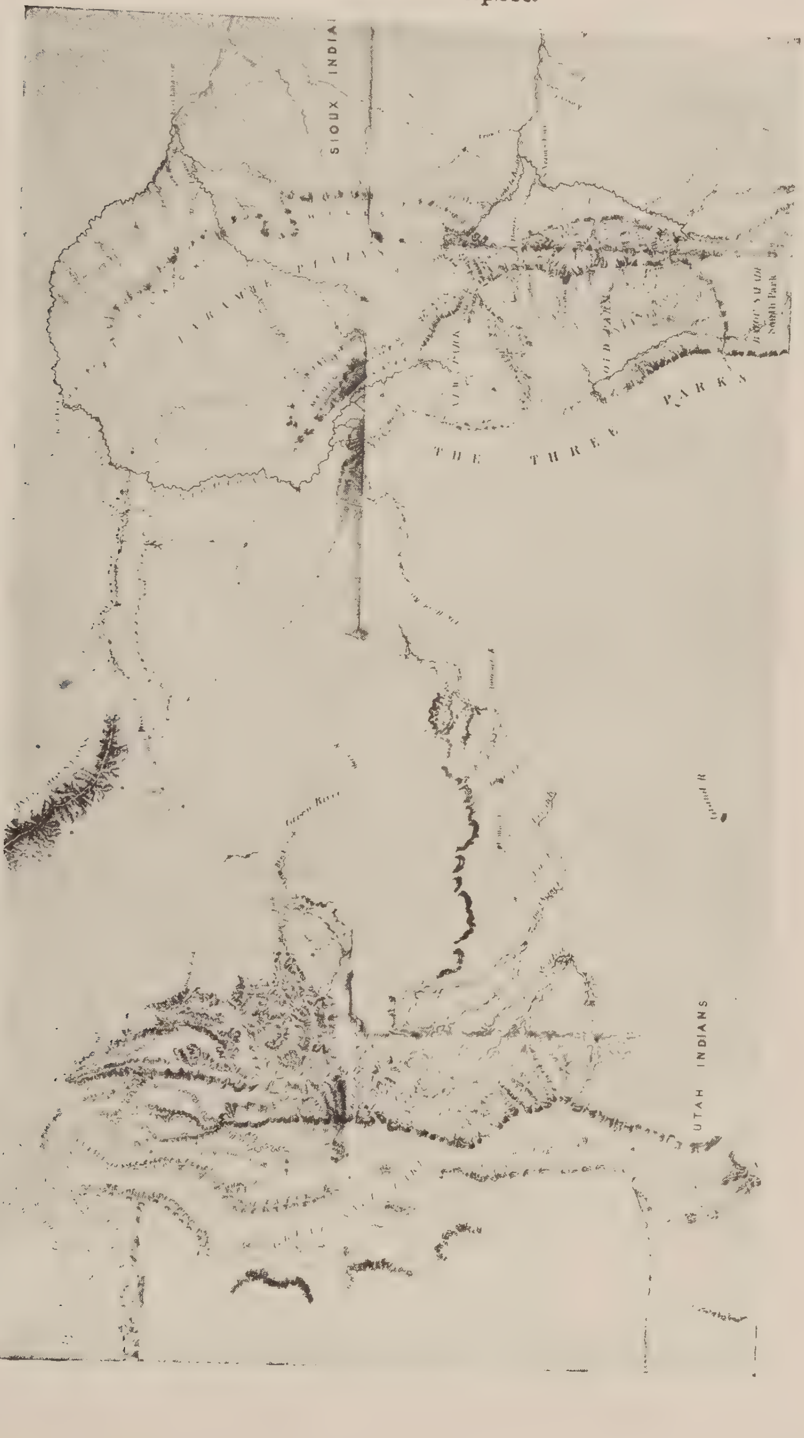
[17] *Orson Pratt's Journal*, entry for 26th of June, 1847.

MAP OF COUNTRY FROM FORT LARAMIE TO THE EAST SIDE OF THE GREAT BASIN

Section of Fremont's Map, Explorations, 1842-1844
Government Report.


SIOUX INDIA
South Park
THE THREE PARKS
UTAH INDIANS

it commences, at the foot of the Wind river chain, the view to the southeast is over a champaign country, broken, at the distance of nineteen miles, by the Table Rock; which, with the other isolated hills in its vicinity, seems to stand on a comparative plain. This I judged to be its termination, the ridge recovering its rugged character with the Table Rock. It will be seen that it in no manner resembles the places to which the term is commonly applied—nothing of the gorge-like character and winding ascents of the Allegheny passes in America; nothing of the Great St. Bernard and Simplon passes in Europe. Approaching it from the mouth of the Sweet Water, a sandy plain, one hundred and twenty miles long, conducts, by a gradual and regular ascent, to the summit, about seven thousand feet above the sea; and the traveler, without being reminded of any change by toilsome ascents, suddenly finds himself on the waters which flow to the Pacific ocean."[18]

MID THE NATIONAL STREAM OF MOVEMENT EAST AND WEST

The Pioneer company was now in frequent contact with companies of Oregon emigrants, and occasionally met companies of traders, trappers and mountaineers moving eastward. Near the South Pass, for instance, at which the company arrived on the 26th of June, they met a number of men from the Oregon settlements, led to this point by one Major Moses Harris, who had been a mountaineer for twenty or twenty-five years. He had extensive knowledge of the country from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific. "We obtained much information from him in relation to the great interior basin of the Salt Lake," says Orson Pratt, "the country of our destination. His report like that of Captain Fremont's is rather unfavorable to the formation of a colony in this basin, principally on account of the scarcity of timber. He said that he had traveled the whole circumference of the lake, and there was no outlet to it."[19] Harris had with him "some Oregon newspapers; also [copies of the] *California Star*, published by Samuel Brannan,[20] the leader of the *Brooklyn* colony of saints to California.

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[18] *Report of Fremont's First Exploring Expedition*, 1842-3, p. 60, *Government Document* No. 166.

[19] *Orson Pratt's Journal*, entry for 26th of June.

[20] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, bk. 3, entry for June 27th, 1847.

It was at this encampment also, called by some "Pacific Springs"—"fourteen miles from the last crossing of the Sweetwater"—that the Pioneer company met a somewhat noted mountain character in the person of Thomas L. Smith who had a trading post on Bear river, in the neighborhood of Soda Springs. He described Bear Lake, Cache, and Marsh valleys, all of which he had visited in the course of his trapping and trading expeditions. "He earnestly advised us," says Erastus Snow, "to direct our course northwestward from Bridger, and make our way into Cache valley; and he so far made an impression upon the camp, that we were induced to enter into an engagement with him to meet us at a certain time and place some two weeks afterwards to pilot our company into that country. But for some reason, which to this day has never to my knowledge been explained, he failed to meet us; and I have ever recognized his failure to do it as a providence of the Allwise God. The impressions of the Spirit signified that we should bear rather to the south of west from Bridger than to the north of west."[21]

THE MEETING WITH JAMES BRIDGER

On the 28th of June the Pioneers met James Bridger, mountaineer and guide, also a member of the American Fur Company. Himself and two companions were *en route* for Fort Laramie. He expressed a desire for a conference with President Young and the twelve; they were equally anxious to have an interview with him. An early encampment was accordingly made and the mountaineers invited to spend the night with the camp.[22] Mr. Bridger "being a man of extensive acquaintance with this interior country," says Orson Pratt, "we made many inquiries of him in relation to the 'Great Basin' and the country south. His information was rather more favorable than that of Major Harris."[23] "Mr.

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[21] *Utah Pioneers*, pp. 44-5. See also *Note* 3, end of chapter.

[22] *Woodruff's Journal*, entry for 28th of June.

[23] *Orson Pratt's Journal*, entry for 28th of June.

Bridger * * * camped with us and gave us much information relative to roads, streams, and country generally."[24] "Bridger considered it imprudent to bring a large population into the Great Basin," says President Young, "until it was ascertained that grain could be raised; he said he would give $1,000 for a bushel of corn raised in that basin.[25] President Young replied: "Wait a little, and we will show you."[26]

A Green River Meeting With Brannan

At Green river, which the Pioneer company reached on the 30th of June, Samuel Brannan, leader of the *Brooklyn* colony rode into the Pioneer camp, direct from San Francisco. He and two companions had made the journey *via* Fort Hall. He brought news from the colony of *Brooklyn* saints now settling in the San Joaquin valley; of the battalion which had reached the Pacific coast; of the founding of the *California Star,* a file of sixteen numbers of which he had brought with him; of the richness of California's soil; of her salubrious climate; of the conquest of the country by the United States; and of the *Brooklyn* colony's anticipation of the arrival of the Pioneers on the Pacific coast doomed, however, to disappointment. The reception given to Brannan was evidently not very cordial. There was recollection of course of the contract he had made with the ex-postmaster general of the United States, Amos Kendall, "A. G. Benson & Co.," which, if carried into effect, would have loaded the material progress of the saints with intolerable burdens. It was in vain that he urged the advantage of the Pacific slope as a place of settlement for the saints,[27] though he remained, and was identified with the activities of the Pioneers, until their movements indicated permanent settlement in what he regarded as a barren waste.

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[24] *Erastus Snow's Journal,* entry 28th of June. Also *Woodruff's Journal* to the same effect.

[25] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.,* bk. 3, p. 95. Erastus Snow in his great reminiscent discourse on the "Utah Pioneers" (p. 43) delivered in Salt Lake City, July 25th, 1880, said Bridger's offer was "for the first *ear of corn* raised in the valley of the Great Salt Lake or the valley of the Utah Outlet," meaning Utah Lake valley, some 30 miles south of Salt Lake. Snow in his discourse spoke extemporaneously and from memory. There is a sense in which Bridger's offer of $1,000 for a bushel of corn raised in the Salt Lake valley can be understood other than regarding it as an expression of belief in the impossibility of the thing, *viz.,* an expression of hope that it might be done—a reward for a desired demonstration of the thing. *Wilford Woodruff's Journal* account of the interview with Bridger would warrant such a view. He says: "He (Bridger) spoke more highly of the Great Basin for a settlement than Major Harris did; *that it was his paradise,* and if this people [i. e. the saints] settled in it, he wanted to settle with them. There was but one thing that could operate against it becoming a great grain country, and that would be the frost. He did not know but the frost would kill the corn" (*Woodruff's Journal,* entry for 28th of June)—he would give a $1,000 to have a demonstration that this was not so, as Salt lake valley, "his paradise," would then be known as a desirable place for settlement. Bridger was evidently tiring of his isolated, half-outcast life, and desired to settle with white people, proven by the fact of his purchase of a farm less than ten years later at Westport, Missouri, and his attempt to settle down to a regular life. (Bancroft's *History of Wyoming,* p 685, note).

[26] Erastus Snow in *Utah Pioneers,* p. 43.

At Green river ferry the Pioneers remained until the 3rd of July, detained by the necessity of making rafts with which to effect the crossing of that stream as its waters were high. The camp moved three miles from the ferry down the right bank and there spent the fourth of July—"Independence Day," some of them noted in their *Journals*,[28] also "the Lord's Day." At this encampment it was decided that a few of the Pioneers should return eastward to meet the large emigrating companies of saints now *en route* from Winter Quarters, and act as their guides to Green river. Five volunteered,[29] taking with them the "revenue cutter"—wagon, as it constituted a sort of light wagon and there were not horses enough to spare to mount the "pilots," as the returning company was called.

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[27] Brannan had made a brave march of more than 800 miles to confer with the church leaders, and that with only two companions. Orson Pratt thus describes that journey in his *Journal*, entry of June 30th, 1847, *Millennial Star*, vol. xii, p. 161: "He left the Bay of San Francisco on the 4th of April last, expressly to meet us, accompanied by only two persons; and, having at this early season of the year braved the dangers of the deep snows upon the mountains, and the wild and savage tribes of Indians that roam over these terrific regions, he arrived in safety at our camp; having also passed directly over the camping ground where about 40 or 50 California emigrants had perished, and been eaten up by their fellow-sufferers only a few days before. Their skulls, bones, and carcasses lay strewed in every direction. He also met the hindmost one of these unfortunate creatures making his way into the settlements. He was a German, and had lived upon human flesh for several weeks." The party that perished as described above was the ill-fated Donner party, of which more later.

[28] *Journal of Wilford Woodruff*, entry for 4th of July.

[29] Their names were Phineas H. Young, Geo. Woodward, Aaron Farr, Eric Clines and Rodney Badger.

CONTACT WITH A DETACHMENT OF THE MORMON BATTALION

Brigham Young with Dr. Willard Richards, Heber C. Kimball and others accompanied this party back to Green river ferry. Here they saw a group of thirteen horsemen on the opposite bank with their baggage stacked on one of the Pioneer's rafts preparatory to crossing over the river. It was soon learned that the party was an advanced company of Captain James Brown's Pueblo detachment of the Mormon Battalion, and they were given three cheers. "I led out," says President Young, "in exclaiming 'Hosannah! Hosannah! Give glory to God and the Lamb, Amen!' In which all joined simultaneously."[30] The members of the battalion were conducted to the camp where also they were received with great rejoicing. They were in pursuit of horse thieves who had stolen about a dozen of the battalion horses of which they had recovered all but one or two, and they understood that these were at Fort Bridger to which place they were *en route*. They reported the Pueblo detachment as not more than seven days drive east of the Green river.

The incident with names of the members comprising the thirteen men of the battalion is treated as follows in the *Journal of Thomas Bullock*—which was regarded as the official *Journal* of the Pioneer camp:

> "*July 4th* (1847): * * * Accompanied by President Young, Kimball, Richards, the five brethren, appointed to go East to meet the on-coming companies of saints from Winter Quarters, they arrived at the ferry about half past eleven and met 13 of the battalion who had placed their goods on the raft, preparatory to crossing over the river. It was decided that one of them, Wm. Walker, should return with our five men. The presidency and brethren came to camp at a quarter past two—formed a line. President Young spoke a few words; the camp gave three cheers for their safe return, all crying, 'Hosanna, Hosanna, Hosanna, give glory to God and the Lamb, Amen, Amen!' Then dismissed to receive congratulations of the brethren.

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[30] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1847, p. 96.

July 5th: * * *

Thomas S. Williams,	Samuel Gould,
John Buchannan,	Benjamin Roberts,
Allen Compton,	James Oakley,
Joel J. Terrial,	George Clarke,
Francilias Durfee,	Thomas Bingham,
Andrew J. Shupe,	William Castro.

12 of the battalion traveled with us this day. William Walker returned with the five brethren.

July 9th: * * * Elder Brannan and Sergeant Williams returned to the battalion with the letter to Amasa Lyman which was signed by President Young and [Willard] Richards. The other brethren of the battalion go on with us. Camp started at 8 a. m."

ARRIVAL AT FORT BRIDGER

It was decided by the council at this Green river encampment, after the arrival of the party of battalion members, "that Thomas S. Williams, and Samuel Brannan return and meet Captain Brown and the battalion company from Pueblo; and in as much as they have neither received their discharge nor their full pay, Brother Brannan shall tender them his services as pilot to conduct them to California."[31] Brannan and Williams, however, did not leave the Pioneer camp on their mission until the 9th of July,[32] by which time the camp had arrived at Fort Bridger. This trading post was located on a delta formed by several branches of Black's Fork of Green river. "The Post," says Orson Pratt, "consists of two adjoining log houses, dirt roofs, and a small picket yard of logs set in the ground and about eight feet high. The number of men, squaws and half-breed children in these houses and [surrounding] lodges, may be about fifty or sixty."[33]

ON THE HASTINGS CUT-OFF ROUTE

At this point the Pioneer company left the "Oregon

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[31] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1847, p. 97. Thomas S. Williams, named in the above quotation, was Sergeant Williams of Company D in the original battalion organization, and was the officer in command of the company of 13 which had overtaken the Pioneers. (*Journal of John Brown*, 1847, p. 67).

[32] *Orson Pratt's Journal*, entry for the 9th of July.

[33] *Ibid*, entry of 7th of July. The "Post" was founded in 1842 by its then —1847—present owners, [James Bridger *et al*] and was abandoned in 1853. (Bancroft's *History of Wyoming*, p. 684).

Trail," "taking Mr. Hastings' new route to the Bay of San Francisco, "journalizes Orson Pratt; "this route is but dimly seen as only a few wagons passed over it last season."[34] "We took a blind trail," is Erastus Snow's account of the direction taken on the departure of the Pioneer company from Fort Bridger; "the general course of which is a little south of west, leading in the direction of the southern extremity of the Salt Lake, which is the region we wish to explore. Fortunately for us a party of emigrants bound for the coast of California passed this way last fall, though their trail is in many places, scarcely discernable."[35]

MEETING WITH MILES GOODYEAR FROM SALT LAKE VALLEY

On the 10th of July the Pioneers came to a small tributary of Bear river, less than two miles from the main stream. The next day being Sunday, the camp rested, as usual. Here they met Miles Goodyear and a small company from the Bay of San Francisco on their way home to the states. They had come *via* the Weber and what was afterwards called Echo canon, to this point. The party numbering four, was under the leadership of a Mr. Craig. Goodyear had acted as their guide from his trading station, sometimes referred to as his "farm"[36] at the mouth of the Weber river, on the site of the present city of Ogden. In addition to acting as guide to the Craig party, Goodyear had intended to meet the Oregon emigration, with whom he hoped to do some trading. Learning from the Pioneers that the Oregon emigration had largely taken the northern route, he decided to go down the Bear river and intercept their line of travel, while the Craig party pursued its journey eastward.

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[34] 34. *Orson Pratt's Journal*, entry for 9th of July.

[35] 35. *Erastus Snow's Journal*, entry for 9th of July. Three small wagon trains passed over the trail, of which more later.

[36] 36. His effort at "farming" consisted in fencing a small patch of land on the banks of the Weber, in 1846, "and [he] had tried the experiment of sowing grain and planting vegetables in a small way." (See Erastus Snow's Discourse, *Utah Pioneers*, p. 45.) In *Fifty Years Ago Today*, Goodyear's "farm" is erroneously located "in the Bear river valley;" and he is credited with being "the pioneer farmer in Utah" (See *Fifty Years Ago Today*, July 11th, 1897). Goodyear came to the west from Iowa, with the Whitman-Spalding missionary party, in the spring of 1836. He was then a lad of sixteen, and traveled with the missionaries in the capacity of a servant to Fort Wyeth, on Snake river, where he left the missionaries to join a fur hunting expedition: and so drifted into the business of Indian trader and mountain guide. (See Bancroft's *History of Oregon*, vol. 1, p. 127.)

Before leaving the Pioneer camp, Mr. Goodyear had considerable conversation with various members of the company; but respecting Salt Lake valley as a promising place for a settlement "he too," says Erastus Snow, "was unable to give us any hope; on the contrary, he told us of hard frosts, cold climate; [that it was] difficult to produce grain and vegetables in any of this mountain region. The same answer was given to him as to Mr. Bridger, 'give us time, and we will show you.' "[37]

Outbreak of Mountain Fever

From the arrival of the camp at Green river, various members had suffered from what they called "mountain fever." At the camp on Bear river President Young himself was severely stricken with the malady. The main encampment moved westward, but eight wagons and a number of leading brethren remained at Bear river with the president, expecting to follow in a few hours. Closing his journal entry for the day's march, Orson Pratt says rather sadly—"Mr. Young did not overtake us tonight." His next day's entry in the *Journal* begins—"Early this morning we dispatched two messengers back to meet Mr. Young, being unwilling to move any further until he should come up." These messengers were Joseph Mathews and John Brown.[38] They found President Young had been too ill to move, but was improving. Heber C. Kimball returned to the main encampment with the two messengers. Many were sick with the fever at the main encampment, and it was thought advisable to stop over for a few days and send forward a company in advance to mark out the road more clearly. "Those of the twelve present," says Orson Pratt, "directed me to take 23 wagons and 42 men, and proceed on the journey and endeavor to find Mr. Reed's [this was Mr. Reed of the Donner party of the previous year] route across the mountain, for we had been informed that it would be impracticable to pass through the canon [i. e. the Weber canon] on account of the depth and rapidity of the water."[39] This doubtless was Goodyear's report, for he had just conducted the Craig party eastward through Weber canon. Here it is necessary to say a word on the routes over which pack companies and companies with wagons had passed into Salt Lake valley. The Bartleson route down Bear river *via* Soda Springs through Cache valley, is sufficiently described in footnote 37 of this chapter. Of the other two, the one down Weber canon, and the other up Ogden's Fork or Canon Creek, over the passes at the head of it, and down Emigration canon to the south end of the lake more should be said.

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[37] Woodruff speaking of the meeting with Goodyear said: "He has settled at Salt Lake, has a garden and vegetation of all kinds, he says, doing well. He spoke of three roads to Salt Lake." (*Woodruff's Journal, Ms.*, entry for 10th of July.) The three roads referred to were (1) the road *via* Bridger, down Bear River *via* Soda Springs, Cache valley and so to the north end of Salt Lake, Captain Bartelson's route 1841; also the route of Fremont to Salt Lake, 1843 (See this *History*, chapter lxxviii, *Note* 2, Emigration to Oregon, 1834-1847); (2) the route *via* Weber canon, down which Hastings had led two companies with wagons: (3) the Donner-Reed route which led up Ogden's Fork of Weber river, or Canon Creek, down Emigration canon, to the south end of the Salt Lake where it again picked up Hastings' new road.

[38] *Brown's Journal*, 1847, *Ms.*, p. 67.

On the Hastings' California Route

In 1845 Lansford W. Hastings, who first went to Oregon in 1842, thence to California, became an enthusiast on the Americanization of the Pacific coast, especially of California; and at Cincinnati in 1845 published *The Emigrant's Guide to Oregon.* Describing the most direct route to California, he said:

> "The most direct route would be to leave the Oregon route about two hundred miles east from Fort Hall; thence bearing w. s. w. to

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[39] *Pratt's Journal,* entry for the 13th of July. See also *Note* 4, end of this chapter on Pratt's appointment to the leadership of this "advanced party," and for the names of the party see *Note* 5, end of chapter.

the Salt Lake; and thence continuing down to the Bay of St. Francisco."[40]

In the spring and early summer of 1846 Hastings traversed this route eastward from California, and met the Oregon-California emigrants at Bridger and induced two companies, known as the Young and Harlan companies, to accept his leadership and take this "cut-off."[41] Hastings' associate Hudspeth, led a train of packers known as the Bryant party, over the same route;[42] that is, from Bridger *via* Echo canon, Weber canon, the south end of Salt Lake, to California. It is said, however, that the Bryant company "left letters advising others with families and wagons not to attempt it [i. e. their route]—letters which are said "not to have been delivered."[43]

The Young and Harlan companies, guided by Hastings in person, "had much difficulty in finding a way for their wagons, lost much of their live stock in the Salt Lake desert, but at last reached the old route and were the last to cross the Sierra"—for the season of 1846.[44]

THE DONNER-REED PARTY'S ROUTE THROUGH SALT LAKE VALLEY

The Donner party on reaching Bridger also determined to take "the Hastings' cut off;" and left Bridger on the 28th of July, 1846, only a few days behind the Young and Harlan companies led by Hastings. Before reaching Weber canon, however, they received a letter from Hastings "advising a change of route to avoid obstacles encountered by the other company in Weber canon."[45] A Mr. James F. Reed[46] of the Donner party—and by some accounted the real head of the party,—with two companions were sent to overtake the advanced companies, obtain additional information and explore the route. Reed and his companions overtook Hastings and his companies at Black Rock at the south end of Salt Lake, and about twelve miles directly west of the present site of Salt Lake City.[47] After consultation had with Hastings, Reed and his companions returned to their encampment at the head of Weber canon. Their march to overtake Hastings and their explorations had occupied a week's time.[48]

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[40] *History of California*, Bancroft, vol. iv, p. 399.

[41] *History of California*, Bancroft, vol. v, pp. 528-9 and footnotes.

[42] *Ibid*, p. 530.

[43] *History of California*, Bancroft, vol. v, pp. 529-30.

[44] *Ibid*; also *What I Saw In California, Journal of a Tour*, by Edwin Bryant, p. 144. See *Note 7*, end of this chapter.

[45] *History of California*, Bancroft, vol. v, p. 531.

[46] "Reid" in "Mormon" Pioneer *Journals*, but "Reed" in Bancroft's works.

From what they regarded as the head of Weber canon the Donner-Reed party turned southward, going up the stream which Orson Pratt a year later named "Canon Creek." They crossed over the hills to avoid the deep gorge or canon through which this creek passes, calling it "Reed's Pass;" thence *via* Big and Little Mountain down Emigration canon into Salt Lake valley, where they picked up Hastings' road around the south end of the lake. The whole of August had been consumed in making the journey from the head of Weber canon to the "open country on the lake shore."[49]

The Donner-Reed party numbered 87 persons; 36 being men, 21 women, 30 children, five of the latter being infants; 49 of the whole number belonged to four families, Donner, Graves, Breen, and Murphy.[50] How many wagons were in camp is nowhere stated, so far as I can learn; but since the party, in the main, was made up of well-to-do people, and therefore "well enough provided with the necessary outfit;" and especially was it so with George Donner—from whom the party takes its name—who "was a man of some wealth, and was carrying a stock of merchandize to California for sale"[51]—it is probable, I say, from these circumstances, that the camp had even more than the usual number of wagons with which such companies traveled. From twenty to thirty wagons would certainly be a conservative estimate for a company having in it thirty-six men, with fifty-one women and children, and carrying a stock of goods to California for sale.

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[47] Whitney's *History of Utah*, vol. 1, p. 296.

[48] *History of California*, Bancroft, vol. v, p. 531.

[49] *History of California*, vol. v, p. 531.

[50] It is reported in some of our "Mormon" annals that the Donner party was from Missouri; but that is not borne out by the facts. Its composition as to the states whence its members started from was as follows:

Twenty-nine were from Springfield, Illinois, and constituted the original Donner-Reed party—"Reed being the most prominent member of it."

Thirteen were from Marshall county, Ill.

Ten from Keokuk, Iowa.

Thirteen from Tennessee.

Four from Belleville, Ill.

Three from Jackson Co., Mo., and one other, Luke Haloran, was from Missouri.

Four were Germans, a family which had been in America but two years.

Ten from various parts of the United States, two of them being of the Spanish race. (See Bancroft's notes, *History of California*, vol. v, pp. 530-1, where the names of the Donner party, as well as whence they started for the west, are given). It appears from the above that only four of the 87 were from Missouri.

The Fate of the Donner-Reed Party

This was the party that was caught by the snows in the high passes of the Sierras along the Truckee river and at Lake Tahoe; and which suffered so terribly before relief could reach them. Thirty-nine of the 87 perished, a number of them becoming the victims of the cannibalism of the survivors; and whose remains were strewn about the shores of Lake Tahoe when Samuel Brannan passed that point *en route* for the Pioneer camp; and whose remains—such as could be found at the time—were buried by General Kearney's party, when passing the lake in June, 1847, *en route* for the east. Twelve of Kearney's escort, it will be remembered, were members of the Mormon Battalion.[52] The work of burial was "completed in September by the returning Mormons of the battalion."[53]

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[51] Bancroft's *History of California*, vol. v, p. 531.

[52] See Tyler's *History of the Mormon Battalion*, ch. xxxv, pp. 301-302.

[53] Bancroft's *History of California*, vol. v, p. 543. "There was nothing remarkable in the composition of the [Donner] company," says Bancroft, "which included rich and poor; American, Irish and German; Protestant, Catholic and Mormon" (*History of California*, vol. v, p. 531). The "Mormons" were represented by the family of a Mrs. Lovenia Murphy, a widow with three sons and two daughters, one of whom, Harriet, was married to Wm. M. Pike. "Mrs. Murphy had lived at Nauvoo and later at Warsaw," according to Bancroft she accepted "an engagement to cook and wash for the emigrants with a view to reach with her children the ultimate destination of the saints." (*History of California*, vol. v, p. 531, note). She was among those who perished in the mountains. Sergeant Tyler of the Mormon Battalion saw one of the daughters of Mrs. Murphy—Mary—who had meantime married a

MOVEMENTS OF ORSON PRATT'S ADVANCE PARTY OVER REED'S TRAIL

We may now return to the march of the Pioneer company. Orson Pratt's company of 23 wagons and 42 men, known in our records as "Pratt's advance party," was sent, as we have seen by his own statement, "to find Mr. Reed's route across the mountains." Elder Pratt's company started on the morning of the 14th of July, following what was called the "Red Fork" of Weber river, the creek running down Echo canon.[54] It was followed thirteen miles to its junction with the Weber river. On the 15th the advance party continued down the Weber, "and encamped about one mile above the canon, [about where the present village of Hennefer is located] which at the entrance is impassable for wagons. The road [Hastings'] crossing the river to the right bank makes a circuit of about two miles, and enters the canon at the junction of a stream putting in from the right bank."[55] Orson Pratt and John Brown rode five miles down Weber canon until convinced that it was the "ten mile canon" they had heard of and which the Donner party had been warned against taking by Hastings. Meantime other parties from Pratt's camp, led by Stephen Markham, had followed up the stream on the right bank of the Weber in search of Reed's trail. "Mr. Brown and I also went in search," says Orson Pratt,

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Mr. Johnson, in California—and from her learned the story condensed by Bancroft. Tyler credits "Sister Murphy" with good motives, but thinks she made a mistake in leaving the saints to go with this party. (Tyler's *Mormon Battalion*, p. 312. Tyler gives Mrs. Murphy's name as Murry. Wilford Woodruff, who baptized Mrs. Murphy, while on his mission in Tennessee, says she apostatized and joined the mob. See *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 1847, entry for 10th July), by which he means no more, perhaps, than that she lived among those who were mobbing the saints in Illinois.

[54] "Our journey down 'Red Fork'," says the leader of the "advance party," "has truly been very interesting and exceedingly picturesque. We have been shut up in a narrow valley from ten to twenty rods wide, while upon each side the hills rise very abruptly from 800 to 1200 feet, and for most of the distance we have been walled in by vertical and overhanging precipices of red pudding-stone, and also red sandstone dipping to the northwest in an angle of about 20 degrees. * * * The country is very mountainous in every direction." (*Orson Pratt's Journal*, entry for the 14th of July).

[55] *Orson Pratt's Journal*, entry for the 15th of July; and *John Brown's Journal*, 1847, p. 68. "Brother Pratt and myself, who acted as pilots and pioneers of the camp, went down and examined the canon, but did not find it practicable."

"traveling along the bluffs on the south. We soon struck the trail, although so dimly seen that it only now and then could be discerned, only a few wagons having passed here one year ago, and the grass having grown up, leaving scarcely a trace."[56]

The next day word was sent back to the main camp that Reed's route had been found, "which we had anticipated would be troublesome to find," says Orson Pratt.

The journey was resumed, following Reed's route up a small stream, a company of about a dozen men going in advance of the wagons with spades, axes, etc., "to make the road passable, which required considerable labor."[57] The camp moved about eight and a half miles during the day, their road in the last two miles of the journey leaving the small stream up which they had traveled to cross a ridge into another ravine in which they camped. They spent some four hours in labor with picks and spades on the latter part of the road. After an encampment was made, Orson Pratt and a Mr. Newman went further down the road to examine it. "We found that Mr. Reed's company last season," journalizes Orson Pratt, "had spent several hours labor in spading, etc., but finding it almost impracticable for wagons they had turned up a ravine, at the mouth of which we had camped, and taken a little more circuitous route over the hills." On the morning of the 17th after examining the road over which they had passed the day before for some distance back, and satisfying himself that no more practical route could be found, Elder Pratt directed that the camp spend several hours labor on the road over which they had already passed before resuming their march. Meantime he and John Brown rode on ahead to explore the road they were following. A little over three miles brought them again to what Orson Pratt had called "Canon Creek,"[58] and Brown "Big Canon Creek."[59] "We followed the dimly traced wagon tracks up this stream for eight miles," writes Orson Pratt in his *Journal*, "crossing the same thirteen times. The bottoms of this creek are thickly covered with willows from 5 to 15 rods wide, making an immense labor in cutting a road through for the emigrants of last season. We still found the road almost unpassable and requiring much labor. The mountains upon each side rise abruptly from 600 to 3,000 feet above the bed of the stream. Leaving our horses at the foot, we ascended to the summit of one which appeared to be about 2,000 feet high. We had a prospect limited in most directions by still higher peaks; the country exhibited a broken succession of hills piled on hills, and mountains in every direction."[60]

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[56] *Orson Pratt's Journal*, entry for 15th of July, *John Brown's Journal*, 1847, p. 68. After describing the examination of the road down Weber canon, Brown adds: "We then examined the other pass to the south, through which a small company of California emigrants passed the year before, but we could scarcely see their trail."

[57] *Pratt's Journal*, 16th of July.

Having spent two-thirds of the day in working on the road passed over on the 16th, for the benefit of the main part of the camp following them, Pratt's camp had moved but four and a half miles from their encampment of the night before.

The 18th of July being Sunday, as usual, camp was not broken, and religious services were held in the morning.

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[58] "This creek passes through a canon about 40 rods below, where it is for a few rods shut up by perpendicular and overhanging walls, being a break in a mountain, which rises several hundred feet upon each side. The creek plunges underneath a large rock which lay in its bed, near the foot of the canon, blockading the same and making it wholly impassable for wagons or teams." (*Pratt's Journal*, entry for 17th July). It was this mountain gorge which Reed, the year before, found it necessary to go round, hence "the circuitous route over the hills," back to the canon's creek again followed by Pratt and Brown as described in the text.

[59] "July 16, we sent a messenger back to the main camp to report progress and bring us word from our brethren. On the 17th moved over to 'Big Canon Creek.' Erastus Snow, who was with the main part of the camp, says when reaching this point "We * * * struck a large creek, which proved to be a branch of the Weber river, which Elder Pratt named Canon Creek, from the fact of its entering a tremendous, impassable canon just below where the road strikes it, and also winds its way between these mountain cliffs and empties into the river between upper and lower canons on that stream." (*Erastus Snow's Journal*, enry 19th of July, 1847).

[60] *Orson Pratt's Journal*, entry for 17th of July, 1847. Also Brown: "We * * * ascended a high mountain on the left of the road; we could see nothing but mountains except a beautiful park which lay up the creek." (*Brown's Journal*, 1847, p. 69).

The latitude was ascertained to be 40 deg. 54 min. 7 sec.; "A luna observation was taken for the longitude," says Orson Pratt, "I also obtained an observation of the altitude of the moon for the time."[61]

THE FIRST VIEW OF SALT LAKE VALLEY

Soon after sunrise of the 19th the two Pioneers of this advance company, Orson Pratt and John Brown, started along the route of last year's emigrants [the Donner party] to examine the road and country ahead. They continued along the road over which they had passed the day before and ascertained that it left Canon Creek near the point where they had turned back to camp, and followed a ravine running west. This they ascended for four miles when they came to a dividing ridge from which they "could see over a great extent of country." Here they tied their horses and on foot ascended a mountain on the right for several hundred feet. "On the southwest we could see an extensive level prairie, some few miles distant which we thought must be near the lake."[62] It was; and this is the first view any of the Pioneers had of Salt Lake valley. Returning to their horses the two Pioneers went down the southwest side of the mountain, the descent of which was very rapid. The small stream they were following "passed through a very high mountain," where they judged it impossible for wagons to pass. They found too that near the point they had reached the wagon trail made the year before "ascended quite abruptly," and "passed over a mountain and down into another narrow valley, and thus avoided the canon—on the left."[63]

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[61] *Orson Pratt's Journal*, entry for 18th of July, 1847.

[62] *Orson Pratt's Journal*, entry for 19th of July. Brown says, writing of the events of the 19th: "We went ahead as usual to explore the route. Went as far as the top of the big mountain. Here we had a view of the valley for the first (time). We went on to the mountain to the right and saw what we supposed to be one corner of the lake, which intelligence we carried back to the camp causing all to rejoice." (*Brown's Journal*, 1847, p. 69).

[63] *Orson Pratt's Journal*, entry for the 19th of July, 1847. Erastus Snow's description of the pass is as follows: "The pass over the summit was narrow, peaks of the mountain rising on each side for three-fourths of a mile. This pass is the only

—This mountain became known as "Little Mountain;" and the "narrow valley" as Emigration canon. From this point the two Pioneers, Pratt and Brown returned to find their camp which had moved forward six and a quarter miles from their position in the morning. Also to learn that the main Pioneer encampment had nearly overtaken them.

Before beginning the day's journey on the 20th, Orson Pratt wrote a description of the road and country he had reconnoitered the day before, and deposited it in a conspicuous place for the benefit of the main camp soon expected to pass that point. Pratt's camp moved but six miles over the mountains, working the road *en route.*

On the 21st Pratt's advance company resumed its journey, made five miles and camped for noon, having passed over "Little Mountain," descending on the west side until they came upon a swift running creek to which they gave the name of "Last Creek," later called "Emigration Creek," since it runs down Emigration canon.

The main camp of the Pioneers reached Orson Pratt's camping place of the 19th, on the 20th; and there they found Pratt's description of the road; "on perusal of which," writes Erastus Snow, "Elders [Willard] Richards and [Geo. A.] Smith determined on sending me with a letter to overtake Elder Pratt, and accompany him to the valley and assist in exploring and searching out a suitable place for putting in our seed." Accordingly on the morning of the 21st, Erastus Snow, mounted, rode alone over Pratt's route of the day before and overtook him on the afternoon of the 21st near the foot of the, later called "Little Mountain," which Pratt's company had passed over that day. Leaving the camp to proceed with their task of improving the road down what is

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notch or opening of the mountains known in this region of the country that is at all practicable for a road, except through the canon down the bed of the Weber river, which is very rough, and passable only in the lowest stages of water, and scarcely passable for wagons up the stream at any stage. From the summit of the pass, for the first time, I got a sight of the valley of the Utah Outlet, (i. e. valley of the Jordan) extending from the Utah to the Salt Lake." Pratt registers the altitude of the pass to be 7,245 feet above the sea.

now called Emigration canon, Elders Pratt and Snow proceeded down the canon "four and a half miles," where the creek then passed through a gorge, "and issues into the broad valley below." "To avoid the canon [gorge] the wagons last season," says Orson Pratt, "had passed over an exceedingly steep and dangerous hill:"[64]

THE FIRST OF THE PIONEERS TO ENTER THE SALT LAKE VALLEY

> "Mr. Snow and myself ascended this hill, from the top of which a broad open valley, about twenty miles wide and thirty long, lay stretched out before us, at the north end of which the broad water of Great Salt Lake glistened in the sunbeams, containing high mountainous islands from twenty-five to thirty miles in extent. After issuing from the mountains among which we had been shut up for many days, and beholding in a moment such an extensive scenery open before us, we could not refrain from a shout of joy which almost involuntarily escaped from our lips the moment this grand and lovely scenery was within our view."[65]

The two Pioneers descended the butte at the mouth of the canon, and proceeded over the gentle declivity of the east slopes of the valley to a point on one of the several streams that enter from the east range of mountains, where tall canes were growing, "which looked like waving grain." The course they had followed bore a little southwestward, and on reaching the stream—since called Mill Creek[66]—on the banks of which the canes grew—they remembered that the instructions of President Young had been to turn to the north on emerging into the valley and there plant their seeds.[67]

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[64] *Erastus Snow's Journal*, entry for July 20th, 1847.

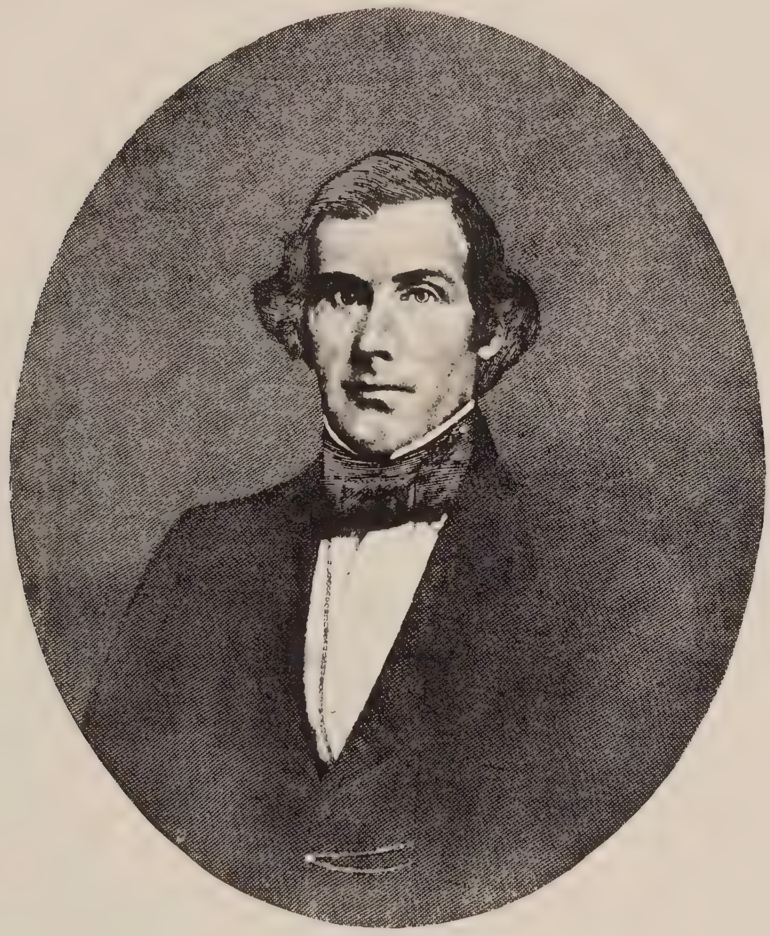
[65] *Orson Pratt's Journal*, entry for 21st of July. Of this view of the valley obtained from near the mouth of Emigration canon, Erastus Snow also says: "From the view we had of the valley from the top of the mountain, we supposed it to be only an arm of prairie extending up from the Utah valley, but on ascending this butte we involuntarily, both at the same instant, uttered a shout of joy at finding it to be the very place of our destination, and beheld the broad bosom of the Salt Lake spreading itself before us." (*Erastus Snow's Journul*, entry for 21st July, 1847).

[66] Erastus Snow, *Utah Pioneers*, p. 46.

[67] The fact that President Young thus directed the movements of the advance company of Pioneers is beyond question. Following is extracted from *John Brown's Journal*, for 1847, p. 69, *Ms.* Writing of the incidents of the 19th of July, and speaking of his own and Elder Pratt's return from Big Mountain, he says: "Our messenger [O. P. Rockwell sent to President Young's camp on the 16th to report the progress of the advance company] had returned to us and

ORSON PRATT

Pioneer of the Pioneers and the First to Stand Upon the Site of Salt Lake City. July 21, 1847.



Orson Pratt

ERASTUS SNOW

Pioneer who accompanied Orson Pratt into the Salt
Lake Valley, July 21, 1847

Erastus Snow

Accordingly they turned northward from this point, designing to reach another stream that they could see emerging from a canon into the valley, along the course of which a few scattered cottonwood trees and underbrush grew. It was a hot day, that 21st of July, when those two Pioneers entered Salt Lake valley. On the 23rd Orson Pratt reports the thermometer as standing at 96 degrees. It must have been about the same on the 21st. The two Pioneers had but one horse between them, so that they walked and rode in turns. A few miles from the mouth of the canon through which they had come into the valley, Erastus Snow discovered he had lost his coat, having taken it off and thrown it loosely before him on the saddle from which evidently it had slipped to the ground. This occasioned his return over their trail from what is called Mill Creek, to find it, and meanwhile Orson Pratt walked northward alone until he arrived at the beautiful crystal stream that issued from the ravine leading down from the distant pine-clad mountains to the northeast; and thus became the first of the Pioneers to stand upon the present site of Salt Lake City.[68] Some are disposed to doubt the accuracy of this incident but it is well attested. Delivering a reminiscent discourse on these early scenes in the valley, Orson Pratt on July 21, 1867, *Journal of Discourses,* Vol. XII, pp. 88, 89, before a large audience said:

"It is a wonder to me to look upon the great sea of faces now before me in this bowery. Twenty years ago on the twenty-first day

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brought word that the president was better. He had started the main camp on, and was still stopping with a few wagons to rest a little longer, *telling the brethren when they got into the valley to turn a little north and put in their seed of all kinds, a small quantity of each to try the soil.*" And so Erastus Snow, in describing the advent of Orson Pratt and himself into Salt Lake valley, he says: "We could see the canes down in the valley on what is now called Mill Creek, south of the lower grist mill, which looked like grain: and thither we directed our course. But when we reached it and ascertained what it really was, and remembering the last injunction of President Young, we turned northward and crossed Mill Creek on to City Creek [present site of Salt Lake City], which appeared to us the point of our destination as indicated by the president." (*Utah Pioneers,* p. 46).

[68] Life and Labors of Orson Pratt, by his son, Milando Pratt, 1891, *The Contributor,* vol. xii, p. 188.

> of July, I stood solitary and alone on this great city plot, near the place where now stands Bishop Hunter's house (this would be on the corner of the block immediately north of the northwest corner of the temple square), being the first man of the Latter-day Saints that ever stood on this ground: this was in the afternoon of the twenty-first day of July, 1847. Brother Erastus Snow entered the valley with me in the afternoon. We traveled down to the southeast of the city. Brother Erastus lost his coat off his horse, and went back to hunt it up, and told me if I wanted to look over the country he would wait for me at the mouth of what we now call Emigration canon. I started from where we parted, and came up and stood on the bank of City Creek. I gazed on the surrounding scenery with peculiar feelings in my heart. I felt as though it was the place for which we had so long sought."

Elder Pratt's companion, Erastus Snow, rejoining him on Emigration Creek, a few miles below where it issues from the canon of the same name, they returned to their encampment about nine o'clock at night, having made a circuit of some ten or twelve miles in the valley. Their company in Emigration canon, meantime, had moved forward from their noon encampment about three miles, while the main encampment had come up within a mile and a half of Pratt's advance company.

THE SECOND PARTY OF PIONEERS TO ENTER THE VALLEY

The following morning—July 22nd—a party of nine, headed this time by Orson Pratt and Geo. A. Smith, the latter from the main encampment of the Pioneers, rode out into the valley to explore it, directing the remainder of the camp to proceed with the road making down into the valley.

Arriving at the gorge at the entrance of the valley, Pratt's exploring party concluded that by cutting away the thick timber and underbrush, together with some digging, a better and safer road could be made than the one leading over the steep and dangerous hill passed over by the Donner party the previous year. A note calling the attention of the working camp to this fact was left in a conspicuous place, and the explorers moved on. "For three or four miles north," writes Orson Pratt, "we found the soil of a most excellent quality.

Streams from the mountains and springs were very abundant, the water excellent, and generally with gravel bottoms. A very great variety of green grass, and very luxuriant, covered the bottoms for miles where the soil was sufficiently damp, but in other places, although the soil was good, the grass had nearly dried up for want of moisture. We found the drier places swarming with very large crickets, about the size of a man's thumb.[69] This valley is surrounded with mountains, except on the north: the tops of some of the highest being covered with snow. Every one or two miles streams were emptying into it from the mountains on the east, many of which were sufficiently large to carry mills and other machinery. As we proceeded towards the Salt Lake the soil began to assume a more sterile appearance, being probably at some seasons of the year overflowed with water. We found as we proceeded on, great numbers of hot springs issuing from or near the base of the mountains. These springs were highly impregnated with salt and sulphur: the temperature of some was nearly raised to the boiling point. We traveled for about 15 miles down after coming into the valley, the latter part of the distance the soil being unfit for agricultural purposes. We returned and found our wagons encamped in the valley, about five miles from where they left the canon."[70]

THE THIRD PARTY OF PIONEERS TO ENTER THE SALT LAKE VALLEY

But this encampment was made on the stream first visited by Elders Pratt and Snow, since called Mill Creek. Considerations of President Young's directions to turn northward after emerging into the valley influenced this main encampment as it had done Elders Pratt and Snow the day before, and accordingly in the forenoon of the 23rd, the camp moved between three and four miles north to the banks of City Creek. At that time the stream divided into two branches just below the present temple block, in Salt Lake City, one branch running west and the other turning south. It was on the south branch of the creek that the main Pioneer encampment was formed at noon on the 23rd of July. The camp was called together and, as was most fitting, the Pioneer who had piloted the way so much of the distance in the journey, and especially over the last and most difficult stages of it, and as was his right by virtue of being the senior apostle present, Orson Pratt led in prayer—a prayer of thanksgiving and of dedication: "thanksgiving in behalf of our company," writes the apostle who prayed—*"all of whom had been preserved from the Missouri river to this point;"* and then the dedication of themselves and the land unto the Lord "and imploring his blessings" upon it.[71] After this there was reenacted the scenes of organized industry we have witnessed at Mt. Pisgah and Garden Grove in Iowa, and at the founding of Winter Quarters—men divided into groups—some to clear the land preparatory to plowing; others to unpack and get ready the plows; others to care for the stock and perfect the camp arrangements. At the first attempt at plowing the ground was found hard and dry, and several plows were broken in the effort.[72] A company was set at work to put a dam in the creek and flood the land—the beginning of Utah irrigation—to be worked out later into scientific systems to bring to pass the redemption of arid and semi-arid regions of America and of the world. In other words modern scientific irrigation had its origin in the Salt Lake valley among the Utah Pioneers.[73] Several acres were plowed that afternoon, and towards evening the valley was visited by a light thunder shower.[74]

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[69] An ominous presense this, in view of events to be recounted later; but at the time their presence was first noticed, there was no premonition that these black, ugly crickets would become a terror to the settlers—a menace to their very existence.

[70] *Orson Pratt's Journal*, entry for the 22nd July. John Brown who was one of the company of nine who made this detour into the valley, agrees in all the essentials reported by Pratt. (See *Brown's Journal*, 1847, *Ms.*, pp. 69-70. Ditto *Erastus Snow's Journal*, entry for 23rd of July).

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[71] *Orson Pratt's Journal*, entry for 23rd of July. Erastus Snow also says: "At noon on the 23rd we made our camp on *City Creek* below *Emigration Street, or the street where the street railroad runs east from the Clift House*, and just below that on the old channel of the creek; the creek divided just *below this Temple Block*, one branch running west and the other south. It was on the south branch of the creek we formed our camp on the noon of the 23rd; and here we bowed ourselves down in humble prayer to Almighty God with hearts full of thanksgiving to him, and dedicated this land unto him for the dwelling place of his people." (Erastus Snow in *Utah Pioneers*, p. 46).

[72] Erastus Snow in *Utah Pioneers*, p. 46.

THE REAR SECTION OF THE PIONEER TRAIN

Here we return to bring up the last section of the Pioneer company. As previously stated a half day's drive from the Sunday encampment on Bear river,—made on the 12th of July—found Brigham Young so stricken with fever that it was impossible for him to go further, so that here occurred the first division of the Pioneer camp, by reason of the main body going on six and a half miles for its night encampment, and eight wagons remaining with Brigham Young. The later division by the detachment of Pratt's advance company from the main camp, the march of both divisions, and their reunion just upon entering the Salt Lake valley, has been already detailed.

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[73] I think this statement is true notwithstanding what is said in this chapter about the irrigated garden of Goodyear at the mouth of Weber canon at the time the Pioneers arrived in the valley; and notwithstanding what is said by Fremont of Captain Sutter—a Swiss immigrant to America—and irrigation at Sutter's Fort at the mouth of the American river in March, 1844, where a simple Indian system of irrigation was in operation, with a more extensive one in prospect from the use of the American river which is spoken of, but whether put into operation or not is unknown. At any rate it was from the Salt Lake valley irrigation example that modern Anglo-Saxon irrigation took its rise, and has progressed to its present large achievements and importance. Following is Fremont's passage with reference to irrigation at Sutter's Fort in March, 1844:

"Captain Sutter emigrated to this country (California) from the western part of Missouri in 1838-'39, and formed the first settlement in the valley (the American river valley) on a large grant of land which he obtained from the Mexican government. He had, at first, some trouble with the Indians; but, by the occasional exercise of well timed authority, he has succeeded in converting them into a peaceable and industrious people. The ditches around his extensive wheat fields; the making of the sun-dried bricks, of which his fort is constructed; the ploughing, harrowing, and other agricultural operations, are entirely the work of these Indians, for which they receive a very moderate compensation—principally in shirts, blankets, and other articles of clothing. In the same manner, on application to the chief of a village, he readily obtains as many boys and girls as he has any use for. There were at this time a number of girls at the fort, in training for a future woolen factory; *but they were now all busily engaged in constantly watering the gardens, which the unfavorable dryness of the season rendered necessary.* The occasional dryness of some seasons, I understood to be the only complaint of the settlers in this fertile valley, as it sometimes renders the crops uncertain. *Mr. Sutter was about making arrangements to irrigate his lands by means of the Rio de los Americanos.* He had this year sown, and altogether by Indian labor, three hundred *fanegas of wheat.*" (*Fremont''s Report of Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains,* 1842, *and to Oregon and California,* 1843-44, *Senate Document* No. 166).

[74] *Orson Pratt's Journal,* entry for 23rd of July. There was not enough rain, however, to lay the dust, and at three o'clock the thermometer stood at 96 degrees.

Brigham Young remained at the noon encampment formed on the 12th until the 15th, when the small number of wagons that made up the last division of the camp, with the sick leader on a bed made up in Wilford Woodruff's carriage—came up to the main encampment, and together in the afternoon moved some distance into Echo canon. On the 16th the drive through Echo canon was made. The canon received its name, as will be supposed by the reader, because of the wonderful reverberations of sounds that are produced in the tortuous windings of the canon's perpendicular walls, and among the crags and peaks rising above them. The report of a rifle, the crack of a whip, the shouts of the teamsters at the ox teams straining at their yokes, the lowing of cows, the rumble of the wagons over rough roads—these sounds were picked up and repeated, echoed and reechoed, from point to point as if every particular crag or angle of the canon had a magic tongue to mock the new sounds made by man's entrance into these solitudes.

At the juncture of the creek running through Echo canon with the Weber, reached early on the 17th, it was again found that President Young's condition was such that he could not travel further, and camp was made. The members of the twelve with this division of the camp retired and held prayer in temple order for President Young and the rest of the sick in camp.[75] The 18th being the "Lord's Day," religious services were held; the sacrament of the Lord's supper administered, and special prayer made in the camp for the recovery of President Young and the sick generally. "We had an excellent meeting," says the chronicler; "the

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[75] *Woodruff's Journal*, entry for 17th of July.

Holy Spirit was upon us, and faith seemed to spring up in every bosom. In the afternoon the president, who had been nigh unto death, was sensibly better, and the effects of the prayers of the brethren were visible throughout the camp."[76]

On the 19th this part of the camp divided again, about forty wagons moving on over "Pratt's route," and fifteen staying with President Young, who, though some better, was not able to renew the journey. He remained in this encampment on the Weber until the 20th, when fifteen miles were covered, and encampment made on Canon Creek,[77] where three other wagons with sick men had camped. Here this company remained over until the 21st, both on account of the sick and to repair wagons that had been damaged by the roughness of the roads. On the 22nd this rear division of the camp made but four miles, which Elder Woodruff declares to be the worst four miles of the journey. The next day, 23rd of July, President Young passed over Big Mountain and from its summit he had a view of part of Salt Lake valley. His account of the incident is as follows:

BRIGHAM YOUNG'S ENTRANCE INTO SALT LAKE VALLEY

"*July 23rd*: I ascended and crossed over the Big Mountain, when on its summit I directed Elder Woodruff, who kindly tendered me the use of his carriage, to turn the same half way round, so that I could have a view of a portion of Salt Lake valley. The Spirit of Light rested upon me, and hovered over the valley, and I felt that there the saints would find protection and safety. We descended and encamped at the foot of the Little Mountain."[78]

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[76] *Erastus Snow's Journal*, entry for 18th of July.

[77] From the *Journal of Wilford Woodruff* it is learned that this "Canon Creek," so named by Orson Pratt, for reason previously given, was known as "Ogden's Fork," [i. e. of Weber river] doubtless because of some connection of Peter Skeen Ogden with this region, as trapper and Indian trader; and the road over the hills to avoid the passage through the canon was called "Reed's Pass," after James F. Reed of the Donner company who passed over the route the year before. The passage in *Woodruff's Journal* is as follows: "Brothers Kimball, Benson and Lorenzo Young, went through the canon of Ogden's Fork, which is the name of the creek we camped on (Canon Creek). The route we are taking is 'Reed's Pass,' which we have named 'Pratt's Pass' in consequence of his going on to make the road. (*Journal, Ms.*, entry for July 21st). Then in his journal entry for 22nd he remarks: "We traveled four miles today on East Canon Creek, where the 'Pratt Pass' leaves the fork for good and turns to the west." (*Ibid*).

The last stage of President Young's great pioneer journey was made on the 24th of July, from his camp at the foot of Little Mountain down into and through Emigration canon, and out into the valley of the great Salt Lake. It was about two o'clock in the afternoon when he and all the rear wagons of the Pioneer company arrived at the City Creek encampment. There appears to have been no special demonstration in the camp upon the arrival of the great leader of the western movement of his people; if there was, all the *Journals* are silent upon the subject. President Young's own narrative of the day's events is very simple:

> "*July 24th*: I started early this morning and after crossing Emigration Canon Creek eighteen times, emerged from the canon. Encamped with the main body at 2 p. m. About noon, the five-acre potato patch was plowed, when the brethren commenced planting their seed potatoes. At five, a light shower accompanied by thunder and a stiff breeze."[79]

So closes the account of the great Pioneer journey from Winter Quarters, on the banks of the Missouri, to the valley of the Great Salt Lake.

NOTES

1. HISTORY OF FORT LARAMIE

Fort Laramie was erected in 1834, by William Sublette and Robert Campbell. It was for a time called Fort William, after Sublette. It was established with the design of monopolizing the trade

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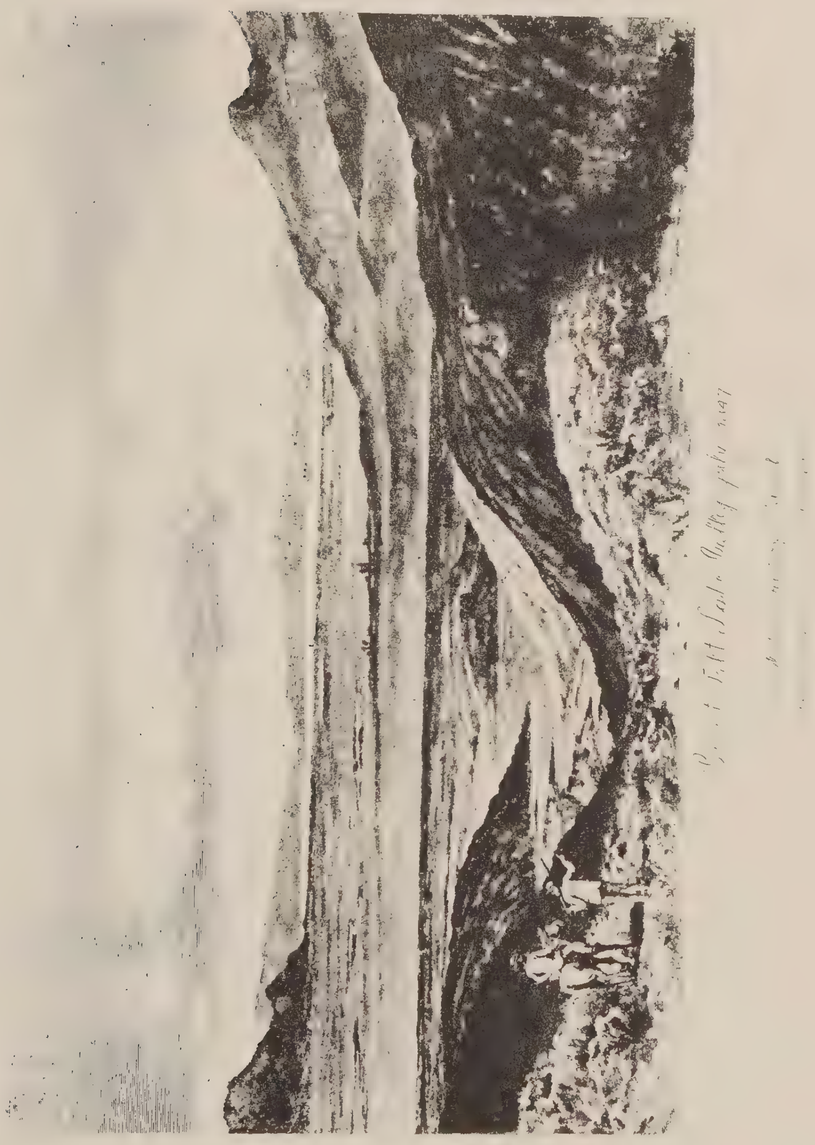
[78] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, bk. 3, entry for July 23rd. Wilford Woodruff relates a similar incident as occurring at the mouth of Emigration Canon and on the 24th. His statement is as follows: "When we came out of the canon into full view of the valley, I turned the side of my carriage around, open to the west, and President Young arose from his bed and took a survey of the country. While gazing on the scene before us, he was enwrapped in vision for several minutes. He had seen the valley before in vision, and upon this occasion he saw the future glory of Zion and of Israel, as they would be, planted in the valleys of these mountains. When the vision had passed, he said: "It is enough. This is the right place, drive on." (*Utah Pioneers*, p. 23).

[79] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 3. Journal entry for the 24th of July, 1847. For *Wilford Woodruff's Journal* account of President Young's and his own entrance into Salt Lake valley, see *Note* 8, end of chapter.

GREAT SALT LAKE VALLEY—1847

At the advent of the Utah Pioneers.
Ensign Peak seen on the right.


Great Salt Lake Valley July 1847

of the Indian tribes from the Missouri on the northeast to the Sweetwater on the west of the Black Hills. In 1835 it was sold to Milton Sublette, James Bridger and three other fur hunters, who had hunted with the American Fur Company. The fort was rebuilt in 1836 by the new owners at an outlay of $10,000; and for a time was called "Fort John," but gradually became permanently known as Fort Laramie. It continued to be a fort of the American Fur Company, until 1849, when it was sold to the United States government and for many years was an important post in the Indian wars of the west.[80]

2. The Mississippi Company of Saints

The Mississippi company of saints originally consisted of fourteen families from Monroe county, Mississippi, who under the leadership of William Crosby and John Brown left their homes April 8th, 1846, for the west, expecting to fall in with some of the first camps of the saints *en route* from Nauvoo to the Rocky Mountains. This company arrived at Independence, Mo., in the latter part of May, where they were joined by Robert Crow and family from Perry county, Illinois, and William Kartchner, members of the church, and a small company of non-members of the Latter-day Saint Church, but emigrants *en route* for Oregon. The united companies had in all twenty-five wagons, and organized for the western journey by choosing William Crosby captain, with Robert Crow and John Holladay counselors. It was not until they had reached the Indian country on the south bank of the Platte that the party for Oregon learned that they were traveling with a party of "Mormons." They soon after discovered that their "Mormon" friends were not traveling fast enough for them and so parted company and went on ahead. They numbered fourteen men, and six wagons. The Mississippi company with the Illinois addition numbered twenty-four men with nineteen wagons. This latter company followed up the south bank of the Platte to within a few miles of Fort Laramie, where, not being able to obtain any definite information concerning the advanced companies of the saints from Nauvoo, they resolved to go no further west that fall, but to seek a suitable location on the east side of the mountains at which to winter and meantime learn something definite as to the movements of the main body of the church. At their last encampment on the Platte they met a Mr. John Kershaw who suggested that the headwaters of the Arkansas river would be the best place at which they could winter as corn was being raised there and it was near the Spanish country where supplies could be had. This was also the destination of Mr. Kershaw who was traveling with two ox teams and was acquainted with the route. Accordingly on the 10th of July they left the "Oregon Trail" and started south and finally reached Pueblo on the 7th of August, where the company went into winter quarters, having made a journey from the initial point in Mississippi of about 1,600 miles.

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[80] Condensed from Bancroft's *History of Wyoming*, pp. 583-4.

At Pueblo the Mississippi saints learned that the main body of the church had halted for the winter on the Missouri, and that five hundred of their men had gone into the army of the United States and were *en route* for California. This of course was the Mormon Battalion.

The camp of saints at Pueblo was organized into a branch of the church, and then eight men of their number, including the captain of their company, William Crosby, and John Brown, on the 1st of September, started on the return journey to Monroe county, Mississippi, to bring out their families to join in the western movement of the church in the spring.

The returning party of Mississippi brethren arrived at their homes on the 29th of October, and began preparations to move their families to Council Bluffs. While so engaged messengers arrived from Brigham Young that they leave their families another year in their old homes, but that they fit out and send all the men that could be spared to go west as pioneers. Accordingly a small company of men, including "four colored men servants,"—that is to say, slaves—were fitted out with two wagons, and under the leadership of John Brown were conducted to Council Bluffs, where, after a trying journey, in which two of the colored men died, they arrived a few days before the Pioneer company left winter quarters. Five of the party led by John Brown joined the Pioneer company, *viz.*, himself, Mathew Ivory, David Powell,[81] and the two remaining colored servants, Hark Lay and Oscar Crosby. Hence when the Pioneer company at Fort Laramie, on the 1st of June, 1847, met part of the Mississippi company of saints as stated in the text, it was a happy reunion of long separated fragments of the Mississippi company of saints.

The account here given of the Mississippi company of saints is condensed from the *Journal of Elder John Brown*. Valuable extracts from that *Journal* will be found in the *Improvement Era* for July, 1910, compiled by his son, Dr. John Z. Brown.

3. THE MEETING OF THE PIONEERS WITH THOMAS L. SMITH

This Thomas L. Smith is known to fame in the mountain trapper lore as "Peg-leg Smith." He was in Jedediah S. Smith's expedition to California in 1826, and is generally represented as a disreputable character.[82] Linn sarcastically refers to this circumstance of meeting with Thomas L. Smith and the arrangements entered into with him for examining the valley he had spoken of, as an incident "which narrowly escaped changing the plans of the Lord, if he had already selected Salt Lake valley;[83] a remark which discloses the spirit of Linn's work. It has been established in these pages beyond question that the destination of the saints, even before leaving Nauvoo, (and even before Joseph Smith's death) was known to be somewhere within the "valleys of the Rocky Mountains;" but no one ventured to designate any particular spot or valley as the exact place at which settlement would begin. And it was lack of knowledge as to this exact spot or place at which beginning a settlement would be made that was the cause of such expressions as implied doubt as to the destination of the saints. Following are examples of such expressions: "They * * * [the saints] had started out desertward, for—where? To this question the only response at that time was, *'God knows'*."[84] Also in speaking of the exodus from Nauvoo, Eliza R. Snow said: "Labors in the temple were closed and the energies of the saints directed towards a hasty flight. * * * Time and circumstances admitted of very little, and in many instances no preparation for a journey of an indefinite length; *and to what point we did not know*, but go we must. * * * On the first day of March, the ground covered with snow, [this in Iowa] we broke encampment about noon, and soon nearly four hundred wagons were moving to —we knew not where."[85] Erastus Snow says: "When President Young was questioned by any of the Pioneers as to the definite point of our destination, all he could say was, *that he would know it when he should see it, and that we should continue to travel the way the Spirit of the Lord should direct us*."[86]

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[81] This name is recorded Powers in the list of Pioneers, but in the *Journal of John Brown* it is several times recorded Powell. (See *Brown's Journal* for 1847, pp. 54, 56).

[82] Bancroft's *History of Utah*, p. 23. Also Linn's *Story of the Mormons*, p. 286.

[83] *Ibid*, p. 385.

4. ORSON PRATT, PIONEER OF THE PIONEER COMPANY

The appointment of Orson Pratt to the leadership of the special party that was to become the pioneer party of the Pioneers in the last stages of their journey, is one that came about by a natural force operating among men, by which men that are fit rise to their proper place. Orson Pratt was appointed to this leadership because in the things now required—engineering skill and science—he had been leading all along. His place was always in the van, and even leading that van, and this from the very nature of the duties required of him, as being placed in charge of and using, the splendid set of scientific instruments carried in the camp—and which he alone, perhaps, could use. Hence it will be found both in his own *Journal* and in the *Journals* of others, that he is always in the lead, and consulted with reference to all the engineering problems that confronted the Pioneers on their journey. (See Pratt's Journal in *Millennial Star*, Vol. XII, *passim;* for being on lead at important points, see pp. 18, 146, 162). Of the pioneer journey resembling in some respects a scientific expedition I have already spoken in the text of chapter lxxviii of this *History* and of Elder Pratt's ascertaining, and registering the latitude, longitude, altitude, geological structure of the country, together with notices of the *flora* and *fauna* of the country through which the pioneer route passed. Also in the matter of the construction of the pioneer odometer it is quite probable that the scientific principles on which it was constructed were largely furnished by him. The following entry in his *Journal* for the 6th of May, would justify such a conclusion:

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[84] Eliza R. Snow in *The Women of Mormondom*, Tullidge, p. 308.

[85] *Biography and Autobiography of Lorenzo Snow*, by Eliza R. Snow, 1884 pp. 85-6.

[86] *Utah Pioneers*, p. 44.

"For several days past, Mr. Clayton, and several others, have been thinking upon the best method of attaching some machinery to a wagon, to indicate the number of miles daily traveled. I was requested this forenoon, by Mr. B. Young, to give this subject some attention; accordingly, this afternoon, I proposed the following method: Let a wagon wheel be of such a circumference, that 360 revolutions make one mile. (It happens that one of the requisite dimensions is now in camp). Let this wheel act upon a screw, in such a manner, that six revolutions of wagon wheel shall give the screw one revolution. Let the threads of this screw act upon a wheel of sixty cogs, which shall evidently perform one revolution per mile. Let this wheel of sixty cogs be the head of another screw, acting upon another wheel of thirty cogs, it is evident that in the movements of this second wheel, each cog will represent one mile. Now, if the cogs were numbered from 0 to 30, the number of miles traveled will be indicated during every part of the day. Let every sixth cog of the first wheel be numbered from 0 to 10, and this division will indicate the fractional part of a mile, or tenths; while if any one should be desirous to ascertain still smaller divisional fractions, each cog between this division will give five and one-third rods. This machinery (which may be called the double endless screw) will be simple in its construction, and of very small bulk, requiring scarcely any sensible additional power, and the knowledge obtained respecting distances in traveling will certainly be very satisfactory to every traveler, especially in a country but little known. The weight of this machinery need not exceed three pounds."

At the time of his pioneering the way into Salt Lake valley in July, 1847, Orson Pratt was thirty-six years of age, of only medium height, spare-built, but hard and sinewy, capable of great physical endurance, intense and long mental application. Tireless energy was his, and absolute devotion to assigned duty; simple faith mingled with large and absolute trust in God marked the outlines of character in this Pioneer—this apostle of Jesus Christ in the New Dispensation of the gospel.

5. Roster of Orson Pratt's "Advance Company"

Following are the names of the forty-two men who made up Pratt's advance company:

Orson Pratt (commanding), Stephen Markham (aid), John Brown, C. D. Barnum, Charles Burk, Francis Boggs, A. P. Chessley, Oscar Crosby (colored), Lyman Curtis, James Chessney, Walter Crow, John Crow, Robert Crow, Walter H. Crow, Benjamin B. Crow, John S. Eldredge, Joseph Egbert, Nathaniel Fairbanks, John S. Freeman, Green Flake (colored), John S. Gleason, David Grant, Hans G. Hansen, Levi Jackman, Stephen Kelsey, Levi N. Kendall, Hark Lay (colored), Joseph Mathews, Elijah Newman, David Power, Lewis B. Myers, O. P. Rockwell, Jackson Redding, Shadrach Roundy, James W. Stewart, Gilbroid Summe, Horace Thornton, Marcus B. Thorpe, George W. Therlkill, Norman Taylor, Seth Taft, Robert Thomas.

6. ERASTUS SNOW

This Pioneer was in his 28th year when with Orson Pratt he entered Salt Lake valley on the 21st of July, 1847. He had been sent forward from the main encampment expressly to join Elder Pratt and assist him in the selection of a place for settlement. Accordingly Elder Pratt took him for his companion on the last day of the necessary advance exploration of the route to be traveled by the main company. Erastus Snow was then, though a young man, one of marked judgment and ability, as witnessed by the fact of his being sent forward from the main encampment to assist the captain of the advanced company of the Pioneers in selecting a place of settlement. Less than two years later he was ordained one of the twelve apostles of the New Dispensation, and throughout his long life was a most faithful and devoted servant of God, prominent in all the activities of the church both in foreign lands and in the organized stakes of Zion. He was preeminently successful as a Pioneer, and after Brigham Young easily the most active and prominent in the founding of settlements in the intermountain west. We shall have occasion to speak frequently of his work in the progress of this *History*. Here, however, it is proper to say that the Church of Jesus Christ in the New Dispensation has develpoed no more saintly or manly character than Erastus Snow; neither has the church had a more devoted servant than he was; nor the Lord Jesus Christ a more faithful apostle. He died on the 27th of May, 1888.

7. EMIGRANT COMPANIES PASSING THROUGH SALT LAKE VALLEY IN 1846

So interesting and important to our *History* are the movements of these early Pioneer companies through portions of the country later to comprise parts of Utah—the land occupied by the Latter-day Saints—that I quote the following from Mr. Bryant's work, *What I Saw in California*, respecting the passage of the several companies through the Salt Lake valley in 1846. The quotations are from the 3rd edition of the work. Mr. Bryant was for one term *alcalde* or mayor of San Francisco. The quotations are journal entries under the dates given:

EXCERPTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF EDWIN BRYANT

"*July* 18, 1846: We determined, this morning to take the new route, *via* the south end of the great Salt Lake. Mr. Hudspeth—who with a small party, on Monday, will start in advance of the emigrant companies which intend traveling by this route, for the purpose of making some further explorations—has volunteered to guide us as far as the Salt Plain, a day's journey west of the lake. Although such was my own determination, I wrote several letters to my friends among the emigrant parties in the rear, advising them *not* to take this route, but to keep on the old trail, *via* Fort Hall. Our situation was different from theirs. We were mounted on mules, had no families, and could afford to hazard experiments, and make explorations. They could not." (p. 144.)

"*July* 29: Mr. Hudspeth and two young men came into camp early this morning, having bivouacked last night a short distance from us, on the opposite side of the river. They had forced their way through the upper canon, and proceeded six miles further up Weber river, where they met a train of about forty emigrant wagons under the guidance of Mr. Hastings, which left Fort Bridger the same day that we did. The difficulties to be encountered by these emigrants by the new route will commence at that point; and they will, I fear, be serious. Mr. Hudspeth thinks that the passage through the canon is practicable, by making a road in the bed of the stream at short distances, and cutting out the timber and brush in other places.

Resuming our march, we took a south course over the low hills bordering the valley in which we have been encamped; thence along the base of a range of elevated mountains which slope down to the marshy plain of the lake. This plain varies in width from fifteen to two miles, becoming narrower as we approach what is called the 'Utah Outlet,' the channel through which the Utah Lake empties its waters into the Salt Lake." (pp. 158-9).

"The number of wagons which took the new route from Fort Bridger *via* the south end of the Great Salt Lake, intersecting with the old wagon trail on Mary's river, 250 miles above the sink, was about eighty. The advance company of these was *Mr. Harlan's*. The Pioneers, and those following their trail, succeeded by energetic exertions in opening a road through the difficult mountain passes near the Salt Lake, and reached the settlements of California in good season. The rear party, known as *Messrs. Reed and Donner's company*, did not follow the trail of those who had preceded them, but explored for a portion of the distance, another route, and opened a new road through the Desert Basin. In making these explorations and from other causes, they lost a month's time, the consequence of which was, that they did not reach the pass of the Sierra Nevada until the 31st of October, when they should have been there by the 1st of October."

8. The Arrival of Brigham Young in Salt Lake Valley

The complete entry in *Wilford Woodruff's Journal* for—

"*July* 24, 1847: This is an important day in the history of my life and the history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. On this important day, after traveling from our encampment six miles through the deep ravine-valley ending with the canon through the Last Creek, we came in full view of the great valley or basin [of the] Salt Lake and the land of promise held in reserve by the hand of

God for a resting place for the saints upon which a portion of the Zion of God will be built. We gazed with wonder and admiration upon the vast, rich, fertile valley which lay for about twenty-five miles in length and 16 miles in width, clothed with the heaviest garb of green vegetation in the midst of which lay a large lake of salt water of —— miles in extent, in which could be seen large islands and mountains towering towards the clouds; also a glorious valley abounding with the best fresh water springs, riverlets, creeks, brooks and rivers of various sizes all of which gave animation to the sporting trout and other fish, while the waters were wending their way into the great Salt Lake. Our hearts were surely made glad after a hard journey—from Winter Quarters—of 1200 miles through flats of Platte river and steeps of the Black Hills and the Rocky Mountains, and burning sands of the eternal sage region, and willow swales and rocky canons and stumps and stones—to gaze upon a valley of such vast extent entirely surrounded with a perfect chain of everlasting hills and mountains, covered with eternal snows, with their innumerable peaks like pyramids towering towards heaven, presenting at one view the grandest and most sublime scenery that could be obtained on the globe. Thoughts of pleasing meditation ran in rapid succession through our minds while we contemplated that not many years hence and that the House of God would stand upon the top of the mountains, while the valleys would be converted into orchards, vineyards, gardens and fields by the inhabitants of Zion, the standard be unfurled for the nations to gather thereto.

President Young expressed his full satisfaction in the appearance of the valley as a resting place for the saints, and was amply repaid for his journey. After gazing awhile upon the scenery we traveled across the table lands into the valley four miles, to the encampment of our brethren who had arrived two days before us. They had pitched their encampment upon the bank of two small streams of pure water and had commenced plowing and had broke about five acres of ground and commenced planting potatoes. As soon as we were located in the encampment, before I took my dinner, having one-half bushels of potatoes I repaired to the plowed field and planted my potatoes, hoping with the blessings of God at least to save the seed for another year. The brethren had dammed up one of the creeks and dug a trench, and by night nearly the whole ground was irrigated with water. We found the ground very dry. Towards evening, in company with Brothers Kimball, Smith and Benson, I rode several miles up the creek into the mountains to look for timber and see the country, etc. There was a thunder shower and it extended nearly over the whole valley, also it rained some the forepart of the night, we felt thankful for this as it was the general opinion that it did not rain in the valley during the summer time."

CHAPTER LXXX

THE SALT LAKE REGION: FERTILE OR NOT FERTILE?

IT was a wonderful country into which the Pioneers of the Church of the Latter-day Saints had penetrated, and which their Prophet-leader designated so positively as their place of habitation. It was a country practically unknown, through the eastern states, except through Fremont's reports, and his topographical maps, published in the year 1845. Other reports that reached the east concerning the great west and northwest, from agents of the fur companies, from returned adventurers—hunters and trappers—and from missionaries, concerned themselves chiefly with Oregon or California. The great Intermountain West had not, as yet, inspired a great amount of interest.

THE "GREAT BASIN"

The Great Basin, in which are located, on the east side, Salt Lake and Utah Lake (the latter a body of fresh water some thirty miles south of the former) was marked off on Fremont's topographical map as having a diameter of eleven degrees of latitude, by ten degrees of longitude;[1] and an elevation above the sea between 4,000 and 5,000 feet. It extends from the Blue Mountains of Oregon in the north to the approaching southern ends of the Wasatch and Sierra ranges, in the south. Its eastern rim, or wall, is the Wasatch range, the western cordillera of the Rocky Mountains; while the Sierra Nevada range forms the western rim. The Sierra and the Wasatch ranges describe, respectively, a great but irregular arc of a mighty circle, the ends of which approach each other at both the north and the south, so that the Great

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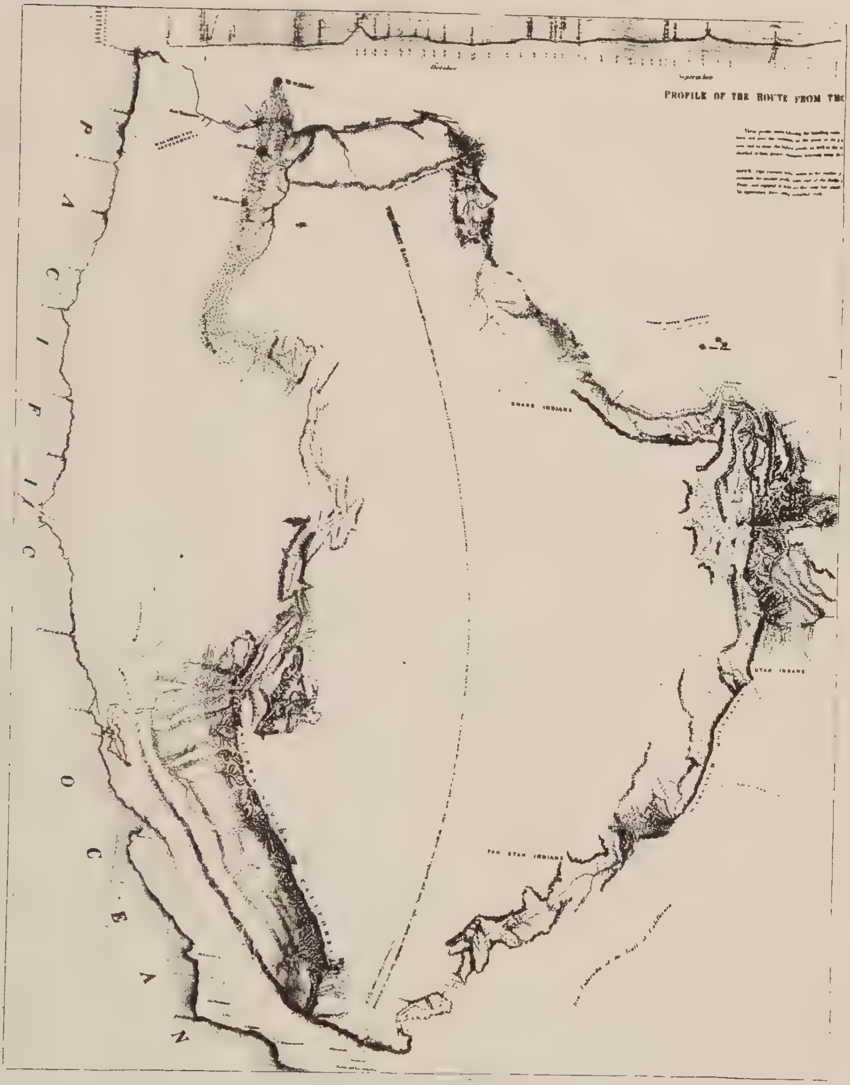
[1] This, of course, is its approximate extent; and still, approximately only, it may be said that the "basin" lies between the 110th and the 120th degrees of longitude; and between the 26th and the 45th degrees of north latitude, at the points of its extremest length and breadth.

THE GREAT BASIN

Section of Fremont's Topographical Map 1845,
Government Report.


PROFILE OF THE ROUTE FROM THE
October
September
PACIFIC OCEAN
SNAKE INDIANS
UTAH INDIANS
PAH UTAH INDIANS

The Great Basin

Basin is irregularly oval rather than circular in form, with its greatest extent running north and south.[2] Fremont describes it on the face of his topographical map as,

> "A region surrounded by lofty mountains; contents almost unknown, but believed to be filled with rivers and lakes which have no communication with the sea, deserts and oases which have never been explored, and savage tribes which no travelers have described."

Subsequent exploration and settlement proved much of this conjecture to be true. It is a region surrounded by lofty mountains; also with many local, narrow mountain ranges, for the most part running parallel with the ranges forming the basin's east and west sides. "The absence of one or more short ranges opposite each other will occasionally unite several valleys into one," says Lieutenant J. W. Gunnison.[3] He also notes that some partial cross ridges in the basin form minor basins. Much of the Great Basin's area is desert and semi-desert, with here and there fertile tracts of land bordering local river systems, the *oases* of Fremont's conjectures. It has the river sinks and shallow, brackish lakes which have no outlet to the sea. Indeed the whole basin itself is but the bottom of some ancient sea with a probable outlet *via* the Columbia river, connecting it with the Pacific Ocean.[4]

It is within this region about the Great Salt Lake, however, where the Latter-day Saint Pioneers had halted, and where, and in adjacent local valleys, their colonizing activities for some years will be employed, with which I am here immediately concerned.

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[2] See topographical map accompanying Fremon'ts *Report of His First and Second Expedition,* 1842-3-4; published by order of the United States senate, at Washington, 1845. Others regard the "basin" as "roughly triangular" in outline. (See *Great Salt Lake, Present and Past,* Dr. James E. Talmage, 1900, p. 88). For a more minute description of the Great Basin by Fremont, and one of great interest, see *Note* end of chapter.

[3] *The Mormons or Latter-day Saints,* pp. 14, 15. Lieutenant Gunnison was of the U. S. A. topographical engineers accompanying Captain Howard Stansbury in his government topographical surveying expedition to Utah, 1849-50. His book is written from personal observation and deduction while in the United States service in Utah.

[4] This ancient inland sea is now called Lake Bonneville, of which more later. See *Notes* 2 and 3, end of chapter lxxxi.

A controversy in subsequent years arose as to the fertility or barrenness of the region the "Mormon" Pioneers designated as a *habitat* for their people, *viz.*, in Salt Lake and adjacent valleys on the east side of the Great Basin, echoes of which are still to be heard in controversial literature upon this subject.[5] It is quite probable that the early settlers in the Salt Iake valley, regarding the subject from the standpoint of the hardships they endured while planting their colonies, and instituting practically a new system of agriculture, involving the added toil and expense of irrigation to raise their crops, unconsciously emphasized the barren and desert features which made the added toil and expense of farming imperative. Also in some of their descriptions they were holding in contrast with their present semi-barren and treeless environment the well watered, alternating prairie and woodlands of Missouri, Illinois and Iowa, fertile beyond all other lands, and the paradise of the agriculturist.

Conflicting Testimony on Fertility and Sterility

Yet, as we have seen in a previous chapter, leading Pioneers themselves did not fail to note the natural advantages of the Salt Lake valley. Orson Pratt notes in his *Journal* that "streams from the mountains and springs were very abundant, the water excellent and generally with gravel bottoms. A great variety of green grass, and very luxuriant, covered the bottoms for miles where the soil was sufficiently damp, but in other places, although the soil was good, yet the grass had nearly dried up for want of moisture." He also notes that streams were entering into the valley from the mountains on the east every few miles, "many of which were sufficiently large to carry mills and other machinery."[6] Wilford Woodruff, as we have seen already, was enthusiastic in his commendation, speaking of the valley as the "vast, rich, fertile," and "glorious valley;" and as "abounding with the best fresh water springs, riverlets, creeks, brooks and rivers of various sizes."[7] He also assures us that President Young "expressed his full satisfaction in the appearance of the valley as a resting place for the saints, and was amply repaid for his journey."[8]

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[5] See articles in *Lewiston* (Maine) *Journal*, as late as August and September, 1903, reproduced in *Defense of the Faith and the Saints*, vol. i, pp. 83-107, by the author of this *History*; also current anti-"Mormon" literature generally.

All the Pioneers, however, especially some of those who came into the valley that same year, but after the first companies, were not equally enthusiastic in their appreciation of the valley's beauty, grandeur, or fertility. The principal drawbacks noted were its treeless state, its wide stretches of alkali bottom lands, its dry bench lands, and the fact that even before it could be plowed, the land had to be irrigated. "My mother was heartbroken," writes Clara Decker Young, one of the women of the Pioneer company, "because there were no trees to be seen. I don't remember a tree that could be called a tree. * * * The ground was so dry that they found it necessary to irrigate it before plowing, some plows having been broken." She adds that to the other two women who had made the journey from Winter Quarters, "there was a sense of desolation and loneliness"[9] in the new country to which they had come.

The first impression of the valley upon other Pioneers was very disheartening, says Lorenzo Young. Except for two or three cottonwood trees along the water course no other trees were in sight, and Brigham Young regretted the destruction of the willows and wild roses growing on the banks of City Creek, in widening the channel of the stream for irrigating purposes, "leaving nothing to vary the scene but rugged mountains, the sage brush and the sun flower. The ground was covered with millions of black crickets which the Indians were harvesting for their winter food."[10]

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[6] Orson Pratt's Journal, entry for July 22nd, 1847, *Millennial Star*, vol. xii, p. 178.

[7] See *Note* 8, end of chapter lxxix, excerpt from *Woodruff's Journal*, entry for July 24th, 1847.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *Clara Decker Young's Experiences, Ms.*, p. 5, quoted by Bancroft, *History of Utah*, p. 261.

Samuel Brannan, meeting the returning members of the Mormon Battalion in the Sierra mountains, in September, 1847, who were *en route* for Salt Lake valley, said:

> "The saints could not possibly subsist in the Great Salt Lake valley, as, according to the testimony of the mountaineers, it froze there every month in the year, and the ground was too dry to sprout seeds without irrigation, and irrigated with the cold mountain streams the seeds planted would be chilled and prevented from growing; but if they did grow they would be sickly and fail to mature. He considered it no place for an agricultural people, and expressed his confidence that the saints would emigrate to California the next spring. On being asked if he had given his views to President Brigham Young he answered that he had. On further inquiry as to how his views were received he said in substance that the president laughed and made some rather insignificant remark, 'but,' said Brannan, 'when he has fairly tried it, he will find that I was right and he was wrong, and will come to California.' "[11]

The doubts of Bridger concerning grain maturing in the Salt Lake valley have already been recorded.[12]

Erastus Snow during the celebration of the thirty-third anniversary of the entrance of the Pioneers into Salt Lake valley, said:

> "When the pioneers found it [i. e. Salt Lake valley], it was well-nigh purified by the lapse of time and the desolation of ages, and the wickedness of its ancient inhabitants was well-nigh obliterated, though the curse of barrenness and desolation still existed."[13]

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[10] Bancroft's *History of Utah*, page 262, quoting from *Early Experiences*, Lorenzo Young, *Ms.*, p. 415. The manner of gathering this "harvest" is thus described by Lorenzo Young (brother of Brigham Young): "The Indians made a corral twelve or fifteen feet square, fenced about with sage brush and grease-wood, and with branches of the same drove them [the crickets] into the enclosure. Then they set fire to the brush fence, and going amongst them, drove them into the fire. Afterward they took them up by the thousands, rubbed off their wings and legs, and after two or three days separated the meat, which was, I should think, an ounce or half an ounce of fat to each cricket." (*Early Experiences*, Lorenzo Young, *Ms.*, pp. 4-5).

[11] *History of Mormon Battalion*, Tyler, page 315.

[12] See *ante* this *History*, ch. lxxix.

[13] *The Utah Pioneers*, p. 41.

An anti-"Mormon" author declares that Brigham Young had led his people "to a land as barren as the desert of Sahara, and as devoid of vegetation as the Rock of Gibralter;"[14] and Senator Seddon, of Virginia, in referring to the Great Basin, in a speech before the United States senate, declared that it "had been abandoned to the Mormons for its worthlessness."[15]

Other anti-"Mormon" writers desiring to depreciate the achievements of the Latter-day Saints in conquering a barren wilderness by means of ceaseless toil and irrigation, have exaggerated the natural fertility of Salt Lake valley, and represented it almost as a fertile paradise. "The Mormons found a plain road into a fertile, unoccupied country; * * * its isolation alone was the cause of its non-occupation."[16]

"There never was any barren valley [i. e. Salt Lake valley], for it has always been one of the best watered, most easily cultivated, and reproductive valleys west of the Mississippi. The Mormons raised bountiful crops of grain the very first year of their arrival."[17] "The difficulty of securing a crop here in this fertile valley with its mild and equable climate was very small in comparison with the difficulties encountered by the first settlers of New England along the bleak Atlantic shore."[18]

Schuyler Colfax, vice-president of the United States, in the *New York Independent*, 1870, having then recently returned from California *via* Salt Lake valley, refers to the credit claimed by the "Mormons" for fertilizing the desert. "For this," said he, "they claim great credit; and I would not detract one *iota* from all they are legitimately entitled to.

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[14] *The Mormon Prophet*, Waite, 1866, page 5.

[15] Bancroft's *History of Utah*, p. 453.

[16] *McBride's Route of the Mormons, Ms.*, quoted by Bancroft, *History of Utah*, footnote, page 258.

[17] Plainly an error, since the Pioneers did not arrive until the 24th of July and no planting took place except as to corn, vegetables, and buckwheat as an experiment. From this planting nothing matured. (See Parley P. Pratt's *Autobiography*, p. 401).

[18] A Salt Lake correspondent of the *Lewiston* [Maine] *Journal*, Aug. 19, 1903, *Defense of the Faith and the Saints*, pp. 86-87.

It *was* a desert when they first emigrated thither. They have made large portions of it fruitful and productive, and their chief city is beautiful in location and attractive in its gardens and shrubbery. But the solution of it all is in one word—*water!* What seemed to the eye a desert became fruitful when irrigated; and the mountains whose crests are clothed in perpetual snow, furnished in the unfailing supplies of their ravines, the necessary fertilizer."[19]

Commenting upon the above passage in the text, Elder Taylor said:

> "Water! *Mirabile dictu!* Here I must help Mr. C. out.
>
> This wonderful little water nymph, after playing with the clouds on our mountain tops, frolicking with the snow and rain in our rugged gorges for generations, coquetting with the sun and dancing to the sheen of the moon, about the time the 'Mormons' came here took upon herself to perform a great miracle, and descending to the valley with a wave of her magic wand and the mysterious words, 'hiccory, diccory, dock,' cities and streets were laid out, crystal waters flowed in ten thousand rippling streams, fruit trees and shrubbery sprang up, gardens and orchards abounded, cottages and mansions were organized, fruits, flowers and grain in all their elysian glory appeared, and the desert blossomed as the rose; and this little frolicking elf, so long confined to the mountains and water courses proved herself far more powerful than Cinderella or Aladdin. * * * But, to be serious, did water tunnel through our mountains, construct dams, canals and ditches, lay out our cities and towns, import and plant choice fruit trees, shrubs, and flowers, cultivate the land, and cover it with the cattle on a thousand hills, erect churches, school houses and factories, and transform a howling wilderness into a fruitful field and garden? * * * What if a stranger on gazing upon the statuary in Washington and our magnificent Capitol, and after rubbing his eyes were to explain, 'Eureka! it is only rock and mortar and wood.' This discoverer would announce that instead of a development of art, intelligence, industry and enterprise, its component parts were simply stone, mortar and wood, Mr. Colfax has discovered that our improvements are attributed to water!"[20]

In anti-"Mormon" literature generally, I say again, will be found an effort to discredit the achievements of the saints in redeeming the desert lands of Salt Lake and adjacent valleys, and other regions of the Great Basin; for desert, to a large extent, they were, even as much of their area remains to testify to this day. On the other hand, yielding to the desire so natural to man, to magnify his own achievements, the triumph of his faith, or represent himself as the special object of divine care, it is possible that the saints in their account of things have unconsciously emphasized the desert appearance and conditions of the land to which they came as exiles from better lands, out of all due proportion. The fact is that there is *data* in abundance for both sides to the controversy, according to the mental attitude assumed by the disputant, or the viewpoint of the narrator. It is the two-sided-shield sort of a question. Looked upon from one side the shield seemed to be gold; looked upon from the other, it appeared to be silver; for the reason that one side was gold and the other silver. To get the truth both sides had to be looked upon. It is so with our fertile-desert controversy of the Salt Lake and adjacent valleys at the time the Pioneer company entered them. There was plenty of desert lands out of the reach of water by any means of irrigation that the Pioneers could then adopt; with staked plains of alkali and sand utterly barren; the whole lake district with adjacent valleys, and, for matter of that, the whole of the Great Basin, save for some mountain ranges that rimmed it, was practically treeless. On the other hand, considerable land along the east side of Salt Lake valley and in a number of adjacent valleys extending north and south for a distance of many miles were well watered, and needed only that the streams be spread out over the intervening stretches of land in a simple system of irrigation, to make the seeming dry and barren waste fruitful. Of this fertile region, its extent and possibilities, Lieutenant Gunnison, of Captain Stansbury's company of United States army engineers, in the early days of Salt Lake valley's settlement—1849-50—perhaps gave the most accurate dscription, and formed the most intelligent judgment. After speaking of the barren and desert condition of the larger part of the Great Basin, the lieutenant then says of the fertile region:

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[19] See *The Mormon Question*, p. 2. This pamphlet, published by the church, is made up of a speech by the vice-president from the veranda of his hotel in Salt Lake City, October, 1869, making certain strictures upon the religion of the Latter-day Saints; Elder John Taylor's answer thereto through the press; the vice-president's reply through the *New York Independent;* and Elder Taylor's rejoinder.

[20] *The Mormon Question*, Colfax-Taylor, p. 18.

LIEUTENANT J. W. GUNNISON'S DESCRIPTION OF EARLY UTAH

> "Along the western foot of the Wasatch range, for three hundred miles, is a strip of alluvion, from one to two miles in width,— and in the valley of the Jordan this is widened by what can be reclaimed by irrigating from its waters; and the spots similarly situated in other valleys, furnish the only land suited to cultivation in the Utah territory. This arises from the want of rain during the growing season; and water for the crops is only to be procured from the numerous streams that flow down the mountain gorges, fed during the spring, and into midsummer, by the melting snows. The higher mountains retain the snow, and irrigate the bases the longest time, and where the streams cannot be taken at the canon mouths, and led off for the farmer's use, the ground is lost to the plough. Most of these creeks are absorbed in the porous alluvion before they have reached a mile from the base, and frequently reappear in very diminished quantity in springs, at too low a level for use, in the arid plain that borders the salt pools or lakes. The land around Salt Lake is flat, and rises imperceptibly on the south and west for several miles, where it is not broken up by the abrupt hills, and is a soft, and sandy barren, irreclaimable for agricultural purposes. On the north the tract is narrow, and the springs bursting out near the surface of the water, the grounds cannot be irrigated; but the eastern side, above the line overflow when the lake rises with the spring freshets, is fertile and cultivated between the mountain and shore."

OF POSSIBLE FUTURE POPULATION

Estimating the population that could possibly be sustained in this fertile region within the territory of Utah, in view of the resources then in sight, Gunnison said:

> "In order to estimate the probable amount of population which can well be sustained in the territory, we may safely rely on an equivalent of 2,000 pounds of flour to the acre of the plowed lands, and, drawing the meat part of the ration, or one half, from the herds fed elsewhere, there could be fed four thousand persons on the square mile. Such a density of inhabitants it can hardly be supposed will ever be attained there; but modified by the peculiar circumstances of the case, and social character of the people, and giving a far less amount to the mile, we may calculate that the territory of Utah will maintain, with ease, a million of inhabitants. Stretching southward from the point

we have been noticing and passing over the rim of the Great Basin into a cotton-growing region, and where it is contemplated to try the sugar cane; having abundant iron mines everywhere in its whole extent, and inexhaustible beds of coal in the Green River Basin—with hill pastures, the finest in the world for sheep and wool raising—with water power for manufactures on every considerable stream—there are elements for a great and powerful mountain nation."[21]

After eighty-three years of growth and development within the region of country referred to, the possibilities of which in the above passage were forecast, realization, in population at least, has not yet overtaken the anticipation of Lieutenant Gunnison; but realization may be on the way; and doubtless but waits upon a further development of the resources of the intermountain west to bring to pass in accomplished fact all—and more than all—that the young officer foresaw as possibility.

NOTE

FREMONT'S DESCRIPTION OF THE "GREAT BASIN"—THE INTER-MOUNTAIN WEST

"Differing so much from the Atlantic side of our continent, in coast, mountains, and rivers, the Pacific side differs from it in another most rare and singular feature—that of the great interior basin, of which I have so often spoken, and the whole form and character of which I was so anxious to ascertain. Its existence is vouched for by such of the American traders and hunters as have some knowledge of that region; the structure of the Sierra Nevada range of mountains requires it to be there; and my own observations confirm it. Mr. Joseph Walker, who is so well acquainted in those parts, informed me that, from the Great Salt Lake west, there was a succession of lakes and rivers which have no outlet to the sea, nor any connection with the Columbia, or with the Colorado or the Gulf of California. He described some of these lakes as being large, with numerous streams, and even considerable rivers, falling into them. In fact, all concur in the general report of these interior rivers and lakes; and, for want of understanding the force and power of evaporation, which so soon establishes an equilibrium between the loss and the supply of waters, the fable of whirlpools and subterraneous outlets has gained belief, as the only imaginable way of carrying off the waters which have no visible discharge. The structure of the country would require this formation of interior lakes; for the waters which would collect between the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevada, not being able to cross this formidable barrier, nor to get to the Columbia or the

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[21] Gunnison, *The Mormons*, pp. 15-18.

Colorado, must naturally collect into reservoirs each of which would have its little system of streams and rivers to supply it. This would be the natural effect; and what I saw went to confirm it. The Great Salt Lake is a formation of this kind, and quite a large one; and having many streams, and one considerable river, four or five hundred miles long falling into it. This lake and river I saw and examined myself; and also saw the Wasatch and Bear river mountains which enclose the waters of the lake on the east, and constitute, in that quarter, the rim of the Great Basin. Afterwards, along the eastern base of the Sierra Nevada, where we traveled for forty-two days, I saw the line of lakes and rivers which lie at the foot of that Sierra; and which Sierra is the western rim of the basin. In going down Lewis's Fork and the main Columbia, I crossed only inferior streams coming in from the left, such as could draw their water from a short distance only; and I often saw the mountains at their heads, white with snow; which, all accounts said, divided the waters of the desert from those of the Columbia, and which could be no other than the range of mountains which form the rim of the basin on its northern side. And in returning from California along the Spanish trail, as far as the head of the Santa Clara Fork of the Rio Virgin, I crossed only small streams making their way south to the Colorado, or lost in sand—as the Mohave; while to the left, lofty mountains, their summits white with snow, were often visible, and which must have turned water to the north as well as to the south, and thus constituted, on this part, the southern rim of the basin. At the head of the Santa Clara Fork and in the Vegas de Santa Clara, we crossed the ridge which parted the two systems of waters. We entered the basin at that point, and have traveled in it ever since, having its southeastern rim [the Wasatch Mountains] on the right, and crossing the streams which flow down into it. The existence of the basin is therefore an establishd fact in my mind; its extent and contents are yet to be better ascertained. It cannot be less than four or five hundred miles each way, and must lie principally in the Alta California; the demarcation latitude of 42 degrees probably cutting a segment from the north part of the rim. Of its interior, but little is known. It is called a desert, and, from what I saw of it, sterility may be its prominent characteristic; but where there is so much water, there must be some oasis. The great river, and the great lake, reported, may not be equal to the report but where there is so much snow, there must be streams; and where there is no outlet, there must be lakes to hold the accumulated waters, or sands to swallow them up. In this eastern part of the basin, containing the Sevier, Utah, and the Great Salt lakes and the rivers and creeks falling into them, we know there is good soil and good grass, adapted to civilized settlements. In the western part, on Salmon Trout river, and some other streams, the same remark may be made.

The contents of this Great Basin are yet to be examined. That it is peopled, we know; but miserably and sparsely. From all that I heard and saw, I should say that humanity here appeared in its lowest form, and in its most elementary state. Dispersed in single families; without firearms; eating seeds and insects; digging roots, (and hence their name)—[Digger Indians]—such is the condition of the greater part. Others are a degree higher, and live in communities upon some lake or river that supplies fish, and from which they repulse the miserable Diggers. The rabbit is the largest animal known in this desert; its flesh affords a little meat, and their bag-like covering is made of its skins. The wild sage is their only wood, and here it is of extraordinary size—sometimes a foot in diameter and six or eight feet high. It serves for fuel, for building material, for shelter to the rabbits, and for some sort of covering for the feet and legs in cold weather. Such are the accounts of the inhabitants and productions of the Great Basin; and which, though imperfect, must have some foundation, and excite our desire to know the whole."[22]

This description is important and of interest in this *History* because it was the account given of this region, and published in the Nauvoo papers before the exodus of the saints from that city, and hence the description with which some of the Pioneers were familiar. In the *Nauvoo Neighbor* of September 17, 1845, is the following excerpt from the *National Intelligencer*, "A basin which may hold a kingdom such as France, and which has for its rim a circle of mountains whose summits penetrate the regions of eternal snow, is certainly a new and grand object to be revealed."

Dr. Talmage, sometime professor of geology in University of Utah, describes the Great Basin as follows: "The largest closed drainage area in North America is the Great Basin now under consideration. The region to which this name is applied is of outline roughly triangular. * * * It extends about 880 miles in greatest length, running east of south and west of north, and 572 miles in extreme width from east to west. The area thus included is about 210,000 square miles, comprising the western half of Utah, the greater part of Nevada, and portions of eastern California, southeastern Oregon, southeastern Idaho and southwestern Wyoming. The southern part of the Great Basin has not been definitely surveyed." (This 1900).[23]

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[22] *Fremont's First and Second Expedition*, pp. 275-6, *United States Senate Document*.

[23] *The Great Salt Lake, Present and Past*, p. 88.

CHAPTER LXXXI

THE SALT LAKE REGION BEFORE THE ADVENT OF THE "MORMON" PIONEERS

THE first expedition of white men to enter this region, about which there can be no doubt, was that headed by the Catholic Fathers, Francisco Silvestre Velez de Escalante, and Francisco Atanasio Dominguez, in 1776.[1]

The expedition numbered ten all told, including, beside the Catholic fathers mentioned, Don Juan Pedro Cisneros, the mayor of the town of Zuni, and Don Bernado Miera y Pacheco, a retired captain, and citizen of Santa Fe.

ROMAN CATHOLIC FATHERS IN UTAH LAKE VALLEY—1776

The purpose of the expedition was to find a route from Santa Fe to Monterey on the coast of California, then recently made a post of entry for goods shipped from Spain and southern Mexico; and it was thought that if a road could be found direct from Santa Fe to Monterey it could be of great advantage in transporting both troops and goods to the New Mexican capital. Also it would doubtless give the priests access to other tribes of the natives, and facilitate communication among the stations the church had already established in California and New Mexico.

To achieve this purpose the expedition set out from Santa Fe on the 29th of August, 1776. From the *Journal* of the expedition[2] it is learned that the course was northwesterly through what is now the western part of the state of Colorado, to a little above the 40th degree north latitude. Then westward until they crossed Green river (which they named Rio San Buenaventura) some distance above the mouth of what is now called Uintah river (by the fathers called Rio San Damian). Thence westward over a plateau and up the Uintah, Duchesne, and Strawberry valleys; thence down what is now called Spanish Fork canon into the beautiful Utah Lake valley, which the fathers called "The Valley and Lake of Our Lady of Mercy of the Timpanogotzis."

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[1] Usually writers upon this subject begin with an expedition sent out by Francis Vasquez de Coronado from Cibola, New Mexico, consisting of twelve men led by Captain Garcia Lopes de Cardenas. Their object was to find and explore a large river reported by the natives as lying far to the northwest from Cibola. It is supposed that after many days of hard travel the expedition arrived at the canon of the Colorado at a point within the present state of Utah; but could not reach the river itself because of the depth and precipitous sides of the mighty gorge through which it passed; and hence the expedition failed of its purpose and returned, after much suffering, to the main encampment of Coronado's "exploring army," in New Mexico. Because the expedition led by Lopes de Cardenas did not enter the Great Basin, the region with which I am dealing, and because his expedition to the Colorado was barren of results, I excluded mention of it in the text.

The expedition arrived in the valley on the 23rd of September, 1776, and remained until the 27th, during which time they left their first encampment on the stream down the windings of which they had entered the valley,[3] and moving northward crossed Provo river, and thence still northward to what was later called American Fork Creek, from which point they could see the outlet of the lake—the present Jordan river. They did not visit the outlet, but named it "Rio de Santa Ana." They noted the great beauty of the valley, and mention the fact that the "San Nicholas"—the name they gave to Provo river[4]—"runs through large plains of good land for planting." It has more water than the two preceding streams; and "it has large groves, and plenty of good land *if irrigated,* [*!*] for two and even three large villages."[5]

The fathers established friendly relations with the natives living on the eastern shore of the lake, whom they met in great numbers. They told them of God, and of obedience, and that while it was necessary for them (the fathers) to proceed on their journey, they would send priests to teach them of Christ, and Spaniards to live among them and teach them to cultivate the soil, and raise cattle, "so that they could be able to eat and to dress like the Spaniards, to obey the law, and to live as God had commanded."[6] The fathers required and the Indians gave them a token that they desired to be Christians. This was to be shown to the great chief of the fathers, (the king of Spain), and which when the promised priests should come, they would bring with them for identification and to insure a friendly reception. These tokens were figures representing two of their chiefs and one other person of some authority among them painted with earth and red ochre on three separate crosses, the idea of which had been given them by the fathers displaying the cross of the rosary, and requesting that the token be drawn or painted upon a cross.[7] One woman with a child that was sick begged that it might be baptized, but as, on inquiry, the fathers found the child was not likely to die, they "did not find it necessary to give it the water of baptism;" but for the mother's comfort told her they "would soon return and then would baptize all, both large and small."[8]

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[2] A translation from the Spanish of this valuable record is made, and is now published in a recent book on the *Catholic Church in Utah,* by the very Reverend W. R. Harris, D. D., L. L. D., 1909, (who will hereafter be referred to as "Dean Harris") it occupies 117 pages of Dean Harris' book, pp. 125-242.

[3] It was thought for some time that these Catholic Fathers entered Utah Lake valley via the stream now called Provo river, but the published *Journal of the Fathers,* makes it clear that they came down the Spanish Fork stream which they named "Auguas Calientes" (river of warm water). (See Escalante's Journal, also Dean Harris' discussion of the question, *The Catholic Church in Utah,* p. 248).

[4] The remaining large stream of the valley, American Fork, they called "Rio de San Antonio de Padua." (*The Catholic Church in Utah,* 248. See also Escalante's Journal, *Ibid,* pp. 173-184).

[5] Escalante's Journal, *Ibid,* pp. 180-181.

The fathers estimated that the lake on the shore of which these people lived—Utah Lake—was six leagues wide, and fifteen leagues long; and as the "league" was the old Spanish standard, equal to about 2.41 United States miles, the dimensions of the lake by their estimation would be 12.46 miles in width, by 36.15 miles in length.[9] The natives called this sheet of water "Timpanogo," meaning, doubtless, "fish lake" as the natives living upon its shores and subsisting upon its abundant supply of good fish were called "Timpanogotzis" by the surrounding tribes, meaning thereby "fish-eaters."[10] The ruling chief among these people was one "Tumnianchi."

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[6] Escalante's Journal, *The Catholic Church in Utah*, p. 176.

[7] *The Catholic Church in Utah*, p. 179.

[8] *Ibid*, pp. 178-9.

[9] See the *Catholic Church in Utah*, p. 180. The dimensions of the lake, "north and south, are about 22 miles; and in width, east and west, nine, or ten miles." (Elwood Mead, *Report U. S. Department of Agriculture*, 1903, p. 95).

The natives told the fathers of the Salt Lake in the next valley northward, and of the "wonders of it to the native mind."[11] The fathers, however, did not become sufficiently curious to visit this wonderful lake; on the contrary, after spending three days with the Timpanogotzis, they departed from the Utah valley southward upon their search for a route to Monterey. The expedition passed through Sevier valley, thence southward through one of the most extensive and noble valleys of the state of Utah—to which the name "Escalante" is given—to the valley of the Rio Virgin, thence to the Colorado and back to Santa Fe.

While yet in the Sevier valley, being overtaken in the early October snows of that high region, the expedition lost all hope of finding a route to Monterey in any reasonable time, and hence determined upon the return to Santa Fe. This abandonment of the enterprise was not agreeable to all the party. They had come far, it was urged; they could surely find a way; why turn back? To determine the matter prayers were said and lots cast; and the lot was against seeking further a route to Monterey. This on the 11th of October, 1776.[12] They arrived in Santa Fe on the 2nd of January, 1777.

THE HUNTER AND TRAPPER PERIOD

After the departure of the Catholic fathers the next white men to make their way into the intermountain region were the hunters and trappers of the great fur companies, who contended with each other for "fur hunting territory" as since their day, to compare small things with greater ones, nations have contended with each other for spheres of national commercial influence. There is evidence that representatives of the Hudson Bay Company and the North West Fur Company, as well as American fur companies extended their operations as far south and west as the Salt Lake and Utah valleys, as early as 1820-25. The advent of these will be briefly stated in chronological order as nearly as they may be followed.

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[10] Escalante's Journal, *The Catholic Church in Utah*, pp. 181-2.

[11] Among other things they represented that "its waters were very harmful and very salty; and that if one moistened any part of the body with it, he would at once feel the part bathed greatly inflamed." (*Ibid*, p. 182.)

[12] Escalante's Journal in the *Catholic Church in Utah*, pp. 194-7.

THE HUDSON BAY COMPANY AGENTS

Hudson Bay Company men were known to have been active in the trapping regions of the headwaters of Snake river as early as 1819-20. "Donald McKenzie" says Chittenden,[13] "worked all through the country and around the headwaters of the Snake river before 1820. Alexander Ross[14] quotes a letter written by him from 'Black Bear Lake' [the present Bear Lake of Idaho and Utah] in 1819." And then he adds: "It seems scarcely possible that so large a trapping party could have passed so much time in this vicinity without discovering Great Salt Lake."[15]

PETER SKEEN OGDEN

Peter Skeen Ogden was "a leading spirit of the Hudson Bay Company in the decade between 1820-1830. In 1825 he set out with a party of trappers from Van Couver on the Columbia river for the region round the headwaters of the Snake river, then known as the Lewis branch of the Columbia. This expedition built old Fort Boise, thence struck southwest until they came upon the stream now known as the

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[13] Hiram Martin Chittenden, Captain Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army, and author of the *History of American Fur Trade of the Far West*, 3 vols., 1902. A most valuable and reliable work on the movements of the fur traders in the Rocky Mountain regions.

[14] Ross was a clerk of the Pacific Fur Company, with headquarters at Astoria, founded 1811.

[15] *History of American Fur Trade of the Far West*, vol. ii, p. 795.

"Humbolt river," in the present state of Nevada, so named by Captain Fremont, but for some time known as "Ogden's river," "which name by right," remarks H. H. Bancroft, "it should bear today, instead of that of Humbolt."[16] Ogden also trapped on the Bear river in Cache valley, now in the northern part of the state of Utah. Here he accumulated and cached 130 "packs" of furs, in weight about 1,300 lbs.; and variously valued at from $75,000 to $200,000. It is part of the trapper tradition of the intermountain west that General Ashley, one of the charter members of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, of St. Louis, and Etienne Provot by accident came upon this cache and appropriated it. Another version of the affair was that Ogden "voluntarily" disposed of his *cache* to Ashley to obtain relief from some dire straits into which he had fallen, for some merely nominal consideration. It is generally believed that this transaction, whether accomplished by a-mess-of-pottage-purchase, or downright appropriation of a rival company's goods, became the foundation of General Ashley's considerable fortune, gained in the few years that he followed the fur trade.[17] Five years later Ogden was again "relieved" of his furs, stored this time in the Hudson Bay station at "Ogden's Hole," a singular depression at the foot of the Wasatch range, east of the Salt Lake shore, and in the present vicinity, northerly of the city of Ogden. This time Ogden's cache of furs was "lifted" by one Thomas Fitzpatrick and associates in the employ of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company.[18] But while the fortunes of the fur trade in these regions were against Ogden, his name is preserved in history by being given to one of the most beautiful of all the Rocky Mountain streams, "Ogden river," a tributary of the Weber;[19] to the before mentioned depression at the foot of the Wasatch, "Ogden's Hole;" and to "Ogden City," the second city of the state of Utah, beautifully situated near the junction of the Ogden river with the Weber, and for many years the junction city of the Central Pacific and Union Pacific Railroads, which formed the first transcontinental railway line in America; and where, it is evident that this agent of the Hudson Bay Company had a station at this point before the coming of the English speaking trappers into Green River valley in 1823.[20]

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[16] *History of Nevada,* Bancroft, p. 37. It was also called for a time "Mary's river." Chittenden says Ogden married an Indian woman from one of the tribes of the valley, calling her name "Mary;" and from this circumstance the river was called "Mary's river." (*American Fur Trade,* vol. ii, p. 797). Bancroft says "one of Ogden's party married the Indian girl, but does not say it was Ogden." (*History of Nevada,* p. 37.) The Indian wife was soon abandoned, and then the river was no longer called "Mary's river."

[17] *History of American Fur Trade,* vol. i, p. 277. Bancroft, however, refers to General Ashley as "a biave man, shrewd and honest; he was prosperous and commanded the respect of his men." (*History of Utah,* p. 21.)

THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN FUR COMPANY—ASHLEY—PROVOT—BRIDGER

The Rocky Mountain Fur Company was organized in

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[18] One other stream, before noted, bore Ogden's name, *viz.*: East Canon Creek, was called "Ogden's Fork." (See footnote 77. chapter lxxix, this *History*). "The name 'Weber river' dates from this same period (i. e., 1825), but the identity of the individual for whom it was given is lost." (Chittenden's *American Fur Trade*, vol. ii, p. 796).

[19] "Peter Skeen Ogden was the son of Chief Justice Ogden of Quebec, and prior to this time (i. e., 1825) had served both in the Pacific Fur Company and in the North West Company. Later he rose to be chief factor and manager. At Fort Vancouver he was second only to Douglas, who succeeded McLoughlin, and indeed at one time was chief factor in charge [at the Hudson Bay station of Vancouver]. He was short, dark and exceedingly tough, with an inexhaustible fund of humor, and consequently a great favorite. He died at the age of sixty, in Oregon City, 1854." (Bancroft's *History of Nevada*, p. 36, and footnote).

[20] On the representatives of the successive races of men who temporarily operated throughout the intermountain west, Dean Harris has a paragraph in his work that is very instructive: "A singular, if not a unique fact in the history of Utah and southwestern Colorado, is the change of the nomenclature of rivers, mountains and localities, indicating that members of four different races of men passed through or occupied the land for a greater or lesser period. On the mountains, rivers and lakes aboriginal man conferred original names. The Spaniard, burning with religious enthusiasm, substituted for these names those of the saints, martyrs, confessors and canonized virgins of his church. Then came French-Canadian trappers and hunters of the Hudson Bay Fur Company, who gave French names to tribes, mountains and specified localities. Then entered on the scene, in 1823, the men of the American Fur Company, who incorporated English names with or supplanted those already bestowed by the Indian, Spaniard and French. So that on the maps of Utah and Colorado these national names remain as permanent witnesses to the presence, at one time or another, of the existence in our land of four different layers or strata of the human race." (*The Catholic Church in Utah*, p. 257.)

St. Louis in 1823 by William Henry Ashley and Andrew Henry. Ashley was a Virginian by birth, but moved to St. Louis in 1802, at which time Missouri was still known as "Upper Louisiana." Ashley was made the first lieutenant governor of the territory and brigadier general of the militia (whence his title of general).[21] Henry was from Pennsylvania. It is his name that is given to the "Henry Range" of mountains in the southeast section of Utah. The company advertised for one hundred young men to engage in its service, and in the number that responded are the names of men who became famous in the trapper period of the intermountain country's history, such names for example, as Etienne Provot (Provo) Jedediah S. Smith, James Bridger, and Milton and William Sublette—brothers.

After meeting with some disasters in the Upper Missouri river country in the early summer of 1823, attacks upon the expedition by treacherous Indian tribes, the trappers and traders of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company made their way to the Yellowstone river and its tributaries, where some of them had trapped the year before. From the mouth of Powder river Edward Henry sent Etienne Provot with a party of trappers to explore the country to the southwest for trapping fields. It was on this expedition that young Provot is said to have discovered the South Pass.[22] He entered Green river valley, which afterwards became a celebrated rendezvous for the Rocky Mountain fur traders for many years. It is not certain that Provot pushed his way over the west range of mountains into Utah Lake valley that same fall, but he was on the stream which now bears his name, in 1824; and was the hero of one of the most thrilling adventures of trapper life in the intermountain west.[23]

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[21] *History of Wyoming,* Bancroft, pp. 679-80.

[22] "Tradition among the traders and trappers always ascribed the discovery of this pass to Provot, and there is little doubt of the fact; but positive proof there is none. The date of the discovery was probably late in the fall of 1823." (*History of the American Fur Trade,* vol. i, p. 271.) I follow the orthography of Dean Harris for Provot's name, which he obtained from official records in St. Louis. Usually it is given *Provost.* (See *Catholic Church in Utah,* pp. 261-2).

General Ashley wintered in Green River valley 1824-25. It is generally supposed that he gave that stream its present name, calling it Green river, after a Mr. Greene of his party.[24] Chittenden calls attention to the fact, however, that the stream was called "Green river" before General Ashley visited its valley;[25] and that Fremont says the early Spanish traders called it *Rio Verde.*

Early in the summer of 1825 Ashley and Provot met in the Green River valley south of the Uintah Mountains, and together made their way to Utah valley, thence south to the Sevier Lake which they called Ashley's Lake.[26] It was during this visit to Utah Lake that "Fort Ashley"—a trading station, long since obliterated, was founded on its shores.

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[23] See *Note* 1, end of chapter.

[24] Bancroft's *History of Utah,* p. 21.

[25] Ashley's first visit to Green River valley was late in 1824, as he was known to be at Council Bluffs in October and November of that year *en route* for the west. In the *Missouri Intelligence* of April 19, 1825, occurs the following: "On the 24th of August, 1824, Wm. Huddard and fourteen men left Taos and traveled west to *Green river,* probably the Colorado of the west" (*American Fur Trade,* vol. ii, pp. 506-7). This is the first use of the name on record, and certainly proves that the stream had been given the name, "Green river," before Ashley ever saw it. Fremont says it was the *Rio Verde* of the Spaniards. "The refreshing appearance of the broad river, with its timbered shores and green wooded islands, in contrast to its dry, sandy plains, probably obtained for it the name "Green river," which was bestowed upon it by the Spaniards who first came into this country to trade, some 25 years ago (i. e., 1818). It was then familiarly known as the *Seeds-Kee-dee-agie,* or "Prairie Hen river" (Fremont's *Report, Expedition of* 1842-1844, p. 129). Chittenden, while admitting the reasonableness of Fremont's conclusions, says that others acquainted with the characteristics of the river maintain that it derives its name from the appearance of the water, "a pronounced green" (*American Fur Trade,* vol. ii, p. 779). In any event it is pretty clear that "Green river" is but the angelicized name given to it by the Spaniards. "Ashley's Fork" of Green river, flowing from the Uintah mountains southeasterly, was, of course, named after Mr. Ashley.

[26] "Historians," says Chittenden, "have generally supposed that it was Utah Lake that was temporarily honored with the general's name, but this is not the case." (*American Fur Trade,* vol. i, p. 277). Speaking of events in 1825, our author says: "Utah Lake was then known by its present name, and Sevier Lake was called Ashley Lake." (*Ibid,* vol. ii, p. 796). The origin of the name given to Sevier Lake and Sevier river is not known. Fremont in his second expedition, coming from California *via* Sevier Lake and river, says: "The name of this river and lake was an indication of our approach, to regions of which our people (Americans) had been the explorers. It was probably named after an American trapper or hunter, and was the first American name we had met with since leaving the Columbia river." (Fremont's *Report, First and Second Expedition,* 1843-44, p. 272).

Ashley's meanderings this year must also have extended as far north as Cache valley, as it was during this summer of 1825 that he and Provot secured Peter Skeen Ogden's cache of furs. The following year, 1826, Ashley brought to his station on Utah Lake a wheeled cannon, a six pounder, the first wheeled vehicle that came into the Great Basin.[27]

In this year Ashley disposed of his interests in the fur trade in the Rocky Mountains, and Jedediah S. Smith, William L. Sublette and David E. Jackson became the head of the new company. In 1830 the company was again reorganized with Milton Sublette, James Bridger and Thomas Fitzpatrick as chief factors.

It was in 1826 also that Jedediah S. Smith with fifteen men started from Salt Lake valley on his celebrated trapping and exploring tour through Utah and California. He went southward through Utah valley, thence to Sevier Lake, thence southwesterly through the Mohave valley to San Gabriel, near the present city of Los Angeles, where the party arrived in December. Smith and his party worked their way up San Joaquin valley, crossed the Sierra Nevada Mountains, near the headwaters of that stream, in May, and returned eastward to Salt Lake valley in 1827.

PERIOD OF EXPLORATIONS IN THE WEST—BONNEVILLE

After this first trapper period in the intermountain west, the Salt Lake region began to be visited by travelers and explorers, sometimes in semi-official capacity, of such was Captain B. L. E. Bonneville, an army officer "on leave," and who with a party of one hundred and ten trappers came into Green River valley, in 1832, and founded a trading station; from which, and also from a station established on the Salmon river, a tributary of Snake river, he directed trapping and exploring expeditions throughout the intermountain west. One of these expeditions made up of forty men, had for its purpose the exploration of the Great Salt Lake, an enterprise Bonneville entrusted to his lieutenant, Mr. I. R. Walker, who with his party left Green River valley on the 24th of July, 1833. The expedition, however, was a sad failure so far as exploration of the lake was concerned, as Walker's party but skirted the north shore, then made their way to the Humbolt river and its tributaries, where they spent some time in trapping. Finally the party made its way over the Sierra to Monterey, California, thence returned to Bear River valley where they found Bonneville encamped.

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[27] Bancroft erroneously places this in 1827. But Ashley, according to Chittenden, made his last journey to the mountains in 1826.

The report of the expedition's exploits in California and *en route*, going and returning, reflect little credit upon this party of men. Whatever advantage arose from a wider knowledge of hitherto unvisited regions of the intermountain and Pacific west, was more than counter-balanced by the acts of cowardice, injustice, and murder wantonly practiced upon the natives along their route.[28]

Partial explorations of the Great Basin region by Bonneville brought to him lasting fame since his name has been given, albeit without sufficient reason,[29] to that ancient inland sea which doubtless in very remote geological times practically filled the great eastern depression of the intermountain west, and of which Great Salt Lake with Utah and Sevier Lakes, are but the remnants. Chittenden's brief description of Lake Bonneville is: "The Quaternary Lake Bonneville, as traced out by geologists, had an area of nearly 20,000 square miles, was a freshwater lake, and drained north into Snake river, making the Great Basin, geologically at least, a portion of the Columbia valley."[30]

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[28] For an account of the shameful conduct of the men of this expedition, and the atrocities they practiced towards the native tribes, their needless assaults upon them, first through wantonness and then through cowardice. (See *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville, U. S. A.* by Washington Irving, chapters xxi, xxxviii, xxxix, and xl). Fortunately for the reputation of the United States Army and for humanity, Captain Bonneville was in no way responsible for the atrocities of this expedition; and he "listened to the recital of the excesses of the men who constituted it with horror and indignation." Unhappily this was not shared by the hunters and trappers that made up his encampment. "On the contrary," writes Irving, "the events of that expedition were favorite themes in the camp. 'The heroes of Monterey' bore the palm in all the gossipings among the hunters." (*Ibid*, chapter xl.)

[29] "In giving his dedication to Irving Bonneville professed great interest in the exploration of Great Salt Lake, though he had done nothing to speak of in that direction. Irving, however, humored the captain, whose vanity prompted him to give his own name to the lake, although he had not a shadow of title to the distinction. (Bancroft's *History of Utah*, p. 25, note). On this point he also cites Nidever's *Life and Adventure, Ms.;* also Warner's *Memories in Pacific Railway Report*, xi, p. i, 31-4. Bancroft also reproduces Bonneville's Map of 1837. It is very inaccurate and worthless, and leads one to doubt if Bonneville himself had ever seen Salt Lake, which, on the map, is given the name "Lake Bonneville." As a name, however, it did not "take"; and "The Great Salt Lake" survives as the name of this remnant of the larger inland sea of ancient times. But while Bonneville failed to fix his name upon the modern lake, Grove Karl Gilbert, in 1876, gave his name to the ancient inland sea; because, as he supposed, Bonneville gave the first authentic description of the existing lake as a result of his exploration in 1833. (See *The Great Salt Lake, Present and Past, Talmage*, p. 100).

The lakes, both salt and fresh water, lying along the eastern side of the Great Basin may be but the vanishing remnants of the great inland sea of the quaternary period, yet the ancient lake under the name of "Bonneville" will remain for all time to come a fact in the earth-surface history of our planet. Long after the well defined ancient shore lines which now attract the attention of every observer[31] to the various levels at which the great inland sea stood at different epochs in its history, shall have been worn away by erosions, "Lake Bonneville" will live in the world's literature, and in the archives of geological lore.

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[30] *American Fur Trade of the Far West,* vol. ii, p. 793. The following description of the ancient water body of the quaternary period is from the *U. S. Geological Survey,* by G. K. Gilbert, Washington, government printing office, 1890: "One thousand feet above the present level of Great Salt Lake, a mile above the ocean, this great lake followed an intricate outline, generally pear shaped, divided into two principal bodies, which were joined by three straits, the larger body covering what is now the Great Salt Lake desert and the southward portion covering the Sevier desert with a large bay reaching down into Escalante desert, covering almost the entire western half of the state of Utah, and reaching into Nevada and Idaho. The area of this lake was 20,000 square miles, measuring 350 miles long and 145 miles wide. The shore line, exclusive of islands, measured 3,059 miles and the maximum depth was 1,053 feet. This lake was of fresh water and had an outlet through Cache valley, north through Red Rock Pass, in Oneida county, Idaho; then north to the Snake river. The terraces of Bonneville shore line are narrow as compared to the lower shore line and rarely exceed a few rods in width. It can be easily observed along the west slope of the Wasatch Mountains just north of Big Cottonwood canon, and in the vicinity of Garfield, along the north slope of the Oquirrh mountains."

[31] "The shore line appearing upon the mountain sides against which the ancient waters beat, are throughout the greater part of their extent, so distinct that even the school boy is led to think of them as old water margins. Along these terraces abundant proofs of littoral structure may be found. In places pebbly beaches tell of lapping waves, while the covering and cementing tufa attached to the worn stones testifies to chemical precipitation or deposit by evaporation. Ripple marks are as clearly shown in the sandstones and hardened clays as on the shores which are at present washed by the spring waters. Enbankments, wave-cut caves, and all the other usual phenomena of littoral action exist in a state of impressive perfection." (*The Great Salt Lake, Present and Past,* 1900, Dr. Jas. E. Talmage, p. 102). For further information on these shore lines, and the extent of the ancient inland sea, see *Note* 2, end of chapter.

FREMONT'S OBSERVATIONS AND REPORTS OF UTAH REGIONS

After Bonneville the next important person in order of time to visit Salt Lake valley was Colonel John C. Fremont, on his second exploring expedition, 1843.[32] His coming was important because of the descriptions he gave of the Great Basin, the first reliable information about Great Salt Lake, and the topographical maps of the intermountain and Pacific coast west published with his reports.[33]

Fremont's entrance into Salt Lake valley was from Soda Springs down the Bear river, through Cache valley to the

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32. It is claimed, and it is doubtless true, that Father De Smet passed through and even explored a considerable portion of Salt Lake valley in 1841. "Under date of January 19th, 1858, in a letter addressed to the Editor of the *Precis Historiques Bruxells*, and following a description of the Great Salt Lake Basin, Father De Smet says: 'In 1841 I traversed much of this valley in my rambles in the Rocky Mountains'." But, according to Dean Harris, "there appeared in De Smet's writings no exhaustive or detailed account of his visit to Salt Lake." And as the only thing that could give importance to his visit to Salt Lake valley, *viz.*, that his glowing description of the valley decided Brigham Young to lead his people there for settlement, which claim has been disposed of adversely in these pages, *ante*, ch. lxxiii, *Note* 1—it is not necessary to say more of it that is here written. Reference has also been made in former chapters to the passage of some emigrating companies that passed through the Salt Lake valley, *en route* for California, such as Captain Bartleson's company, 1841; and later companies led by Hastings and Reed (see this *History*, ch. lxxix, *Note* 7). Further reference to these matters, as connected with events in Salt Lake valley previous to the advent of the "Mormon" Pioneers, will not be necessary.

33. The mountaineers assumed to make light of Fremont's maps of the regions with which these men professed such an intimate knowledge. Several *Journals* kept by the "Mormon" Pioneers report that Bridger said "he was ashamed of the maps of Fremont, for he knew nothing about the country only the plain traveled road, that he could correct all the maps that had been put out about the western world." (*Woodruff's Journal*, entry for June 28th, 1847). The answer to this complaint against Fremont's maps is that Bridger and the mountaineers generally were not competent judges of maps. Captain R. B. Marcy states that "Bridger was *an illiterate man*, tall, thin, wiry, with a complexion well bronzed by toil and exposure with an independent, generous, open cast of countenance, indicative of brave and noble impulses." (*Thirty Years of Army Life*, p. 400.) Fremont's topographical maps were chiefly the work of Mr. Charles Preuss, who accompanied Fremont on both the expeditions he reported to the government, and who had been "professionally educated" in topographical science. Of him Fremont says: "To his extraordinary skill, supported by the pleasure he felt in the execution of his duties I am indebted for the continuous topographical sketches of the region through which we passed, and which were never interrupted by any extremity of fatigue or privation." (Fremont's *Report*, Preface, p. 5).

mouth of that stream, thence, because of the marshiness of the delta of the river, across the foot hills of the Wasatch Mountains to the Weber river, where he made an encampment, and thence proceeded with his explorations of the lake. It was on the sixth of September that he ascended a butte rising from the plain, and came in full view of the object of his search. Here follows his description:

> "We reached the butte without difficulty, and ascending to the summit, immediately at our feet beheld the object of our anxious search.
> The waters of the inland sea stretched in still and solitary grandeur far beyond the limit of our vision. It was one of the great points of the exploration; and as we looked eagerly over the lake in the first emotions of excited pleasure, I am doubtful if the followers of Balboa felt more enthusiasm when, from the heights of the Andes, they saw for the first time the great western ocean. It was certainly a magnificent object, and a noble terminus to this part of our expedition; and to travelers so long shut up among mountain ranges, a sudden view over the expanse of silent waters had in it something sublime. Several large islands raised their high, rocky heads out of the waves; but whether or not they were timbered, was still left to our imagination, as the distance was too great to determine if the dark hues upon them were woodland or naked rock. During the day the clouds had been gathering black over the mountains to the westward, and, while we were looking, a storm burst down with sudden fury upon the lake, and entirely hid the islands from our view. So far as we could see, along the shores there was not a solitary tree, and but little appearance of grass ;and on Weber's Fork, a few miles below our last encampment, the timber was gathered into groves, and then disappeared entirely."[34]

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34. *Fremont's First and Second Expedition*, p. 151, *U. S. Report*. More or less sport has been made of this account of Fremont's first view of the Great Salt Lake, especially as to his reference to *Balboa*. "Fremont," says Bancroft, "likens himself to Balboa discovering the Pacific; but no one else would think of doing so. He was in no sense a discoverer, and though he says he was the first to embark on that 'inland sea' (Fremont's *U. S. Report*, p. 155) he is again in error, trappers in skin boats having performed that feat while the 'Pathfinder' was studying arithmetic." (Bancroft's *History of Utah*, p. 32). This is unjust to Fremont. His reference to Balboa is in respect to a matter of "enthusiasm," not to "first discovery." In another passage of his *Report*, Fremont expressly concedes that white trappers had visited Salt Lake's shores before him: "Hitherto," he writes, "this lake had been seen only by trappers who were wandering through the country in search of new beaver streams and cared very little for geography; * * * and no instrumental observations or geographical survey of any description. had ever been made anywhere in the neighboring region. (Fremont's *U. S. Report*, p. 132). Fremont was mistaken, perhaps, in supposing that his boat was the first to be launched upon the lake's waters; and he the first white man to visit an island in the lake; but he certainly does not represent himself as the first white man to discover this salt sea of the Great Basin. For Bonneville's description of the Lake, given for the sake of completeness in these early accounts of *America's Dead Sea*, read *Note* 3, end of this chapter.

The 7th and 8th of September were spent in preparations to visit one of the islands of the lake for the purpose of making such observations as was then possible. Among the useful things that formed a portion of Fremont's equipage was an India rubber boat, eighteen feet long, made somewhat in form of a bark canoe of the northern lakes, capable of carrying five or six persons and a considerable weight of baggage. It was in this boat that Fremont with Charles Preuss, Christopher ("Kit") Carson, Baptiste Bernier, and Basil Lajeunesse, set out from the shore at the mouth of Weber river, and landed upon what is now called "Fremont's Island."[35] It is about six or eight miles in circumference, "being simply a rocky hill, which rises abruptly from the water to a height of from eight to nine hundred feet. From its summit Fremont took observations and ascertained that he was in latitude 41° 10′ 42″, and longitude 112° 21′ 05″ from Greenwich; and on the shore of the island at an altitude of 4,200 feet above the Gulf of Mexico. After spending part of two days and a night on the island the explorer reluctantly took his departure. In addition to making his observation for the latitude and longitude, five gallons of the water of the lake was roughly evaporated over his camp fire, which yielded him fourteen pints of "very fine-grained and very white salt, of which the whole lake," he remarks, "may be regarded as a saturated solution."[36] In the chemical analysis of the salt thus obtained he found 97.80 percent was chloride of sodium—common salt.

On the 12th of September, 1843, Fremont and his party left the valley, going northward.

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[35] Fremont had expected to find the mountain islands of the lake fertile, but in this he was mistaken. "In the first disappointment we felt from the dissipation of our dream of the fertile islands," he writes, "I called this *Disappointment Island*" (*Report*, p. 156). Because of the castle-like appearance of its summit, when approached from certain quarters, the "Mormon Pioneers" called it for a time "Castle Island;" but later, when Stansbury made his topographical survey of the Lake he named it *Fremont Island*. "I deemed it but due to the first adventurous explorer of this distant region," he writes in explanation, "to name it after him who first set foot upon its shores." (Stansbury's *Report*, pp. 159, 160).

[36] Fremont's *U. S. Report*, p. 157.

Discovery of the Great Salt Lake

What white man it was who first discovered Salt Lake is still an open question. Chittenden refers to a map of North America engraved for "Gutherie's New System of Geography" in 1811, in which is shown a lake without an outlet in nearly the same latitude and longitude as Great Salt Lake. On this map the lake has no name, but instead the following: "Lake, etc., laid down according to Mr. Lawrence," who is said to have traveled through this country to California in 1790-1791."[37]

Chittenden also notes that a party of men belonging to the Astoria company passed near the lake in 1811-1812, and speaks of other trapper parties who were in the region of the lake before 1824, and thinks it almost incredible that white men should have been in the immediate region of the lake without hearing of it; and hearing of it fail to visit such a remarkable body of water as it must have been represented to be. However, coming to the only known and definitely established facts about the visit of white men to the lake, he says:

> "So far as undubitable proof goes the discovery of the lake is connected with the expedition of General William Ashley which penetrated these regions 1823-6. A party of Ashley's men were encamped for the winter of 1824-5 in Cache valley, trapping on Bear river and its tributaries. Here a controversy arose as to the course of Bear river after it left the valley. A wager was laid and James Bridger was selected to follow the river and determine the bet. This he did and soon arrived at its outlet in Great Salt Lake valley. Testing the water he discovered it to be salt, and on reporting to his companions, all assumed that it was an arm of the Pacific Ocean. But in the spring of 1825,[38] four men in skin boats explored its shore line and found that it had no outlet."[39]

Summing up the present status of the question of the discovery of the lake by white men, our author says:

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[37] *History of American Fur Trade*, vol. ii, p. 794.

[38] Bancroft puts this event in 1826. (See Bancroft's *History of Utah*, p. 20 and note).

[39] *History of American Fur Trade*, pp. 794-5.

> "The situation may be concisely stated by saying, that while Bridger is the first white man whom we positively know to have seen Great Salt Lake, we do not positively know that he was the first to see it."[40]

Bancroft arrives at practically the same conclusion when at the close of his discussion of the question, he writes:

> "That no white man ever saw the Great Salt Lake before Bridger cannot be proven; but his being the only well authenticated account, history must rest there until it finds a better one."[41]

SIGNIFICANCE OF MOVEMENTS—PRE-ARRIVAL OF THE "MORMON" PIONEERS

These movements in the Great Basin and on the Pacific coast during the pre-"Mormon" Pioneer period—during the trapper period and the period of explorations by Bonneville, Fremont *et al;* for though the former was ostensibly on "leave of absence," and the latter on "personal exploration enterprises," yet both of them were doubtless in secret service for the federal government on the Oregon question–which was doubtless of great importance in the unfolding of what used to be included in the phrase "Manifest Destiny" respecting the movement of the people of the United States westward to the Pacific coast; and important to the church of the New Dispensation, the Latter-day Saints, as constituting—albeit blindly at the time—part of that movement and its achievements.

The international situation as to the claims upon the western part of what now constitutes our national Pacific coast line, and roughly eastward to the summit of the Rocky Mountains, was that the Republic of Mexico held conceded territorial rights as far northward as the forty second degree of north latitude, a line running just north of the Great Salt Lake westward to the coast and eastward to the aforesaid summit of the Rocky Mountains. Right of possession northward of the forty-second degree of north latitude to the fifty-fourth and fortieth minute degree of north latitude was chiefly in dispute between England and the United States, with Russia in the background muttering though not so clearly asserting claims to the northern part of the same west coast territory. The claims of the United States to the territory were based upon early discovery of her ships around the mouth of the Columbia river and extending northward along the Pacific coast; also the extension and occupancy by her people of trading and trapping posts along the Columbia and Snake river regions, and permanent settlements in the Willammette valley. England, largely through the activities of her Hudson Bay company agents, extending along the same coast line and interior rivers and valleys, even as we have seen, into the north and east portions of the Great Basin—the region of the Great Salt Lake and adjacent valleys and streams in trapping and trading activities—laid claim to the same territory. It was the rival claims of these nations to this empire of territory that gave rise to the American alliterative political slogan of the presidential election of 1844—"Fifty-Four Forty or Fight;" which roughly represented the claims of the United States to territory along the Pacific coast as against the claims of England; upon the acquiring of which the United States would insist even at the cost of war with England. Ultimately, however, the United States accepted a considerable reduction of her northern claims to her present northern national boundary line of forty-nine degrees north latitude.

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[40] *Ibid*, p. 796.

[41] Bancroft's *History of Utah*, p. 20, note. For description of the lake see *Notes* 2, 3 and 4, end of this chapter.

The important thing to be noted here, however, is that this movement of the American people westward to the Pacific coast, and possession of it practically to the same extent as to its possessions of coast line on the Atlantic seaboard—"Manifest Destiny" for the United States—was secured by this western movement of her people. Mexico with her mixed race of Spaniard and native Indian races crowded upward from the south to the forty-second degree north latitude; and England extended her claims southward to about the mouth of the Columbia river practically to the Mexican border region, thus excluding, if the British claims were allowed, the United States from the Pacific coast.

The United States claims to the Oregon territory, and especially to the mouth of the Columbia river, however, constituted a corridor extending from her interior territory to the Pacific and was an entering wedge between the civilization of the Mexican on the south, and Britain and Russian on the north, which finally widened to our present national possession from the thirty-third to the forty-ninth degree of north latitude along the Pacific coast. And in this great movement the people of the church of the New Dispensation took an important part by their emigration into the eastern part of the Great Basin territory, though within the boundaries of the republic of Mexico—still disputed territory between the Hudson Bay Company (England) and American fur companies of the United States; and especially is their part important when the battalion of five hundred men furnished by their westward moving camps, and the march of that battalion with the United States Army of the West to the Pacific coast, is taken into account. For though fighting no battles they constituted by the performance of garrison duty at various points on the coast a force of occupation in the newly acquired territory that consolidated the victories of their country alike in the field and in the cabinet. And later, as we shall see, their settlements along the eastern crescent of the Great Basin formed a convenient and necessary halfway station for the mighty hosts of migrating Americans to the gold fields of California, and to possession of the newly acquired American heritage on the Pacific.

Arrival of "The Empire Builders"—The "Mormon" Pioneers

After the departure of Fremont nothing more of importance happened in Salt Lake valley, except the passage through it of the several companies bound for California—

already sufficiently noticed—until the arrival of the "Mormon" Pioneers. Their arrival of course marks the great modern epoch, not only of Salt Lake valley, but of the entire intermountain west. These "Mormon" Pioneers were not men of the wilderness, subsisting upon the game and such voluntary vegetable growths as would sustain life; nor did they come to identify their lives with the lives of the native tribes; they were not seeking for new hunting and trapping fields; nor were they merely a company of emigrants *in transit* for remoter objective points—*Eldoradoes* of human dreams; nor were they explorers for routes of travel, nor moved by interest in scientific knowledge. They came to Salt Lake and adjoining Rocky Mountain valleys as the objective point of their journey, to find a refuge for their people from the storm and stress of religious persecution, which had so pitilessly beat upon them in the western states of the American Republic. Their fellow exiles will come by tens of thousands to found homes, in which they hope to find peace; and communities in which they hope to find security and religious freedom. They will bring with them their women and children; their ploughs and spinning wheels and weaving looms, as the first Pioneers of 1847 did. They will be "Empire Founders," the true, and immediate benefactors of man. Their Pioneer company has arrived on the shores of "America's Dead Sea;" and their leader has said, *"This is the place."* It is for the author to write down the history of their empire-founding work.

NOTES

1. THE ADVENTURE OF ETIENNE PROVOT WITH MAUVAISE GAUCHE

The adventure of Provot, referred to in the text of this *History*, was as follows: While encamped with his party near the mouth of the stream which ever since the adventure—1824—has borne his name, the Provo river, Provot was visited by the Snake-Ute chief, Mauvaise Gauche, meaning, "the man with the bad left hand," a suggestive name conferred upon him by the French Canadian trappers of the Wasatch region many years before." Gauche received a cordial welcome at Provot's camp, and later proposed a treaty of friendship; for doubtless the Provot party was regarded as intruders into the trapping fields of the fur companies Gauche served. It was further proposed that the treaty be ratified by smoking the peace pipe. In the midst of this ceremony, however, Gauche appeared ill at ease, and in explanation of his restlessness stated that his guardian spirit was angry because their was "iron" in their midst at the peace talk, and proposed that each party divest themselves of their arms and then resume the pipe of peace ceremony. In this the chief and his men set the example by divesting themselves of their arms; an example which, to humor the chief's supposed superstition, Provot and his men followed. No sooner was the smoking resumed, however, than Gauche gave a signal at which the Indians with tomahawks and knives they had concealed under their blankets attacked the white trappers. So sudden and unexpected was the attack that seventeen of Provot's party were killed before any successful defense or escape could be effected. Provot, being strong and active, escaped, with four others to the mountains, and the following year joined General Ashley in Green River valley.[42]

2. SHORE LINE AND EXTENT OF THE ANCIENT INLAND SEA—LAKE BONNEVILLE

"In 1852 Lieutenant E. C. Beckwith visited portions of the Great Basin in charge of a government expedition. He was impressed by the distinctness of the old beach lines, and correctly concluded that the Salt Lake had stood at a higher level. He says: 'The old shore lines existing in the vicinity of the Great Salt Lake present an interesting study. Some of them are elevated but a few feet (from five to twenty) above the present level of the lake, and are as distinct and as well defined and preserved as its present beaches.' " (*The Great Salt Lake Past and Present*, by Dr. James E. Talmage, professor of geology, University of Utah, 1900).

Quoting *Pacific Railroad Reports* (Beckwith, Vol. II, p. 67) Talmage continues: "But high above these diminutive banks of recent date, on the mountains to the east, south, and west, and on the islands of the Great Salt Lake, formations are seen, preserving, apparently, a uniform elevation as far as the eye can extend,—formations on a magnificent scale, which, hastily examined, seem no less unmistakably than the former to indicate their shore origin. They are elevated from two or three hundred to six or eight hundred feet above the present lake; and if upon a thorough examination they prove to be ancient shores, they will perhaps afford (being easily traced on the numerous mountains of the basin) the means of determining the character of the sea by which they were formed," etc. (*Ibid*, p. 99).

To this Dr. Talmage also adds: "Careful examination furnishes evidence at once abundant and conclusive that this ancient lake ex-

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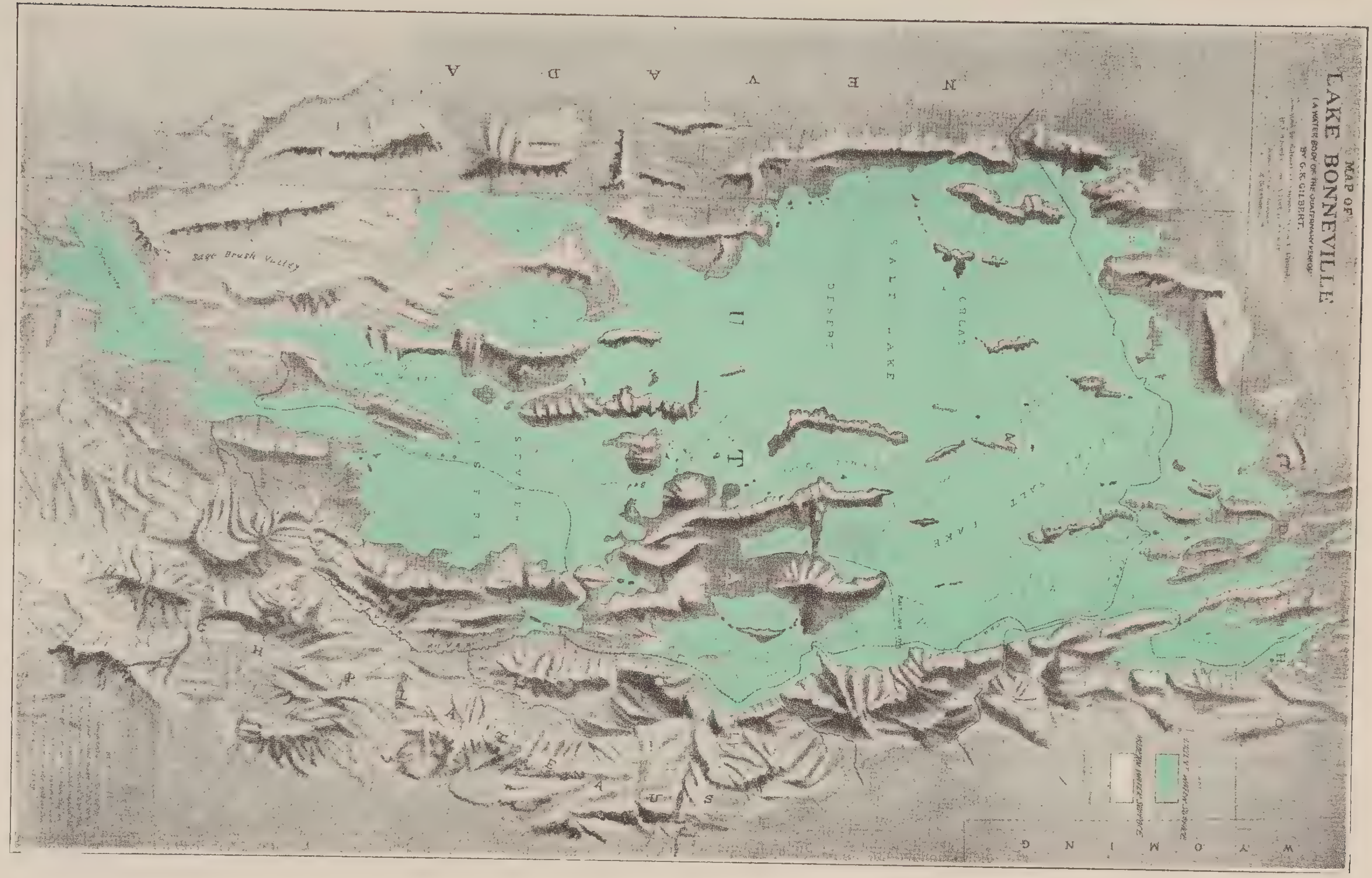
[42] The story is related in Chittenden's *American Fur Trade*, vol. 1, p 276, as well as by Dean Harris, *Catholic Church in Utah*, pp. 260-261. It will be found also in the *Letter-Book of Superintendent of Indian Affairs*, St. Louis, Mo., now in possession of Kansas Historical Society, and confirmed on the authority of Jedediah S. Smith, David E. Jackson, and Wm. Sublette. (Chittenden, vol. i, p. 276).

MAP OF ANCIENT LAKE BONNEVILLE

Ancient Inland Sea, shore line and extent of the sea now named Lake Bonneville.


MAP OF
LAKE BONNEVILLE
(A WATER BODY OF THE QUATERNARY PERIOD)
BY G.K. GILBERT.
NEVADA
UTAH
WYOMING
GREAT SALT LAKE DESERT
GREAT SALT LAKE
SEVIER DESERT
Sage Brush Valley
PLATEAUS
ANCIENT WATER SURFACE
MODERN WATER SURFACE

tended southward over the Sevier desert, and probably over the Escalante desert also, nearly to the Arizona line; westward over the Great desert into Nevada; and northward to the upper limit of Cache valley and therefore 25 miles beyond the Idaho boundary. It formed the largest of the many flooded Pleistocene lakes of the basin region. * * * When at its highest level, Lake Bonneville had an extreme north and south length of 300 miles, a greatest east and west extent of 180 miles; it presented an area of 19,750 square miles. The lake reached from 42 degrees 30 minutes to 37 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, and was divided almost equally by the line of 113 degrees west longitude."[43]

3. Bonneville's Description of Great Salt Lake

The description is really Irving's, from *data* by Bonneville. The noted author says: "Captain Bonneville gives a striking account of the lake when seen from the land. 'As you ascend the mountain about its shores,' says he, 'you behold this immense body of water spreading itself before you, and stretching further and further, in one wide and far-reaching expanse, until the eye, wearied with continued and strained attention, rests in the blue dimness of distance, upon lofty ranges of mountains, confidently asserted to rise from the bosom of the waters. Nearer to you, the smooth and unruffled surface is studded with little islands, where the mountain sheep roam in considerable numbers. What extent of lowland may be encompassed by the high peaks beyond, must remain for the present, matter of mere conjecture; though from the form of the summits, and the breaks which may be discovered among them, there can be little doubt that they are the sources of streams calculated to water large tracts, which are probably concealed from view by the rotundity of the lake's surface. At some future day, in all probability, the rich harvest of beaver fur which may be reasonably anticipated in such a spot, will tempt adventurers to reduce all this doubtful region to the palpable certainty of a beaten track. At present, however, destitute of the means of making boats, the trappers stand upon the shore, and gaze upon a promised land which his feet are never to tread.' "

One can well doubt if the above description is given by one who had seen the lake from its eastern side. Irving, one would judge, was not very sure of the captain's description, for he adds: "Such is the somewhat fanciful view which Captain Bonneville gives of this great body of water. He has evidently taken part of his ideas concerning it from the representations of others, who have somewhat exaggerated its features. It is reported to be about one hundred and fifty miles long, and fifty miles broad. The ranges of mountain peaks which Captain Bonneville speaks of, as rising from its bosom, are probably the summits of mountains beyond it, which may be visible at a vast distance, when viewed from an eminence, in the transparent atmosphere of these lofty regions."[44]

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[43] *The Great Salt Lake, Present and Past,* Talmage, pp. 100-101.

[44] *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville,* Irving, 1837, pp. 234-5.

4. GREAT SALT LAKE

The following description of the lake is from the very carefully prepared work of Dr. James E. Talmage.

(a) *Area and Altitude*: "The Great Salt Lake is the largest inland water body existing within the United States west of the Mississippi valley. It lies in the north central part of the state of Utah, between the parallels of 111.8 degrees and 113.2 degrees longitude west from Greenwich, or 34.7 degrees and 36.1 degrees west from Washington, and between 40.7 degrees and 41.8 degrees north latitude.

Owing to the frequent and great fluctuations in volume incident to climate variations and other conditions of change, its area is inconstant, and the recorded surveys of the water surface show great discrepancies. In general terms its present dimensions have been recorded as follows: Average length, 75 miles; greatest width, 50 miles; extent of surface, 2,125 square miles. The altitude of the lake surface is 4,210 feet above the sea level." * * *

(b) *Islands*: "Rising from the water surface are precipitous islands, appearing in their true character of mountain peaks and ranges, the lower part of their masses being submerged. Of these water-girt mountain bodies, Antelope and Stansbury islands are the largest; and the others are Carrington, Fremont, Gunnison, Dolphin, Mud, and Hat or Egg islands, and Strong's Knob. The islands appear as continuations of the mountain ranges which diversify the contiguous land area, and an examination of their structure confirms this inference."

(c) *The Lake Water*: "The first recorded determination of the solids dissolved in the lake water is that of Dr. L. D. Gale, published in Stansbury's report. Gale's results together with those of later examinations are presented here.

Solid contents and specific gravity of water taken from the Great Salt Lake:

		TOTAL SOLIDS		
Date of Collection.	Specific Gravity.	Per cent by weight.	Grams per litre of sample.	Authority.
1850	1.170	22.282	260.69	L. D. Gale
1869 (Summer)	1.111	14.9934	166.57	O. D. Allen.
August, 1873	1.102	13.42	147.88	H. Bassett.
December, 1885	1.1225	16.7162	187.65	J. E. Talmage.
February, 1888	1.1261	———	———	J. E. Talmage.
June, 1889	1.148	———	———	J. E. Talmage.
August, 1889	1.1569	19.5576	226.263	J. E. Talmage.
August, 1892	1.156	20.51	238.12	E. Waller.
September, 1892	1.1679	21.47	250.75	J. E. Talmage.
1893	———	20.05	———	J. T. Kingsbury.
December, 1894	1.1538	21.16	244.144	J. E. Talmage.
May, 1895	1.1583	21.39	247.760	J. E. Talmage.
June, 1900	1.1576	20.90	241.98	H. N. McCoy and Thomas Hadley.

The composition of the solid matter existing in the lake water is a subject of importance. Some results of analyses are here given.

Analyses of Salt Lake Water, acids and bases theoretically combined; expressed in percentage of weight of samples:

	Gale.	Allen.	Bassett.	Talmage.	
	1850.	1869.	1873.	1885.	1889.
Sodium chloride	20.20	11.86	8.85	13.586	15.743
Sodium sulphate	1.83	0.93	1.09	1.421	1.050
Magnesium Chloride	0.25	1.49	1.19	1.129	2.011
Calcium sulphate	-------	0.09	0.20	0.148	0.279
Potassium sulphate	-------	0.53	-------	0.432	0.474
Potassium chloride	-------	-------	1.89	-------	-------
Excess of chlorine	-------	-------	0.20	-------	-------
Total	22.28	14.99	13.42	16.716	19.557

(d) *Life in the Lake*: Of animals but few species have been found in the lake, but of these two are represented by swarming numbers. Among the animal forms already reported as common to the lake, the writer has confirmed the presence of four: (1) *Artemia fertilis*, Verril; (2) the larvae of one of the Tipulidæ, probably *Chironomous oceanicus*, Packard; (3) a species of Corixa, probably *Corixa decolor*, Uhler; (4) larvæ and pupæ of a fly, *Ephydra gracilis*, Packard. * * * Of the lake animals, the *Artemia fertilis* (or *Artemia gracilis*) commonly known as the brine shrimp, exists in greatest numbers. They may be found in the lake at all seasons, though they are most numerous tween May and October."[45]

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45. *The Great Salt Lake, Present and Past*, chapters v and vi.

CHAPTER LXXXII

THE FIRST CHRISTIAN SABBATH—INITIAL "EXPLORATIONS"—"ENSIGN PEAK"—THE FOUNDING OF SALT LAKE CITY

THE day following the arrival of President Brigham Young in Salt Lake valley was the Lord's Day—the Christian Sabbath. Accordingly religious services were held both in the forenoon and in the afternoon; and a number of the apostles addressed the assembled Pioneers. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered, the emblems used being broken bread and water.[1]

FIRST DISCOURSES: LAND, WATER AND TIMBER LAW PROCLAIMED

The burden of the discourses seems to have been expressions of gratitude that the Lord had led them to so goodly a land. Not a single death had occurred, and only a very few of their cattle or horses had been lost. "The brethren were exhorted," says Wilford Woodruff, "to hearken to counsel, do away with selfishness, live humbly, and keep the commandments of God, that they might prosper in the land. * * * There was a universal feeling of satisfaction with the valley from the men that spoke upon the subject; said they were joyfully disappointed, that the whole appearance was altogether better throughout the valley than they had anticipated, or even dreamed of. At the close of the meeting President Young, though feeble, addressed the assembly for a few moments, and informed the brethren that they must not work on Sunday, nor hunt, nor fish on that day; and there should be no person dwell among us who would not observe these rules: they might go and dwell where they pleased but they should not dwell with us.[2] In a word, the law proclaimed in the Salt Lake valley that day, was the law of God; and men were admonished to keep that law. The ten commandments and the Christian ethics were practically proclaimed to be in force in the new home of the saints. It was upon this occasion also that Brigham Young proclaimed the "land law" of the community, namely, that—

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[1] These are always the emblems of this ordinance except on rare or special occasions, when wine is used. At an early date—August, 1830—in the development of the Latter-day work, it was revealed to Joseph Smith that water would be acceptable in this ordinance, (*Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. xxvii). And under this divine sanction this practice has obtained in the church with the exceptions noted above.

[2] *Woodruff's Journal*, entry for July 25, 1847.

> *"No man should buy or sell land. Every man should have his land measured off to him for city and farming purposes, what he could till. He might till it as he pleased, but he should be industrious and take care of it."*[3]

The principle of this first "land law" of Utah will be recognized as identical with that which actuated the great leader at Garden Grove, when he said there, in effect, that no man should hold more land than he could cultivate; "and that if a man would not till his land, it should be taken from him."[4]

Subsequently it was announced there would be no private ownership in the water streams; that wood and timber would be regarded as community property. It was also determined that only "dead timber" should be used as fuel, thus hoping to foster the growth of timber as its scarcity was the most serious obstacle then in view to the settlement of the valley. On these three laws or regulations, the prevention of monopoly in land; community ownership of the water, and of the timber, rested the prosperity of the early colonies in Utah. It was a necessary act of justice under the circumstances, this "land law," and the other regulations mentioned. There was a community of nearly 20,000 Latter-day Saints on the banks of the Missouri river and *en route* across the plains; they were engaged in a common purpose; they were united as exiles by the same decree of eviction from their homes—from their country. To permit the Pioneers, or the advanced companies of such a community to seize upon and monopolize the resources of the valleys to which they were

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3. *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, entry for July 25th, 1847 .
4. *Ante*, this *History*, ch. lxxii.

migrating, would be a manifest injustice, hence these mandates issued from their wisest men take on the nature of statesmanlike measures, wholly justifiable and absolutely necessary to safeguard the interest of all.

LOCAL EXPLORATIONS: ENSIGN PEAK

The day following the first Christian Sabbath in the Salt Lake valley found the Pioneers anxious to explore the country surrounding their first encampment. But as all the activities of the camp proceeded in orderly manner, ten men, including all the members of the twelve present—eight—were designated to make explorations. Some went into the canons on the east side of the valley in search of timber. John Brown and Joseph Mathews crossed the "Utah Outlet" and went to the west range of the mountains which they reported as some fifteen or sixteen miles distant, and the plain between the outlet and the mountains "covered with wild sage (*artemisia*) and destitute of fresh-water."

President Young in company with several of the twelve and others went northward and visited both the hot and warm springs, the former about five miles, and the latter less than two miles distant from their encampment. Several miles north of their encampment they ascended a peculiarly shaped, mound-like mountain for the purpose of getting a view of the valley that might reveal more of the general character of it than several days of exploring journeys might give. And this indeed was the case; for from its summit they noted the "Utah Outlet" (i. e. now the Jordan river) from the point where it enters the valley at the south to where it empties its waters in the Salt Lake a little to the northwest of their view point. After noting this Elder Woodruff adds: "We also had a good view of the Salt Lake through our glasses, and many rivers and creeks running through the valley."[5]

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[5] *Woodruff's Journal*, entry July 26, 1847.

THE UNITED STATES FLAG FICTION OF "ENSIGN PEAK"

Before leaving the mound-like summit of the mountain on which they stood, someone suggested that here would be a good place "to raise an ensign to the nations," whereupon Brigham Young named the mountain "Ensign Peak."[6] Because of the mountain being so named it was claimed in later years that the Pioneers on that day raised upon "Ensign Peak" the national flag of the United States, the stars and stripes; holding that this was the signficance of *"Ensign."* There is no evidence that they did any such thing. Had such an event happened it certainly would have been recorded in the *Journals* of some of the men present. Brigham Young gave the mountain its name, and makes an entry of that fact in his *Journal*, but says nothing of any flag incident. Neither does Wilford Woodruff, who was given to recording details in his *Journal*. He relates the incident of naming "Ensign Peak" in his *Journal* at length:

> *"26th, Monday.* * * * We * * * went north of the camp about five miles; and we all went on to the top of a high peak in the edge of the mountain, which we considered a good place to raise an ensign. So we named it "Ensign Peak", or "Hill". I was the first person that ascended this hill, which we had thus named. Brother Young was very weary in climbing to the peak, he being feeble (had not yet recovered from effects of mountain fever). We then descended to the flat, and started north to visit some hot sulphur springs."

Considering the circumstance under which the little company of the Pioneers ascended this mount, it becomes utterly impossible that they should raise the flag of the United States upon it. They did not leave their encampment that morning of July 26th with any intent to climb that or any other mountain. They started out to examine the nature of the Salt Lake valley—the plains northward of their encampment. The ascent of the mount they named "Ensign Peak," as above described, was an unintended incident that developed after they started on their exploring trip. There is no likelihood, and certainly no evidence that they took with them a United States flag. What need had they of one? Then if they had taken one with them folded up—they did not take one with them flying from a staff—how would they have raised it that day? Not even a brush grows on "Ensign Peak." It is a bald mount. It is also usually coupled with this fiction of raising the United States flag that the Pioneers took possession of the country in the name of the United States.[7] Of course they did no such thing. They did not know at that time that they were not on territory possessed by the United States. And smarting under the sense of injustice and wrong permitted if not inflicted under quasi-sanction of the United States, they were in no mood to be over-zealous or officious in taking possession of territory of a neighboring republic to annex it to the country which, from their viewpoint, and in effect, had expatriated them.[8] This fiction of the flag-raising on "Ensign Peak" has been used, if in the first place it was not invoked, to plead the cause of "Mormon" loyalty and devotion to the United States; and even "grave and reverand" senators—if not "seniors" repeat the fiction for that purpose, without care of investigation, in public addresses. A Utah United States senator, for instance, at a great public meeting held in the Salt Lake tabernacle, says:

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[6] "I ascended a hill north of the city site, which I named "Ensign Peak." (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, bk. 3, journal entry for July 26, 1847). This is all he says of the incident.

> "Seeking homes in this barren wilderness (Salt Lake valley), then Mexican territory, * * * the first thing they (the Utah Pioneers) did on landing here was to raise the stars and stripes upon yonder peak (meaning Ensign Peak), *determined that this land should be part of the United States.*"[9]

There are a variety of forms in which the fictitious incident is stated. In a public lecture delivered in Atlanta,

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[7] See a pamphlet, *Brigham Young: Patriot, Prophet, Pioneer,* published as late as June, 1929.

[8] For justification of these suggestions, see entry in *Woodruff's Journal* detailing remarks of President Young on the evening of 28th of July, 1847, and *Thomas Bullock's Journal* for same date. Other *Journals* make mention of the same matters.

[9] *October* 22, 1911; published in the *Deseret Evening News* of November 4, 1911.

Georgia, a prominent elder and mission president, stated the fiction thus:

> "The second day after they [i. e., The Pioneers] arrived in Salt Lake valley, then Mexican soil, President Brigham Young selected the highest peak on the bordering hills and planted 'Old Glory' upon it in demonstration of the love and loyalty of the 'Mormon' people for the government of the United States."[10]

No later than June 1, 1928, celebrating the anniversary of the birthday of Brigham Young, the fiction of the "flag-raising" on Ensign Peak "the second day" after the arrival of the Pioneers in the Salt Lake valley, was reenacted by raising the flag by a descendant of the great Pioneer, illustrated by a newspaper cut and the usual repetition of the fiction. On the same anniversary in 1929 the public was regaled by another and an emphasized revamping of the same thing in a radio address, done into a pamphlet under the alliterative title of "Brigham Young: Patriot, Pioneer, and Prophet." The form it takes here is:

> "Brigham's first act was to set up the American flag on Ensign Peak and thus take possession of the surrounding territory in the name of the United States government."[11]

And thus the unwarranted and pious fiction lives on and on by the force of parrot-like iteration and re-iteration *ad nauseam.*

As to the alleged incident of raising the United States flag on Ensign Peak being a testimony of the loyalty of the Latter-day Saints, it is enough to say that their loyalty to their country rests upon a foundation so broad and deep, as we shall see in subsequent chapters, that it does not need fiction to sustain it. They early honored their country's flag also; for before the close of the year, 1847, it was raised within the "fort" erected on the present site of Salt Lake City, and the "Mormon" poetess, Eliza R. Snow Smith, later celebrated it in her *Ode to the Flag*. Eliza R. Snow arrived with one of the first companies following the Pioneers, and entered Salt Lake valley in September or October. "Soon after our arrival in the valley," she relates that "a tall liberty pole was erected, and from its summit (although planted in Mexican soil), the stars and stripes seemed to float with even more significance, if possible, than they were wont to do on eastern breezes." Then follows the "Ode," though doubtless not written until some years later, probably 1865, and after the successful close of the "Civil War."

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[10] The lecture was published in the *Atlanta Georgian* of February 17, 1908.

[11] Referred to in footnote 7, this chapter. It is sometimes said that Wilford Woodruff is authority for the statement that the United States flag was raised on Ensign Peak and the book *Wilford Woodruff, History of His Life and Labors as Recorded in His Daily Journals,* by M. F. Cowley, is cited. Referring to the incident of visiting Ensign Peak, Mr. Cowley, *not* Wilford Woodruff, says. "Here they unfurled the American flag, the Ensign of liberty to the world." There is nothing in *Wilford Woodruff's Journal* of the date here referred to or of any other date in his *Journals* that warrants any such a statement as this. What Elder Woodruff wrote in his *Journal* on the 26th of July, 1847, is already quoted in a previous paragraph in this chapter and is sufficient contradiction to Mr. Cowley's statement, based on the journal entry of the 26th of July, 1847.

ODE TO THE FLAG

"I love that flag! When in my childish glee—
A prattling girl, upon my grandsire's knee—
I heard him tell strange tales, with valor rife,
How that same flag was bought with blood and life.

And his tall form seemed taller when he said,
'Child, for that flag thy grandsire fought and bled!'
My young heart felt that every scar he wore,
Caused him to prize that banner more and more.

I caught the fire, and as in years I grew,
I loved the flag; I loved my country too.
* * * * * * *
There came a time that I remember well—
Beneath the stars and stripes we could not dwell!
We had to flee; but in our hasty flight
We grasped the flag with more than mortal might;

And vowed, although our foes should us bereave
Of all things else, the flag we would not leave.
We took the flag; and journeying to the West,
We wore its motto graven on each breast."[12]

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[12] *The Women of Mormondon*, Tullidge, 1877, chapter xxxviii. For the author's arrival in Salt Lake valley, see Biography in *L. D. S. Biographical Encyclopedia*, pp. 693-697.

As the flag was raised most likely as early as October, 1847, and the treaty of peace which closed the war of the United States with Mexico was not signed at the village Guadalupe Hidalgo until Feb. 2nd, 1848, the Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake valley did raise the United States flag upon Mexican soil. "Well do I know the spot," said Wm. H. Hooper, Utah's delegate to congress, 1869, "where the first 'liberty pole' was raised, and from the top of which floated the stars and stripes, while yet the country was known as Mexican territory."[13]

"The Ensign" that these Latter-day Saint Pioneers had in mind, and of which they had frequently spoken *en route*, was something larger and greater than any national flag whatsoever; and what it was meant to represent was greater than any earthly kingdom's interest, and I speak not slightingly of earthly kingdoms either; but this "Ensign" in the minds of the "Mormon" Pioneers concerned not one nation, but all nations; not one epoch or age, but all epochs and all ages; not nationality but humanity, is its scope and concern. It was the sign and ensign of the *Empire of the Christ;* it was a prophecy of the time to come when the kingdoms of this world would become "the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ; and he shall reign forever and forever."[14]

On the occasion of calling the Pioneers' camp together for reproof and instruction while yet on the Platte river, on the memorable 29th of May, President Young referred to this "Ensign" or "Standard of Zion." Wilford Woodruff after relating how President Young addressed himself to the few non-members of the church present in the camp, and how they would be protected in their rights,—but they must not introduce wickedness into the camp, "for it would not be suffered"—

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[13] Speech against the Ashley bill to dismember the territory of Utah, house of representatives. (*Congressional Globe* of Feb. 25, 1869).

[14] *Revelation* xi, 15; also *Daniel* ii and vii.

> "He then spoke of the 'standard' or 'ensign' that would be reared in Zion to govern the kingdom of God, and the nations of the earth, for every nation would bow the knee and every tongue confess that Jesus was the Christ; and this will be the standard—*'The Kingdom of God and His Law.'* * * * And on the standard would be a flag of every nation under heaven, so there would be an invitation to all nations under heaven to come unto Zion."[15]

This was the significance of naming "Ensign Peak" on that 26th day of July, 1847. It was the gathering of Israel out of all nations to the "Standard of Zion" that the pioneers were thinking of, as is evidenced by many subsequent sermons in which the texts were—

> "And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, * * * and all nations shall flow unto it. And many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem."[16]
>
> "And it shall come to pass in that day that the Lord shall set his hand again the second time to recover the remnant of his people. * * * And he shall set up an Ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the out casts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth."[17]
>
> "All ye inhabitants of the world, and dwellers on the earth, see ye when he lifteth up an Ensign on the mountains; and when he bloweth a trumpet, hear ye."[18]

These and other texts from *Isaiah* were woven into discourse by Orson Pratt the Sunday following, *viz.*, August 1st.[19]

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[15] *Woodruff's Journal*, entry for May 29th, 1847.

[16] *Isaiah*, ii:2, 3.

[17] *Ibid*, xi:11, 12.

[18] *Ibid*, xviii:3.

[19] *Woodruff's Journal*, entry for Aug. 1st, 1847. Some years later this "Zion's Standard" idea inspired Parley P. Pratt:

ZION'S STANDARD

Lo! the Gentile chain is broken,
   Freedom's banner waves on high;
List, ye nations! by this token,
   Know that your redemption's nigh.

Gunnison's Comment on "Ensign Peak"

Lieutenant J. W. Gunnison, who spent the winter of 1849-50 in Salt Lake, refers to this idea prevalent among the saints at that time:

> "To the north of temple block, and close by, towers up and overlooks the temple city, the Ensign Mound. It terminates the great spur, and is conspicuous in approaching the city, from every quarter. On this mountain peak there is soon to be unfurled the most magnificent flag ever thrown to the breeze, constructed out of the banners of all peoples. Joined in symbolical unity, 'the flag of all nations' shall wave above the sacred temple; and then shall they verify the decree given by the Prophet Isaiah: 'All ye inhabitants of the world, and dwellers on the earth, see ye, when he lifteth up an Ensign on the mountains; (*Isaiah* XVIII:3). * * * 'And he will lift up an Ensign to the nations from far, and will hiss unto them from the end of the earth: and, behold, they shall come with speed swiftly: (*Isaiah* V:26).'
>
> * * * 'And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it. (*Isaiah* ii:2).' "[20]

Even in Nauvoo days and before the martyrdom of the

See, on yonder distant mountain,
Zion's standard wide unfurled,
Far above Missouri's fountain,
Lo! it waves for all the world.

Freedom, peace and full salvation
Are the blessings guaranteed,
Liberty to every nation,
Every tongue, and every creed.

Come, ye Christian sects, and pagan,
Pope, and Protestant, and Priest,
Worshipers of God or Dagon,
Come ye to fair freedom's feast.

Come, ye sons of doubt and wonder,
Indian, Moslem, Greek or Jew,
All your shackles burst asunder,
Freedom's banner waves for you.

Cease to butcher one another,
Join the covenant of peace,
Be to all a friend, a brother,
This will bring the world release.

Lo! Our King! the great Messiah,
Prince of peace, shall come to reign;
Sound again, ye heavenly choir,
Peace on earth, good will to men.
(Latter-day Saint *Hymn Book*, p. 102).

[20] *The Mormons*, Gunnison.

Prophet this *"Standard of the Nations"* was the "Ensign" under which Joseph Smith proposed to defend the city of Nauvoo. The following is from his *Journal*:

> *"June 22, 1844*: * * * At 7 p. m. I instructed General Dunham [of the Nauvoo Legion] to cause the regiments of the 2nd Cohort to turn out tomorrow and work by turns three or four hours each with intrenching tools, and to take the best measures in case of attack. *I also gave orders* that a standard be prepared for the nations."[21]

WESTERN EXPLORATION OF SALT LAKE VALLEY

On the 28th of July Brigham Young and the main exploring party crossed the "Utah Outlet" (now the Jordan river), which they found to be a slow, meandering stream, not so clear as the streams issuing directly from the mountains. It was three feet deep "at the ford," (i. e. where the Donner train had crossed the year before), and about six rods wide. The party followed the California wagon trail to the south end of the Salt Lake, to a point afterwards called Black Rock, taking the name from a large rock of ebony hue that rises abruptly from the clear waters of the lake. Here the company took their first bath in the lake and were surprised at the buoyancy of the water.[22]

Turning the point of the western mountain range (the Oquirrh range)—fifteen miles west of their encampment—the explorers came into a valley opening southward, which they judged to extend twelve miles; and beyond, still southward, a narrow opening into another valley or plain. Returning to their noon encampment at the point of the mountain range, they spent the night, and the next day moved southward along the east base of the mountain where they had camped, but found no water. Orson Pratt ascended a rise of ground some three miles beyond where the rest of the company stopped, and was rewarded with a view of

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[21] *History of the Church*, Period I, vol. vi, p. 528.

[22] "We all bathed in salt water, which is fully saturated with salt: its specific gravity is such as to buoy us in a remarkable manner. (*Orson Pratt's Journal*, entry for July 27th, 1847). "The waters of the ocean bear no comparison to those of the lake, and those who could not swim at all," says Erastus Snow, speaking of this first bath, "floated upon the surface like a cork, and found it out of their power to sink." (*Snow's Journal*, entry July 27th, 1847. See *Note* 4, end of chapter lxxxi).

Utah Lake and valley, which he judged to be twenty miles distant. "The number of streams putting into the 'Utah Outlet' from the east, between the lakes," he writes, "appeared to be about nine, while several other streams, from one to two miles in length, appeared to put into these nine, all of which afforded a fine opportunity for irrigating the valley east of the 'outlet'."[23]

Meantime the two brethren, Joseph Hancock and Lewis Barney, sent eastward into the mountains to look for timber returned after a two days tour and reported "an abundance of good timber, principally pine, balsam fir, and a little cottonwood; access to the same very difficult."[24]

CHOICE OF SITE AND FOUNDING OF "GREAT SALT LAKE CITY"

These brief exploring expeditions seemed to have convinced President Young that the best possible site for the beginning of a settlement had been chosen by the advanced company of Pioneers; for on his return to the encampment in the afternoon of the 28th, he at once inaugurated measures for the founding of a city. "Some of the brethren talked about exploring the country further for a site for a settlement; I replied that I was willing that the country should be explored until all were satisfied, but every time a party went out and returned I believed firmly they would agree that *this is the spot for us to locate.*"[25]

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[23] *Orson Pratt's Journal*, entry for July 28th, 1847. These are streams on the east side of Salt Lake valley.

[24] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, July 28th, 1847.

[25] *Ibid.* It should be remembered that Brigham Young's conviction on this head was held because of a "vision" he had beheld of the saints settled in Salt Lake valley, which "vision" was described by Elder Erastus Snow in the following terms: "Brother Woodruff informed the people yesterday [July 24, 1880, Snow's discourse was delivered Sunday, the 25th] how President Young as he emerged from the mouth of Emigration canon, lifted himeslf up in his bed and peered out of his wagon which overlooked the valley, the cottonwoods on the creek, and the camp on the east side of the creek in fair view, and as Brother Woodruff told you yesterday, that President Young said then, and afterwards to all the camp, *that this was the place he had seen long since in vision;* it was here he had seen the tent settling down from heaven and resting, and a voice said unto him: "Here is the place where my people Israel shall pitch their tents." The same Providence that directed the Pioneers, led by our late honored president, has encouraged and directed the labors of the people from that time to the present." (*Utah Pioneers*, 1880, p. 47.)

Late in the afternoon, accompanied by Elders Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards, Orson Pratt, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith, Amasa Lyman, Ezra T. Benson, all members of the apostles' quorum, and all the apostles then in the valley, accompanied also by Thomas Bullock, the president's secretary, Brigham Young "designated the site for the temple block between the forks of City Creek, and on motion of Orson Pratt it was unanimously voted that the temple be built upon the site designated."[26]

The apostles at the same time decided to lay out the city in blocks of ten acres with streets eight rods wide running at right angles; with twenty feet on each side given to sidewalks. The blocks were to be divided into lots containing one and one quarter acres in each. It was decided also to build but one house on a block, and that twenty feet back from the line and in the center of the lot—"That there might be uniformity throughout the city." One of the advantages of this plan, it was urged, would be the security of the city from fire in the event of fire breaking out at any one point. It was further determined that "upon every alternate block four houses were to be built on the east, and four on the west sides of the square, but none on the north and south sides. But the blocks intervening were to have four houses on the north and four on the south, but none on the east and west sides. In this plan there will be no houses fronting each other on the opposite sides of streets, while those on the same side will be about eight rods apart, having gardens running back twenty rods to the center of the block."[27]

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[26] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, entry for July 28th. This was before the survey of the city was made. Wilford Woodruff of the event writes: "We walked from the north camp to about the center between the two creeks [forks of City Creek], when President Young waved his hands and said, 'Here is the forty acres for the temple (we had conversed upon the subject of the location of the temple previous to this), and the city can be laid out perfectly square north and south, east and west'," (*Woodruff's Journal*, entry for July 28th, 1847).

[27] The reader will recognize that this plan of city-building is nearly identical with that given by Joseph Smith for the city of Zion in Jackson county, Mo. (See this History, ch. xxv). It is observed also in this same chapter that the

"It was moved and carried that there be four public squares of ten acres each laid out in various parts of the city for public grounds." "Let every man," said President Young, "cultivate his own lot and set out every kind of fruit and shade trees and beautify the city."[28]

The city was first named, *"City of the Great Salt Lake."* Temple square was the initial center for naming the streets, and the streets around the temple block were called, respectively, North, South, East and West Temple Streets; the others to be named as required, First North, Second North, First West, Second West, and so following on all sides.

This plan of laying out the city was submitted to the whole camp in a sort of "town meeting" held in the evening on the site designated for the temple; and as each proposition making up the general plan had been submitted to vote in the council of the apostles, so now was each proposition presented to the camp, which "passed all of the above votes unanimously, as they are recorded."[29]

On the 31st of July, Orson Pratt began the survey of the city. "The latitude of the northern boundary of the temple block," he writes, "I ascertained by meridian observations of the sun, to be 40 deg. 45 min. 44 sec. The longitude, as obtained by lunar distances, taken by the sextant and circle, was 111 deg. 26 min. 34 sec., or 7 hours, 25 min., 46 sec. west of Greenwich. Its altitude above the level of the sea was 4,300 feet, as ascertained by calculations deduced from the mean of a number of barometrical observations taken on successive days."[30]

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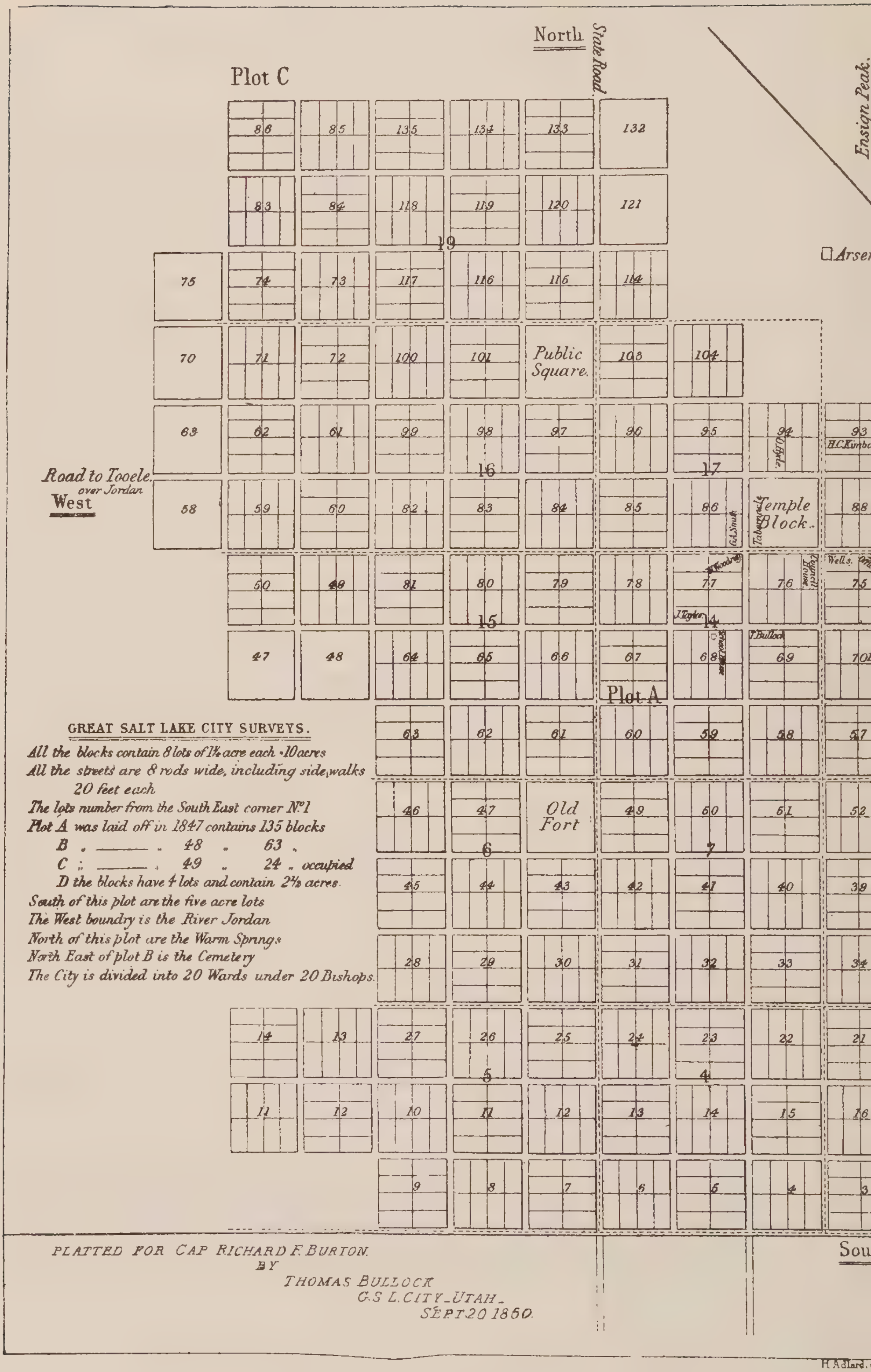
general plan of building "cities of Zion" was followed in laying out all the settlements of the saints in the inter-mountain west; and will doubtless always be followed, except where the nature of the site will render it impracticable. (See *Note*, end of this chapter, on the "City of Zion").

[28] *Woodruff's Journal*, entry July 28th, 1847.

[29] *Journal of Wilford Woodruff*, entry for July 28, 1847: I am following throughout in this account of founding the city, the *Journals* of President Young, Wilford Woodruff, and Orson Pratt, with which the other annals generally agree, but where slight differences occur, I accept the above named as authority.

[30] Journal of Orson Pratt, entry for July 31st, 1847, *Millennial Star*, vol. xii, p. 180.


North
State Road.
Ensign Peak.
Arsen
Plot C
19
Public Square.
H.C.Kimbo
O.Hyde.
16
17
Road to Tooele over Jordan
West
G.A.Smith
Tabernacle
Temple Block.
Council House
Wells.
J.Taylor
14
15
T.Bullock
Plot A
Old Fort
6
7
5
4
Sou

GREAT SALT LAKE CITY SURVEYS.

All the blocks contain 8 lots of 1¼ acre each = 10 acres

All the streets are 8 rods wide, including side walks 20 feet each

The lots number from the South East corner Nº1

Plot A was laid off in 1847 contains 135 blocks

B „ ——— „ 48 „ 63 „

C „ ——— „ 49 „ 24 „ occupied

D the blocks have 4 lots and contain 2½ acres.

South of this plot are the five acre lots

The West boundry is the River Jordan

North of this plot are the Warm Springs

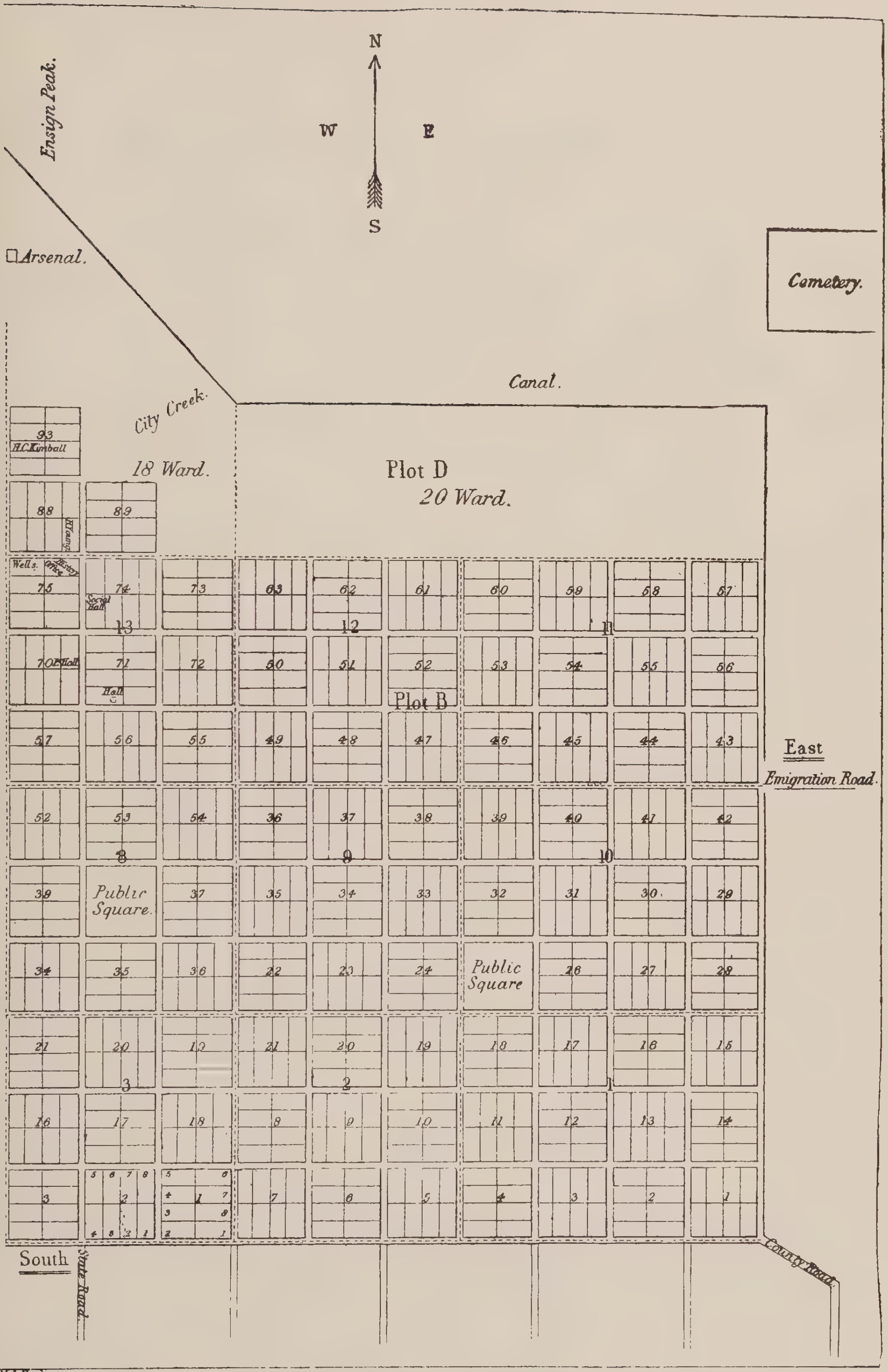
North East of plot B is the Cemetery

The City is divided into 20 Wards under 20 Bishops.

PLATTED FOR CAP RICHARD F. BURTON.
BY
THOMAS BULLOCK
G.S L.CITY_UTAH_
SEPT 20 1860.

H Adlard.

London Longm


N
W
E
S
Ensign Peak.
Arsenal.
Cemetery.
Canal.
City Creek.
93
H.C.Kimball
18 Ward.
Plot D
20 Ward.
88
89
H.Young
Wells.
History Office
75
74
Social Hall
73
63
62
61
60
59
58
57
13
12
11
70
71
Hall
72
50
51
52
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Plot B
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49
48
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46
45
44
43
East
Emigration Road.
52
53
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40
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10
39
Public Square.
37
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24
Public Square
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9
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14
3
2
1
7
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3
2
1
South
State Road.
County Road.

H Adlard. sc.

on Longman & C°

The base line of Orson Pratt's survey was on the southeast corner of the temple block, and government officials afterwards adopted it as the base meridian line.[31]

Subsequently blocks of land for farming and pasturing purposes were laid off outside the city limits in five, ten and twenty acre plots respectively, the smaller plots lying nearest the city boundaries, the others following in the order of their size. All this, of course, to prevent monopoly, and possible attempts at speculations in town lots or near by farming lands.

From time to time modifications were made of this general plan; as, for example, before the survey of the city was completed it was decided that it would be "more convenient" to have the temple block ten rather than forty acres, in area, and it was reduced accordingly. Also as the city extended into the sharp hills on both sides of City Creek, it was found that the ten acre blocks, with their one and one quarter acre lots, were inconvenient because of the broken nature of the land in that part of the city; and the blocks were reduced to two and a half acres. Also in the matter of having but four houses built on one side of a block, and these on alternating sides was in time given up; but very generally the first plan was adhered to in the early decades of the city's history, and even now gives a uniqueness to the city that distinguishes it from other American cities, and very much contributes to that air of spaciousness and breadth of conception in the ground plan of it that prophesies its coming greatness, and is at the same time a testimony of the largeness of the ideas of those who were its founders.

NOTE

THE CITY OF ZION

Reference to chapter xxv of this *History* wherein the "City of

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[31] From Geo. W. Dean's observations in 1869, taken at the Temple Block, the results were lat. 40° 46′ 2″; long. 111° 53′ 30″. *Rept. Coast Survey*, 1869-70. In taking lunar distances for longitude, it is usual to have four observers, but Orson Pratt had no assistant; hence probably the slight discrepancy. (Bancroft's *History ofr Utah*, p. 264, note.)

Zion" is described and which is cited in footnote 26, of this chapter, contemplates not so much one immense city as a succession of cities of moderate size, throughout the land, and together considered as one city: "It is supposed," said Joseph Smith, when sending the plat of the "City of Zion" to the brethren at Independence, in June, 1833—"It is supposed that such a plat when built up will contain *fifteen or twenty thousand population*, and that they will require twenty-four buildings to supply them with houses for public worship and schools." The plat was to be surrounded with, and to include lands adequate to supply, this population. "When this square is thus laid off and supplied," said the Prophet, "lay off another in the same way, *and so fill up the world in these last days*, and let every man live in the city, *for this is the city of Zion*"—that is, a succession of cities of moderate size of which the one to be erected at Independence, Jackson county, Missouri, is to be the center place. This brings up the question of the relative advantage of, and the consequent desirability of, the large and the small city. In that controversy, on the side of the small city, is Mr. Ebenezer Howard, an English authority on city-planning. He places the maximum population of the ideal city at about 32,000, depending somewhat on the size of the component families. Increase in population should be provided for, he thinks, by building another city near by, which is in perfect harmony with the above instructions of the Prophet. Mr. Howard's ideal city covers 6,000 acres, of which about half is cultivated, the other half being occupied by streets and buildings. This we learn from a paper by Professor J. R. Smith, of the University of Pennsylvania, reprinted in *Engineering and Contracting* (Chicago, July 28, 1915). The editor of *Engineering and Contracting* emphatically agrees with Mr. Howard in his conclusions as to the undesirability of large cities. He asserts that the idea of the great city as a permanent construction is itself an error.

CHAPTER LXXXIII

ARRIVAL OF PUEBLO DETACHMENT OF THE MORMON BATTALION—PIONEER WOMEN—RETURN OF PIONEERS TO WINTER QUARTERS

IT will be remembered that Elder Amasa M. Lyman was sent from Fort Laramie early in June, in company with three others, to meet the battalion detachments *en route* from Pueblo to join the Pioneer company. On the 27th of July he rode into the Pioneer encampment at Salt Lake, and reported that these detachments of the battalion, under command of Captain James Brown, together with the company of Mississippi saints, were now within two days' march of Salt Lake valley. President Young and the twelve, with some others, two days later, July 29th, formed a mounted company and met these Battalion and Mississippi companies at the mouth of Emigration canon. There were about 140 of the battalion; 100 of the Mississippi saints; these with the Pioneers already arrived, swelling the number in Salt Lake valley to about 400 souls. These last arrivals altogether had about 60 wagons, 100 head of horses and mules, and 300 head of cattle.[1]

PROBLEM OF THE PUEBLO DETACHMENT OF THE BATTALION

The detachment of the battalion presented a problem to the council of the twelve. The battalion members were under orders to march to California, but the term of their enlistment had expired on the 16th of July. Did the officers in command have the right to muster them out of service? What would be the moral effect in the United States if these detachments were mustered out of service here in Mexican territory without other authority than the "Mormon" officers in command? It was finally determined, after being considered in council, that the battalion should be mustered out of service, and Captain James Brown and a small company piloted by Mr.

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[1] *Woodruff's Journal. Ms.*, entry for 29th July. Also *Erastus Snow's Journal*, entry for 28th of July, 1847.

Samuel Brannan, should go to California and report to the United States army officials there, taking with them a power of attorney from each member of these detachments of the battalion to collect the balance of pay due for his services. That Captain Brown made his report and drew the pay as agreed upon by the members of the battalion will appear later.[2]

A "BOWERY:" A COMMUNITY CENTER

The day after their arrival in the valley the battalion contributed to the community service by erecting a bowery 40x28 feet under which to hold religious worship on the ensuing Sabbath day—and a grateful shade it must have been from the constant glare of the sunshine in that transparent atmosphere, where no forest temple presented solemn depths of shade for that holy purpose. Also, during this first week in the valley, Colonel Stephen Markham reported that thirteen plows and three harrows had been stocked, and three lots of ground broken up and one lot of thirty-five acres planted in corn, oats, buckwheat, potatoes, beans and garden seed."[3]

Three days after the arrival of the Pioneers their camp was visited by Indians located in the valley. There were two tribes, "Utes," or "Utah's" and "Shoshones." The visits grew in frequency and with constantly increasing numbers. On one occasion within the first week, when representatives of both tribes were in the Pioneer camp, a Ute stole a horse from a Shoshone and rode up the valley with his prize. He was followed by the Shoshone, however, who killed him and returned to the Pioneer camp with the stolen horse. The frequency of these Indian visits with their begging and persistent efforts to trade for guns, ammunition, and clothing, was likely to become a great inconvenience to the colony, and therefore at the public meeting held on the second Sunday in the valley a resolution was adopted "to trade no more with the Indians except at their own encampment;" and to hold out no inducements to their visiting the Pioneer camp.[4]

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[2] See this *History*, ch. lxxxvii.

[3] *Journal History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, entry for July 31st, 1847. These grains and vegetables did not mature: "Although," writes Parley P. Pratt, "there were obtained for seed a few small potatoes from the size of a pea upward to that of half an inch in diameter. These being sound and planted another year produced some very fine potatoes, and finally, contributed mainly in seeding the territory with that almost indispensable article of food." (Parley P. Pratt's *Autobiography*, 1874, p. 401).

Renewal of Covenants by Baptism

President Young must have taken quite seriously such irregularities of the camp of the Pioneers as we have already noticed in a former chapter;[5] for he now proposed to them a solemn renewal of their covenants to righteousness, a new avowal of their acceptance of the gospel of Jesus Christ by baptism, President Young himself to set the example.[6] This was first proposed to the twelve and their immediate associates, then to the camp, now more properly, perhaps, to be considered as a colony.

The proposition was joyfully and very generally accepted by the saints. This procedure, however, must not be regarded as casting any doubt upon the validity of their original baptism, or repudiation of it as a sacrament. It was only to make more solemn the renewal of covenants with God.

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[4] *Erastus Snow's Journal*, entry August 1st, 1847. A number of Indians were in the Pioneer camp when this resolution was passed; and whether they learned the import of it or not, during the night they left and visits from them became less frequent. (*Woodruff's Journal*, entry for Aug. 1st.) The Utes are referred to as apparently friendly "and not disposed to steal, though they have a bad name from some of the mountaineers." (*Ibid*, entry for July 28.)

[5] *Ante*, this *History*, ch. lxxviii.

[6] The Baptisms began on the 6th of August. Brigham Young was the first to receive the rite; then Heber C. Kimball and all the rest of the twelve. "At night I was baptized by Elder Kimball, and then baptized Elders Kimball, Richards, etc." * * * who were confirmed at the water's edge, and set an example to the church. (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, entry 6th of Aug., 1847.) This quotation is given because some writers reverse the order, and say President Young first baptized his associates. All received the ordinance of confirmation, and in connection therewith had sealed upon them the holy apostleship "with all the keys, powers and blessings belonging to that office." "We considered this a duty and a privilege," writes Wilford Woodruff, "as we had come into a glorious valley to locate and build a temple, and build up Zion—we felt like renewing our covenants before the Lord and each other." (*Woodruff's Journal*, entry for Aug. 6th) on the 7th—Saturday—55 brethren were baptized. Sunday, when the proposition was presented to the congregation, 224 responded, making a total of 268.

On the 7th of August a selection of blocks within the city survey was made by the twelve for themselves and their immediate friends.[7] It was also decided that one of these ten acre blocks should be inclosed by building houses of logs or *adobes*—sundried bricks—in the form of a fort, as a protection against possible Indian assaults. There were to be gateways on opposite sides of the enclosure; the buildings to be 8 or 9 feet high, 14 feet wide and 16 or 17 feet long; the chimneys were to be made of *adobes*, the hearths of clay. All openings were to be on the inside of the enclosure, except such port holes on the outside as might be judged necessary for observing the approach of an enemy. The block selected for this enclosure was four blocks south and three blocks west of the temple site, long afterwards called the "Old Fort," then "Pioneer Square," now a public park and playground for children.[8] Work upon the fort began on the 11th of August; and by the evening of the 21st Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball moved into their "houses," being the first to do so.[9] Meantime the name for the city occupied the attention of the council of the apostles. It was decided first to call it *"The City of the Salt Lake, Great Basin, North America."* This in the council of the apostles on the 14th of August.[10] On Sunday the 22nd, the name was presented to the congregation and accepted. At the same time names were adopted for local streams. The "Utah Outlet," which carried the overflow from Utah, or Timpanogos Lake, to the Great Salt Lake, was called "Western Jordan."[11] The stream running through the site surveyed for the city was called "City Creek." Two creeks coming out of the next two considerable canons were called "Little Canon and Big Canon Creek,"[12] respectively; and the larger stream beyond these was named Mill Creek.

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[7] "In the afternoon the twelve went on to the temple block and picked out their inheritances. President Young took a block east of the temple, and running southeast to settle his friends around him. Brother Heber C. Kimball took a block north of the temple, and will settle his friends on the north. (President Young says Kimball's block was N. E. of the temple—*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, bk. 3, 1847, entry Aug. 7th.) O. Pratt south of the temple, joining the temple block and runs south. W. Woodruff took a block cornering on the temple lot, at the southwest corner, joining O. Pratt's block and will settle his friends on the south. Amasa M. Lyman took a block 40 rods below or west of Woodruff's block, and runs southwest of the temple [on which] to settle his friends. Geo. A. Smith took a block joining the temple on the west and runs due west. It was supposed Bro. (Willard) Richards would take his inheritance on the east, near Bro. Young. None others of the twelve were present in the camp. Bro. Benson had gone back to meet the camps, [then *en route* for the valley] and three of the quorum were in Winter Quarters" (*Woodruff's Journal*, entry 7th of August). After this there were some slight changes made in the first selection of blocks, chiefly, however, in extending the blocks into tiers of blocks in the direction of the side from which they respectively started from the temple, and these to be subdivided among the immediate friends of the apostles making choice of said tier." (*Woodruff's Journal*, entry for 13th Aug.)

[8] See city plat this volume.

[9] *Woodruff's Journal*, entry for Aug. 11th and 21st respectively.

The first name given to the city founded by the Pioneers—"City of the Salt Lake"—was changed when the city received its charter of incorporation—1851—to "Great Salt Lake City." Subsequently the "Great" was dropped and the name became as it still remains—"Salt Lake City." "Western" soon went into disuse as a descriptive pre-fix to "Jordan," and "The Jordan" became and remains the name of the "Utah Outlet." The Canon Creeks, Little and Big, shortly became "Emigration" and Parley's Canon Creek," respectively.

LIFE AND DEATH IN THE VALLEY

The fact of human life and death was early asserted in the Salt Lake colony. A daughter was born to one of the battalion families which had wintered at Pueblo. The 9th of August was the date, a tent on temple square the place. The father and mother were John and Catherine Campbell Steel, and the child was named "Young Elizabeth Steel," being named for President Young and Queen Elizabeth of England. A second child was born on the 15th of August, in the family of Geo. W. Therlkill, one of the families of the company of saints from Mississippi, which had wintered at Pueblo and joined the Pioneers from Winter Quarters at Fort Laramie on the first of June, and journeyed with them to Salt Lake valley. An examination of the roster of Orson Pratt's advance company will disclose the fact that quite a number of this Mississippi contingent was enrolled in that company.

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[10] *Woodruff's Journal*, entries for 14th and 22nd August, respectively.

[11] This to distinguish it from the Jordan of the east, Palestine. It was doubtless the case, though nothing is said of it in the *Journals* of those days, that the similarity of physical features of the Salt Lake valley and Palestine led to calling this "outlet" "Western Jordan." Palestine has its Dead Sea, so called because it has no outlet, no life abounds in its waters, and its shores are desolate. Upwards of sixty miles northward is the fresh water lake, or Sea of Galilee, from which flows the Jordan river to the Dead Sea. It will be observed that in Utah the salt sea is in the north, the fresh water lake in the south, and the connecting stream flows northward; whereas in Palestine these similar natural features are reversed in location; but the fact of their existence, though in reversed order, would be sufficient to suggest naming the connecting stream between the bodies of fresh and salt water the "Western Jordan."

[12] Since called "Emigration" and "Parley's Canon Creek," respectively, the latter named after Parley P. Pratt.

This second child was also a daughter and was named Hattie A. Therlkill. It was in the family of Geo. W. Therlkill also that the angel of death struck down his first victim in the valley. A child three years old, a boy, playing on the banks of City Creek fell in and was drowned. His body was found in the creek about 5 p. m. of the 11th of August. The occurrence threw a gloom over the colony, which President Young sought to dispel on the following Sunday by a discourse on the sureness of the salvation of children.[13]

The Pioneer Women in the Community

In connection with these incidents in the Therlkill family, the mother of which would be so affected by this birth and death in her household, separated only by four days, it is but proper to say that the women of this Mississippi company of saints who entered Salt Lake valley with the Pioneers have been quite generally overlooked. Much has been written of the three noble women who accompanied the Pioneers from Winter Quarters to Salt Lake valley, so much, in fact, that the idea quite generally prevails that they were the only women who entered the valley with the Pioneer company. That, however, is not the case. In the advance company of seventeen Mississippi saints which joined the Pioneer company from Winter Quarters at Fort Laramie, on the first of June, six of them were women and girls, *viz.*:

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[13] *Woodruff's Journal*, entry of July 22nd, 1847.

Elizabeth Crow, *Ira Vinda Exene Crow,*
Harriet Crow, *Ira Minda Almarene Crow,*[14]
Elizabeth J. Crow, *Martilla Jane Therlkill.*

These women from the state of Mississippi, sharing the hardships and toils of the journey; braving the uncertainties and dangers of pioneer life; sacrificing the conveniences and even luxuries of their southern homes—for they were among the well-to-do planter families of the south—their names and sacrifices and toils and sufferings for the gospel's sake, and in opening a new place of settlement for the church, no less than their sister Pioneers from Nauvoo and Winter Quarters, are worthy a place in song and story,—and in the Pioneer history of the Latter-day Saints. Elizabeth Crow was an aunt of John Brown's, the latter the daily companion of Orson Pratt in the last stages of the Pioneer journey. Elizabeth's father "was Captain Benjamin Brown, brother of Bishop John Brown, and served through the war of the American Revolution." The other five women of this group are thought to be her daughters.[15]

With the arrival of the invalided battalion detachments, and the families that had wintered with them at Pueblo, and the families that made up the balance of the Mississippi company, all of whom arrived in the Salt Lake valley on the 29th of July—only five days after the advent of Brigham Young—the number of Pioneer women, of course, was very greatly increased; and these were still further augmented by the large companies which arrived in the valley between the middle of September and the 10th of October, 1847; by which time, 2,095 souls had arrived in the valley, in which the number of women exceeded that of the men.

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[14] Ira Vinda Exene and Ira Minda Almarene were twin sisters.

[15] Elizabeth (Brown) Crow was born in South Carolina, 1795, and died in California in 1893. (*Fifty Years Ago Today*, the date for this collection of events was compiled for the publishers, for the most part by Franklin D. Richards, church historian, at the time, 1897; and by John Jaques and Milton A. Musser, assistant church historians. See Addenda to compilation of July 24th, 1897).

Doubtless the most sympathetic and thoughtful appreciation of the women Pioneers of the "Mormon" community, and of their class in all colony planting, was expressed in an address by Dr. Charles William Elliott, at the time—1892—President of Harvard University. This address was delivered before a very large gathering in the "Mormon" tabernacle at Salt Lake City, on the evening of the 16th of March of the year above given. The detention of the Doctor's train in the wilderness of the Rocky Mountains led to reflections upon the Pioneer journey through that wilderness, and the "planting" of the first colony in Utah, which he characterized by the terms "superb" and "Christian." Then:

> "Did it ever occur to you what is the most heroic part of planting a colony of people which moves into a wilderness to establish a civilized community? You think, perhaps, it is the soldier, the armed man or the laboring man. Not so; it is the women who are the most heroic part of any new colony (Applause). Their labors are the less because their strength is less. Their anxieties are greater, their dangers greater, the risks they run are heavier. We read that story in the history of the Pilgim and Puritan colonies of Massachusetts. *The women died faster than the men; they suffered more.* Perhaps their reward was greater too. They bore children to the colony. Let us bear in our hearts veneration for the women of any Christian folk going out in the wilderness to plant a new community."[16]

It can also be said that in this movement of the church to the west both as to these first Pioneer companies and in all Pioneer companies that followed them, the "Mormon" women, in all that makes for heroism, patient endurance, silent suffering, tender sympathy, issuing from love's fountain, calm courage, and clear, soul-inspiring faith,—were not one whit behind their brothers. In all things the men and women of this movement were worthy of each other.

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16. *Deseret Evening News*, March 17, 1892.

EXPLORATIONS NORTH AND SOUTH

Meantime exploration had been pushed as far north as Cache and Bear river valleys, and as far south as Utah Lake. The exploring party of four who had gone north had accompanied Captain James Brown and Samuel Brannan's party which started for California *via* Fort Hall on the 9th of August. Returning on the 14th these explorers of the north valleys brought cheering news to the Salt Lake colony. "The messengers," writes Wilford Woodruff, "bring a glorious report of Cache valley and the country between us and there,—that is, rich soil and well watered, and well calculated for farming purposes. Also Bear river valley for stock grazing." The party called on Miles Goodyear, at the mouth of Weber canon, where he had a small garden picketed—"corn and vegetables doing well,"[17] was the report. The expedition to Utah Lake and valley had for its object the securing of fish, and ascertaining to what extent the fish of the lake could be counted upon as a source of food supply. In this the exploration was not very successful.

RETURNING PIONEERS TO WINTER QUARTERS

With so much accomplished, preparations began for the return of some of the Pioneers to Winter Quarters to arrange for the migration of the body of the church to the new home that had been selected. There were also a large number of the battalion men anxious to return to their families; accordingly, on the 16th of August, a company of Pioneers and battalion men were organized and rendezvoused at the mouth of Emigration canon for the return journey.[18] There were 24 of the Pioneers and 46 of the Mormon Battalion; 34 wagons; 92 yoke of oxen; 18 horses; and 14 mules. The company's teams being principally made up of oxen, it is spoken of in our annals as the "ox train of returning pioneers;" and being so made up it was thought this company would need a week or ten days in advance of a company intending to start later, in which there would be no ox teams. Rather to the annoyance of the horse and mule train, however, they did not overtake the ox train, though the latter waited for them five days on the Platte; during which time they had killed and dried the meat of 30 buffalo cows. It was demonstrated both on the outgoing and returning journey that, all in all, oxen, unless horses and mules were grain-fed *en route,* made the better team for crossing the plains, as they would make from 15 to 25 miles per day and often gain in strength with no other feed than the grass of the plains and the brouse and grass of the hills.[20]

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[17] *Woodruff's Journal*, entry Aug. 14.

[18] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, entry Aug. 16. Bancroft gives date of starting as the 17th of Aug.

The "ox train" was under the captaincy of Shadrach Roundy and Tunis Rappely, though Lieutenant Wesley Willis was in command of the battalion members of the camp.[21]

Ten days later, August 26th, the second company of Pioneers and battalion members started on the return journey. There were 107 persons; 71 horses, and 49 mules.[22] The company was unable to take with it any ample stock of provisions, as what had been brought by the Pioneer company was necessary and none too plentiful, for those who must remain. Accordingly the returning companies would depend chiefly upon the game and fish that might be taken *en route* to Winter Quarters, supplemented by such provisions as could be spared by the immigrating companies they would meet.

"Father John Smith," so he was familiarly called by "all Israel," uncle of the Prophet Joseph, and a very worthy man, was left in charge of the colony at Salt Lake, as Brigham Young then and even after the reorganization of the first presidency, made it part of his administrative policy to have with him, or within easy call, a majority of the twelve apostles. Seven members of that council started with President Young on this return journey, while Ezra T. Benson, the other member of the group of eight apostles who made the westward journey, had been sent with three companions from the colony on the 2nd of August, to meet the companies of saints then *en route*[23] from Winter Quarters, with the glad tidings that the place for settlement had been located, seeds planted, the site for a temple chosen, and the work of laying out the city begun—good news indeed for exiles now in the second year of camp life with no certain abiding place.

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[20] "The grass is getting dry and not much substance in it, and our horses are failing upon it. I am thoroughly convinced that oxen are far preferable to either horses or mules for such a journey." (*Woodruff's Journal,* entry for 5th Oct., 1847. Other *Journals passim* to the same effect).

[21] *Richard's Narrative, Ms.,* p. 13-14.

[22] *Ibid,* quoted by Bancroft, *History of Utah,* p. 265, note.

On leaving the colony at Salt Lake, as he and Heber C. Kimball mounted their horses, Brigham Young rose in his stirrups and shouted—

"Good-bye to all who tarry! I feel well!"[24]

and so departed.

Four days out they met their fellow apostle Elder Benson and companions returning from their visit to the approaching nine companies of saints. He brought to the Pioneers letters from their friends and families both *en route* and at Winter Quarters, as also news from the outside world. Benson returned eastward with his fellow apostles, while his companions went on to the valley with their precious mail and news of the whereabouts of the approaching companies, and the probable time of their arrival.

On Big Sandy river the returning Pioneers met the first of the westbound companies of the saints, the fifties of Parley P. Pratt and Peregrine Sessions, this is on the 4th of September. Some disarrangement of plans had occurred with reference to the organization and order of marching of these companies—plans worked out by President Young and his associates before they left Winter Quarters for the Pioneer journey.

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[23] *Woodruff's Journal*, entry for Aug. 1st and 2nd.

[24] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, entry for August 26th, 1847.

CONFUSION OF PROCEDURE—REPROOFS

It will be remembered that two members of the apostles' quorum had just arrived from England on the eve of the departure of the Pioneer camp, Elders Parley P. Pratt and John Taylor. They had not had the advantage of associating with the rest of the quorum in projecting and maturing these plans of the journey, and yet as ranking officers in the church, after the departure of all the rest of the presiding council, they were very naturally looked upon as the directing and presiding authority in forming and marching the camp. Besides the disarrangement of the order of procedure, there had been manifested *en route* some disorder in the companies, some bickering and jealousies as to rights of precedence in the order of march, a thing not to be wondered at when the number—more than fifteen hundred people—are taken into account. For disarranging the plans projected by the majority of the apostle's quorum—"also governed by revelation," remarks Elder Woodruff—and for some disorder in the companies, the two apostles, Elders Pratt and Taylor, were taken sharply to task before the council at this meeting with the first companies. Elder Pratt was the ranking apostle of the two, and had taken the lead in these matters, and upon his head fell the burden of reproof. "Brother Young chastized him for his course," writes Wilford Woodruff, "and taught us principle."

> "He said that when we set apart one or more of the twelve to go and do a certain piece of work they would be blessed in doing that, and the quorum would back up what they did; but when one or more of the quorum interfered with the work of the majority of the quorum, they burn their fingers and do wrong. When the majority of the quorum of the twelve plant a stake of Zion, and establish a president over the stake, and appoint a high council then has the minority of the twelve, one or more, any right to go and interfere with those councils? No; unless they [the councils] should get corrupt and do wrong. Then it would be the duty of any one of the quorum of the twelve to show

them their error and teach them what was right; and should the majority of those councils get corrupt and try to lead astray the people, it would then be the duty of any one of the twelve to disannul those councils and call upon the people to sustain him and appoint a new one; but while the councils are trying to do right, it would be the duty of the twelve who might be with them, to assist them in carrying out those views that the majority of the twelve had established."[25]

The council sustained President Young's reproof; and although Elder Pratt was not at first disposed to accept it, he finally yielded and acknowledged his error and was forgiven.[26] President Young took occasion to refer to the burden he felt he was carrying, writes Wilford Woodruff, and declared that "he would chastize brother Parley or any other one of the quorum as much as he pleased, when they were out of the way, and they could not help themselves; but he did it for their good, and only did it when constrained to do it by the power of God."

Elder Kimball followed Brother Young, the account is from *Woodruff's Journal*: He said he wanted Brother Young "to rest as much as possible, and let his brethren bear his burdens." He said he wanted Brother Young to save himself, for he was wearing down. "I feel tender towards you—I want you to live; and if I or my brethren do wrong, tell us of it, and we will repent." Brother Brigham Young said there was not a better set of men on earth than the twelve, and he intended to chastize them when they need it that they might be saved and love him and stick to him.[27]

"We all felt it good to be there, for the Lord was with us," is the concluding sentence of Elder Woodruff's account. Two days later, on the Sweetwater, the returning company met Elder Taylor's and Joseph Horne's companies. Several inches of snow had fallen. Snow! and this early in September! The incident occasioned some anxiety among the saints concerning the climate of the mountain region to which they were moving. Elder John Taylor turned the incident into a theme of merriment, bade them be of good cheer, and proposed to insure the lives of the whole company "at $5 per head."[28]

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[25] *Woodruff's Journal,* entry 4th Sept., 1847.

[26] In order to disclose the spirit in which these men wrought, I here subjoin Elder Pratt's account of the culmination of this affair: "I was charged with neglecting to observe the order of organization entered into under the superintendence of the president before he left the camps at Winter Quarters; and of variously interfering with previous arrangements. In short, I was severely reproved and chastened. I no doubt deserved this chastisement; and I humbled myself, acknowledged my faults and errors, and asked forgiveness. I was frankly forgiven, and, bidding each other farewell, each company passed on its way. This school of experience made me more humble and careful in future, and I think it was the means of making me a wiser and better man ever after." (*Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt,* pp. 400, 401.)

[27] *Woodruff's Journal,* entry for Sept. 4th, 1847.

A Banquet in the Desert

These camps made a feast for the returning Pioneers. It was in the nature of a surprise. While the twelve and other prominent elders were engaged in council meetings, the sisters had prepared a feast worthy of their guests. One hundred and thirty sat down to the meal which was royally served.[29]

Several improvised tables of uncommon length covered with snow white linen, and fast being burdened with glittering tableware, gave evidence that a surprise was in store for the weary Pioneers. Game and fish were prepared in abundance; fruits, jellies and relishes reserved for special occasions were brought out until truly it was a royal feast.

Moreover, though the place selected for the spread was adjacent to the camp, it was successful as a surprise. The Pioneers knew nothing of what had taken place until they were led by Elder Taylor through a natural opening in the bushes fringing the enclosure, and the grand feast burst upon their astonished vision. If for a momen rising emotions at this manifestation of love choked their utterance and threatened to blunt the edge of appetite, the danger soon passed under the genial influence of the sisters who waited upon the tables and pressed their guests to eat; in the end they paid a full and hearty compliment to the culinary skill of the sisters.

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[28] *Life of John Taylor*, p. 190.

Supper over and cleared away, preparations were made for dancing, and soon was added to the sweet confusion of laughter and cheerful conversation, the merry strains of the violin, and the strong, clear voice of the prompter directing the dancers through the mazes of quadrilles, Scotch-reels, French-fours and other figures of harmless dances suitable to to guileless manners and the religious character of the participants. Dancing was interspersed with songs and recitations. "We felt mutually edified and blessed," writes Elder Taylor, "we praised the Lord and blessed one another." So closed a pleasant day, though the morning with its clouds and snow looked very unpromising.[29]

On the 9th of September the returning Pioneers met the last company of westward bound saints for that year. It was led by Jedediah M. Grant. He brought the Pioneers news from the east. He told them of the continued warm friendship of Colonel Kane, and of the inveterate opposition of Senator Benton of Missouri. During the night about fifty head of horses were stolen by the Indians. Thirty from the Pioneer's camp, twenty from Grant's. Horsemen were sent out in pursuit of the stolen animals, but only succeeded in bringing back five of the missing horses. This loss materially weakened both encampments.[30]

ATTACK BY INDIANS—SIOUX DUPLICITY

Nothing further happened of note on the return trip of the Pioneers except an attack on the camp on the morning of the 21st of September by a war band of Sioux Indians. The attack was made just as the order had been given to bring in the horses preparatory to starting on the day's drive. The Indians charged simultaneously on the camp and on the herders in the hope of throwing all into confusion. In this, however, they were disappointed, as the brethren acted with great promptness and bravery, quickly arming themselves, and some of them mounting such horses as were at hand, they dashed into the very midst of the attacking party and secured most of the horses they had frightened and were attempting to steal. Eight or ten horses, however, in spite of all that could be done, were run off by the Indians.

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[29] *History of John Taylor*, ch. xxi.

[30] *Woodruff's Journal*, entries for Sept. 8th and 9th, 1847.

Thwarted in their full design on the camp, the chief at the head of his two hundred warriors tried to explain the matter away by saying they were good Sioux, friends of the whites, and had mistaken the encampment of the white men for a camp of Crow or Snake Indians, with whom they were at war. Some of these Indians were those whom the Pioneers had fed on the outward journey; and finally the chief proposed that if the white chief (Brigham Young), would go to his encampment, they would smoke the peace pipe and return the horses run off that morning. It was not thought prudent for President Young to accept this proposal; but three of the brethren, *viz.*, Heber C. Kimball, Wilford Woodruff, and Stephen Markham volunteered to go in order to secure the horses, though the whole Pioneer camp knew that the chief's claim of mistaking the Pioneer camp for an encampment of Indians was a mere subterfuge. The Indian camp proved to be some six or seven miles distant, and all told there were over a hundred lodges, and about 500 or 600 people, with 1,000 horses. The pipe smoking ceremony over, the three Pioneers were permitted to pick out their seven or eight head of horses, not an easy task, from a band of nearly one thousand. They also saw very many of the fifty head that had been stolen on the 9th inst., and spoke to the chief about returning them, and he gave them some encouragement to believe that he would return them at Fort Laramie.

At Fort Laramie a plan was devised to get back the horses that was decidedly adventurous. Ten men were to go to the Indian encampment to negotiate for the return of the horses, followed an hour later by twenty-five men to be close at hand in the event of an emergency. The first company under command of Colonel Stephen Markham; the second under E. T. Benson. The expedition had not proceeded far, however, when they learned that the Indian camp had been warned from the fort to "cache up their horses," as this expedition had started to recover those belonging to the Pioneers. Of this circumstance Erastus Snow writes: "Mr. Bordeaux [in charge at Fort Laramie] at first promised to send an interpreter with our messengers and to use his influence in our favor; but the next day when we had made up a company well armed and mounted for the expedition, Mr. Bordeaux refused to send an interpreter, or rather stated that his men refused to go. He also spoke very discouragingly of the expedition and said the Indians would secrete our horses and our efforts would be unavailing. Whether he was sincere in his counsel and advice or whether he was afraid of injuring his influence and trade with the Sioux, or whether he was leagued with them in their robberies, is more than I can determine."[31]

At Fort Laramie the Pioneers were overtaken by Commodore Stockton and about forty men returning from San Francisco Bay to the eastern states. Elders Young and Kimball dined with the commodore at the fort.

After leaving Fort Laramie the journey down the Platte was slow and monotonous. The teams were constantly growing weaker, and food in the camp was often exhausted, and only intermittently replenished by the killing of game *en route.*

On the 18th of October a company of sixteen men with three wagons from Winter Quarters, led by Hosea Stout, Geo. D. Grant, and James W. Cummings, met President Young's camp. They had come to render such assistance as might be necessary to enable the Pioneers to reach Winter Quarters. A second company of about twenty wagons, led by Bishop

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[31] *Woodruff's Journal,* entry for 21st, 24th and 25th Sept., 1847.

Newel K. Whitney and others, met the returning camp at the Elkhorn, bringing with them food and grain in abundance.

A mile from Winter Quarters the Pioneer camp was drawn up in regular marching order, addressed by President Young, and dismissed to go to their homes on arriving in the city.[32] As they drove into the city, the streets were lined with the people who welcomed them with handshaking, exclamations of thanksgiving for their safe return, and with smiles through tears. The journey of the returning Pioneers was completed.

COMPLETION OF THE EMIGRATION TO SALT LAKE VALLEY FOR 1847

Omitting the Pioneer and Mississippi companies, as already sufficiently accounted for in these pages, the other eleven companies of 1847, all arrived in Salt Lake valley by the tenth of October. The companies are listed by Thomas Bullock, secretary to Brigham Young, and one of the historians of the Pioneer camp, as follows:

> "Brigham Young's Pioneer company, 148; Mississippi company, 47; Mormon Battalion, 210; Daniel Spencer's company, 204; Parley P. Pratt's, 198; A. O. Smoot's, 139; C. C. Rich's, 130; George B. Wallace's, 198; Edward Hunter's, 155; Joseph Horne's 197; J. B. Noble's, 171; Willard Snow's, 148; J. M. Grant's 150.
>
> Making a total of 2,095 for the year."

To appreciate the heroism of this Latter-day Saint movement to the west, one must contemplate the chances taken by these companies which followed the Pioneers. It was late in the season when they started from the Elkhorn—the latter part of June—too late for them to put in crops that season even if they stopped far short of the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains. They barely had provisions enough to last them eighteen months and then if their first crop failed them in the new mountain home selected, starvation must follow for they would be from eight to ten hundred miles from the nearest point where food could be obtained, and no swifter means of transportation than horse or ox teams. It was a bold undertaking, this moving over two thousand souls into an unknown country, and into the midst of tribes of savages of uncertain disposition, and of doubtful friendship. Had it not been for the assurance of the support and protection of God, it would have been not only a bold but a reckless movement—the action of madmen. But as it was, the undertaking was a sublime evidence of their faith in God and their leaders.

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[32] President Young's address, including a brief *resume* of the Pioneer journey, according to his own record, was as follows: "Brethren, I will say to the Pioneers, I wish you would receive my thanks for your kindness and willingness to obey orders. I am satisfied with you—you have done well. We have accomplished more than we expected. Out of one hundred and forty-three men who started, some of them sick, all of them are well. Not a man has died; we have not lost a horse, mule or ox but through carelessness. The blessings of the Lord have been with us. If the brethren are satisfied with me and the twelve please signify it by uplifted hands."

All hands were raised. President Young continued:

"I feel to bless you in the name of the Lord God of Israel. You are dismissed to go to you own homes." (History of the Church, Cannon, *Juvenile Instructor*, vol. 18, p. 327).

There is no question but these men had laid their all upon the altar of their faith in the providences of God, including their wives and children, who must share their hardships and their fate. They must succeed or perish in the wilderness to which they had come; and with a faith that has never been surpassed, they placed themselves under the guidance and protection of God, and we shall see in the sequel that they trusted not in vain.

The First Stake of Zion in the Valley

On Sunday the 3rd of October, a conference was held at the Salt Lake colony as arranged previous to the departure of the returning Pioneer leaders. At this conference "Father John Smith," who had been left in charge of the colony by the twelve, was chosen as the president of the Salt Lake stake of Zion, with Charles C. Rich and John Young (brother of President Brigham Young) as counselors. President Young and all the apostles were sustained as presiding over the church, except Lyman Wight, then in Texas. Action in his case was suspended until he could appear before the saints in person to render an account of his proceedings. A high council was chosen for the Salt Lake stake, whose names follow: Henry G. Sherwood, Thomas Grover, Levi Jackson, John Murdock, Daniel Spencer, Lewis Abbott, Ira Eldridge, Edison Whipple, Shadrach Roundy, John Vance, Willard Snow and Abraham O. Smoot.

Charles C. Rich who had been in charge of the artillery company while crossing the plains and the mountains was now elected military commander of the colony, under the direction of the stake authorities. Albert Carrington was elected clerk, historian and deputy postmaster for the city of Great Salt Lake. John Van Cott was elected marshal of the city. This the crude beginning of civil government in the Salt Lake valley.

The one block selected for inclosure by the Pioneer leaders for homes was found inadequate for the number who made their way into the valley that fall; and as soon as this was apparent additions were made of one block adjoining it on the north and another on the south, called the north and south forts, respectively. They were connected with the "old fort" by gates, and each of the latter forts had gateways to the outside for separate ingress and egress.[33] The houses on these additional blocks, as on the first one, were built solidly together of adobes or of logs, the highest wall on the outside, the shed-formed roof sloping inward. Acting both upon reports of the climate and the dryness of the soil in the valley, the people made the roofs of these houses, consisting of poles, brush, and earth, too flat, with the result that when the winter and early spring rains fell they leaked badly, much to the discomfort of the people.[34]

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33. During the spring and early summer another block was evidently added to the three already described, since in a general epistle, issued after President Young arrived in Salt Lake valley in the summer of 1848, it is said: "On our arrival in this valley we found the brethren had erected four forts, composed mostly of houses, including an area of about forty-seven acres. (*Millennial Star*, vol. xi, p. 228).

34. "The roofs of the houses were made rather flat. The result was that nearly every house leaked during the first winter, and umbrellas, where such a luxury as an umbrella was owned, were frequently in demand to shelter those engaged in cooking and even in bed persons would be seen sitting or lying under an umbrella." (History of the Church, Cannon, *Juvenile Instructor*, vol. xix, p. 59).

Fortunately the first winter in the valley was a mild one; it would have been disastrous had it been severe.[35]

LIGHTS AND SHADOWS OF THE FIRST WINTER

Notwithstanding all discouraging circumstances the high spirits of the colonists never failed them. Religious services were regularly held; the gathering of Israel, the redemption of Zion, the hope of eternal life in celestial glory to such as love Jehovah, obey his law, and seek his honor and his glory—the assurance of God's approval in all this, voiced to their souls by the consciousness of the uprightness of their own intentions and efforts—kept hope bright in their humble lives. Joy and gladness were in their midst, "thanksgiving and the voice of melody." Again, as throughout their nearly two years sojourn in camps through Iowa, *en route* across the plains and over the mountains, the laughter of children was heard, woman's tender ministrations were in evidence, anniversaries of births and weddings were celebrated; there were wooings and weddings; there were dances and merriment; and where these are, privations, the hardships of pioneer life, scarcity of food and clothing, can never break down the spirit of man and make him hopeless.

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35. "Neither their food nor their clothing was of such a character as to enable them to endure cold weather. Many were without shoes, and the best and only covering they could get for their feet was moccasins. Their clothing, too, was pretty well exhausted, and the goat, deer, and elk skins which they could procure were most acceptable for clothing, though far from pleasant to wear in the rain or snow." (History of the Church, Cannon, *Juvenile Instructor*, vol. xix, p. 60.) "The winter was mild and pleasant," writes Parley P. Pratt, "several light snows and severe frosts; but the days were warm, and the snows soon melted off. The cattle did well all winter in the pastures without being fed. Horses, sheep and cattle were in better order in the spring than when we arrived, I mean those which were not kept up and worked or milked, but suffered to live where there was grass. Early in March the ground opened and we commenced plowing for spring crops." (Letter of Parley P. Pratt to Orson Pratt, Sept. 5th, 1848, *Millennial Star*, vol. xi, p. 22).

CHAPTER LXXXIV

GENERAL EPISTLE ON CHURCH POLITY—POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE SAINTS IN IOWA—LAST JOURNEY OF BRIGHAM YOUNG OVER THE PLAINS

HAPPILY the harvest of 1847 had been abundant in all the settlements of the saints on the Missouri river. "We found on our arrival that the brethren at Winter Quarters," writes Wilford Woodruff, "had been greatly blessed in their labors in tilling the earth, that it had brought forth a great abundance of corn, buckwheat, turnips and other vegetables, and the city was full of hay and surrounded with corn."[1] At a conference held on the east side of the Missouri in December, President Young in complimenting the brethren told them they had built, fenced, and made as many improvements in the short time they had been there, (i. e. on the Missouri) as they would in Missouri in about ten years," "and they have raised a crop," he adds, "equal to any we used to raise in Illinois."[2] This in a letter to Orson Spencer, 23rd January, 1848.

THE MANY QUESTIONS OF ADMINISTRATION

This circumstance relieved President Young and his associates of the apostles' quorum of much anxiety; and left them free to consider at once many things concerning the church that were pressing for attention. Among these the removal of the saints from the Omaha Indian lands, urged by the Indian agents, which involved the abandonment of Winter Quarters;[3] the condition of the saints scattered in the branches of the church throughout the United States; the church in the British Isles, and elsewhere; the forwarding of a printing press to the mountains; laying plans for the education of the youth of the community, soon to be gathered into the mountains; the reorganization of the first presidency of the church; the maintenance of the landholdings of the saints in Iowa and their political relationship to the people of Iowa—these and many other questions were all pressing for solution.

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[1] *Woodruff's Journal, Ms.*, entry for Nov. 1st, 1847.

[2] President Young in a letter to *Millennial Star*, vol. x, p. 114.

[3] "In compliance with the wishes of the subagents, [of the Indians] we expect to vacate the Omaha lands in the spring." (General Epistle of the Twelve to the Church, Dec. 23rd, 1847, *Millennial Star*, vol. x, p. 84). The sub-Indian agent was anxious for the removal of the saints from Winter Quarters, but he wrote President Young prohibiting the saints from moving their log cabins over the river to Kanesville. Shortly after this the agent wrote President Young soliciting charity in behalf of the Pawnee chiefs—"an appeal that was not made in vain, for the president caused that they should be supplied freely with beef and corn." (History of the Church, Cannon, *Juvenile Instructor*, vol. xviii, p. 361).

Council meetings of the apostles' quorum and the high councils in the various settlements on the Missouri were held almost daily.

It was decided to vacate Winter Quarters in the spring; and provide for as many of its inhabitants as possible to go to Salt Lake valley; and those who could not do this were to move to the east side of the river and locate at Kanesville, a settlement so named in honor of their friend Colonel Thomas L. Kane,[4] but since called Council Bluffs.

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[4] Colonel Kane was still active in the interest of his "Mormon" friends. The *Millennial Star* of the 15th of April, 1848, gives an account of a meeting held in New York, for the purpose of listening to an appeal on behalf of the distressed "Mormons," now scattered in the far west. The account of the meeting is interesting from the prominence of men participating in it; a number of them became national characters: The Hon. William V. Brady, mayor of the city, presided; assisted by the Hon. Theodore Frelinghuysen, and Rev. Dr. Whitehouse, vice-presidents, and Rev. Rufus Griswold, secretary. Mayor Brady, in taking the chair, made a few remarks in explanation of the object of the meeting and introduced Colonel Thomas L. Kane, of Philadelphia, who stated that on his return, recently, from the far west, he had been brought in contact with the "Mormons," scattered over that country, and during an intimate intercourse with them, had opportunities of observing their distresses, and of ascertaining their character. They were a simple, kind-hearted and well meaning people, and were borne down by afflictions and privations; for a more explicit explanation of which he referred to two "Mormons" then present, Messrs. Ezra T. Benson and Jesse C. Little, who had shared in the general suffering, and to the accuracy of whose statements he was willing to pledge his own word and responsibility. He had exerywhere found the "Mormons" pining from want and disease; and their sufferings were of a nature to justify the strongest appeal to the philanthropic.

The Honorable Benjamin F. Buttler in furtherance of the object of the meeting offered a series of resolutions, the concluding one being—

"*Resolved*, That upon statements made by Colonel Thomas L. Kane, of Philadelphia, we commend to the favorable consideration of our fellow citizens, the application about to be made to them by Messrs. Benson, Appleby, Little and Snow, the committee now in this city, for donations to relieve emigrant Mormons in their present necessities."

The resolutions were unanimously adopted, and, after some conversation between the gentlemen present, and Colonel Kane, the meeting adjourned. (*Millennial Star*, vol. x, pp. 113-4). The account is quoted from a "*New York Paper*." It is not of record that the meeting resulted in any material benefit to the saints.

Mission Appointments

It was decided that Elder Jesse C. Little who had made the journey to the Salt Lake valley with the Pioneers and had returned with them, should resume the presidency of the churches in the eastern states; that John Brown, another of the Pioneer company, be appointed to labor in the southern states; that Ezra T. Benson, Amasa M. Lyman and a number of other elders should visit the branches of the church in the south and east both to instruct the saints and gather means to assist in the western movement; that Orson Pratt should go to England to preside over the missions in the British Isles; that Wilford Woodruff should be sent to take charge of the work in Canada and Nova Scotia. Thus an impetus was given to the missionary work of the church; and the saints scattered abroad would be made acquainted with the movements of the church leaders in selecting and founding a new gathering place for the saints, by those who had participated in that work, and therefore were better prepared to impart information, and represent the very spirit in which the work had been accomplished. Orson Hyde, Geo. A. Smith, and Ezra T. Benson were appointed to take charge of affairs at Kanesville and vicinity. It was also decided in the early spring of 1848, as a number of the saints were likely to stay at Kanesville for some time—to publish a paper in the interests of these then frontier settlements. Orson Hyde was sent east to procure a press and type for the proposed publication.[5]

The Church in the British Isles

The affairs of the church in the British Isles during these unsettled years of 1846-1848, had been very prosperous. Orson Spencer, a most worthy man and able minister of the gospel had been in charge; and when Orson Pratt arrived in England to succeed him in the presidency, he found the affairs of the mission in a flourishing, healthful condition.[6] At a general conference of the mission held at Manchester soon after the arrival of Elder Pratt, twenty-eight conferences were represented, reporting a membership of 17,902, of which number 8,467 had been added between the date of May 31st, 1846, and the 14th of August, 1848.[7] But what was far better than any increase in numbers, the spirit of the saints was never better, kindness and good will were apparent on every hand, the fruit of the spirit was manifest, which "is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance—against such there is no law."[8] It was to such a mission Elder Orson Pratt was to succeed, under his new appointment.

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[5] Orson Hyde accompanied Wilford Woodruff who was *en route* for Canada as far as St. Louis; where they separated, the former going to Washington. (Letter of Woodruff to Orson Spencer, England, *Millennial Star*, vol. x, p. 316).

The General Epistle of the Twelve Issued from Winter Quarters

Under date of 23rd of December, 1847, a notable *"General Epistle"* was sent out from Winter Quarters by the twelve apostles there assembled. It was addressed to—

"The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints abroad, dispersed throughout the earth, Greeting."

Besides a synoptical recital of the historical events occurring in the church since the departure of the twelve from Nauvoo in the winter of 1846, and announcing the intention of reorganizing the first presidency, the epistle deals with the conditions prevailing in the church at the time the epistle was published, the policy it was then the intention to pursue, and the counsel the apostles would have the church follow. It is these parts of the communication which make the epistle both notable and valuable as an historical document. Excerpts will demonstrate its importance, and reflect the spirit of the great latter-day work:

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[6] Of the labors and presidency of Elder Spencer, Orson Pratt in his general epistle to the saints in the British Isles, announcing his own appointment to the presidency of the church in those lands, said: "The saints in this land have been highly favored and extensively benefited by the indefatigable and praise-worthy labors of our much esteemed and dearly beloved brother, Elder Orson Spencer, whose wise and judicious course in his presidential administration over the saints in this land will ever live in remembrance of all the faithful. His integrity and sterling virtue have erected for him an enduring monument that can never perish. The eloquent and powerful reasonings displayed in all his writings—the bold, energetic, and beautiful style diffused through every part, and the meek and humble spirit which seems to pervade almost every sentence, clearly indicated a sound mind, enlightened by the spirit of truth, and filled with wisdom by the inspiration of the Almighty. The inestimable truths which he has so ably developed in his writings will prove an invaluable treasure to thousands, and live in the memory of all future generations." (*Millennial Star*, vol. x, pp .246-7).

[7] Detailed report is to be found in *Millennial Star*, vol. x, pp. 252-3.

[8] *Gal.*, v:22, 23.

FAITH OF THE SAINTS IN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES: THEIR LOYALTY

"The saints in this vicinity are bearing their privations in meekness and patience, and making all their exertions tend to their removal westward. Their hearts and all their labors are towards the setting sun, for they desire to be so far removed from those who have been their oppressors, that there shall be an everlasting barrier between them and future persecution; and although, as a people, we have been driven from state to state, and although Joseph and Hyrum, our prophet and patriarch, were murdered in cold blood, while in government duress, and under the immediate control, inspection and supervision of the governor and government officers—we know, and feel assured, that there are many honest, noble, and patriotic souls now living under that government, and under similar governments in the sister states of the great confederacy, who would loathe the shedding of innocent blood, and were it in their power, would wipe the stain from the nation. If such would clear their garments in the public eye, and before God, they must speak out; they must proclaim to the world their innocence, and their hatred and detestation of such atrocious and unheard of acts; but with this we have nothing to do; only we love honesty and right wherever we find them; the cause is between them, their country, and their God; and we again reiterate what we have often said, and what we have ever shown by our conduct, that notwithstanding all our privations and sufferings, we are more ready than any other portion of the community to sustain the constitutional institutions of our mother country, and will do the utmost for them, if permitted; and we say to all saints throughout the earth, be submissive to the law that protects you in your person, rights, and property, in whatever nation or kingdom you are; and suffer wrong, rather than do wrong. This we have ever done, and mean still to continue to do. *We anticipate, as soon as circumstances will permit, to petition for a territorial government in the Great Basin.*"

COUNSEL TO ALL THE SAINTS—ZION

Replying to the question of many of the scattered saints, —"what shall we do?"—the epistle advised the saints who had been driven from Nauvoo, and all in the United States and Canada to gather to the east bank of the Missouri, to the lands recently vacated by the Pottawattomie Indians, and then owned by the United States; where, by industry, they could soon gather sufficient means to prosecute their journey; for it was only intended that Kanesville and vicinity should be a recruiting point on the westward march of the church.

The saints in the British Isles were advised to immigrate as speedily as possible to these same lands, coming *via* New Orleans to Kanesville, which would be an all water journey. All were urged to come immediately and to bring with them—

> "All kinds of choice seeds, of grain, vegetables, fruits, shrubbery, trees, and vines—everything that grows upon the face of the whole earth that will please the eye, gladden the heart, or cheer the soul of man; also, the best stock of beasts, bird, and fowl of every kind; also the best tools of every description, and machinery for spinning, or weaving, and dressing cotton, wool, flax, and silk, etc., or models and descriptions of the same, by kinds of farming utensils and husbandry, such as corn shellers, grain threshers and cleaners, smutt machines, mills, and every implement and article within their knowledge that shall tend to promote the comfort, health, happiness, or prosperity of any people. So far as it can be consistently done, bring models and drafts, and let the machinery be built where it is used, which will save great expense in transportation, particularly in heavy machinery, and tools and implements generally."

As the migrating saints were to pass through a land infested by savage tribes of Indians they were admonished to bring with them good firearms and an abundance of ammunition. The saints in western California were given the liberty of remaining in that land if they so elected. The saints on the Society and other islands of the Pacific Ocean were at liberty to remain there "until further notice;" but the promise is made that more elders would be sent to them as soon as that was practicable.[9] But if a few of their young, or middle aged, intelligent men "wish to visit us at the basin," said the epistle, "we bid them God speed, and shall be happy to see them."

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[9] The missions on these islands were established, it will be remembered, as early as 1844, by Elders Addison Pratt, Noah Rogers and Benjamin Grouard. By 1848 the membership of the church on those islands numbered upward of 1,800 souls. (See Report of Church Historian Orson Pratt in *Utah Pioneers*, p. 26, and *Millennial Star*, vol. xi, p. 229).

"The saints in Australia,[10] China and the East Indies generally, will do well to ship to the most convenient part in the United States, and from thence make to this point [i. e. Kanesville], and pursue the same course as others do; or, if they find it more convenient, they may ship to western California."

The traveling ministry everywhere were admonished to preach the gospel and administer its ordinances in simplicity. "Teach them the principles of righteousness and uprightness between man and man; administer to them bread and wine, in remembrance of the death of Jesus Christ, and if they want further information tell them to flee to Zion—there the servants of God will be ready to wait upon them, and teach them all things that pertain to salvation. * * * Should any ask, *'where is Zion?'* tell them in America; and if any ask: *'what is Zion?'* tell them the pure in heart."[11]

RESPECTING DISSENTERS

"Since the murder of President Joseph Smith, many false prophets and false teachers have arisen, and tried to deceive many, during which time we have mostly tarried with the body of the church, or have been seeking a new location, leaving those 'prophets' and 'teachers' to run their race undisturbed: * * * and we now, having it in contemplation soon to reorganize he church according to the original pattern, with a first presidency and patriarch, feel that it will be the privilege of the twelve, ere long, to spread abroad among the nations, not to hinder the gathering, but to preach the gospel, and push the people, the honest in heart, together from the four quarters of the earth."

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[10] The work was opened in Australia in 1840, by Elder William Barratt; and in the East Indies by Elder William Donaldson, in 1840. (Historian's Report of Missions, *Utah Pioneers*, p. 26.) The "saints in China," must have referred to English sea-faring, or English resident members of the church in that land, as no mission, at this time, had been opened in China.

[11] This word "Zion" it will be observed, like the word "Heaven," is used variously, as the name of a city, or of a land, or of a condition of mind; "Let Zion rejoice for this is Zion *the pure in heart!" (Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. xcvii). Just as "Heaven" refers, accordingly as it is used, to either a place, or a state of being, or a state of mind.

THE RICH TO HELP THE POOR

"It is the duty of the rich saints everywhere, to assist the poor, according to their ability, to gather; and if they choose, with a covenant and promise that the poor thus helped, shall repay as soon as they are able. It is also the duty of the rich, those who have the intelligence and the means, to come home forthwith, and establish factories, and all kinds of machinery, that will tend to give employment to the poor, and produce those articles which are necessary for the comfort, convenience, health and happiness of the people; and no one need to be at a loss concerning his duty in these matters, if he will walk so humbly before God as to keep the small, still whisperings of the Holy Ghost within continually."

DUTY OF PARENTS TO CHILDREN

"It is the duty of all parents to train up their children in the way they should go, instructing them in every correct principle, so fast as they are capable of receiving, and setting an example worthy of imitation; for the Lord holds parents responsible for the conduct of their children, until they arrive at the years of accountability before him; and the parents will have to answer for all misdemeanors arising through their neglect. Mothers should teach their little ones to pray as soon as they are able to talk. Presiding elders should be particular to instruct parents concerning their duty, and teachers and deacons should see that they do it."

EDUCATION

"It is very desirable that all the Saints should improve every opportunity of securing at least a copy of every valuable treatise on education—every book, map, chart, or diagram that may contain interesting, useful, and attractive matter, to gain the attention of children, and cause them to love to learn to read; and also every historical, mathematical, philosophical, geographical, geological, astronomical, scientific, practical, and all other variety of useful and interesting writings, maps, etc., to present to the general church recorder, when they shall arrive at their destination, from which important and interesting matter may be gleaned to compile the most valuable works on every science and subject, for the benefit of the rising generations."[12]

MUSEUM PROJECTED

"We have a printing press, and any who can take good printing or writing paper to the valley will be blessing themselves and the church. We also want all kinds of mathematical and philosophical instruments, together with all rare specimens of natural curiosities and works of art that can be gathered and brought to the valley, where, and from which, the rising generations can receive instruction; and if the saints will be diligent in these matters, we will soon have the best, the most useful and attractive museum on the earth."[13]

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[12] These suggestions were followed by the migrating saints, with the result that from the books, charts, maps, etc., hauled across the plains and over the mountains by ox wagons within the two years following, a free public library was opened in Salt Lake City as early as 1850; and early in the same year, 1850 (Feb. 28th) the "University of Deseret," the precursor of "Utah University," was founded. And the church presidency in a general epistle to the saints, in the spring of 1849, said: "There have been a large number of schools the past winter, in which the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, German, Tahitian, and English languages have been taught successfully." (*Millennial Star*, vol. xi, p. 230.)

THE TEMPLE

All saints who loved God more than themselves—"and none else are saints"—were urged to gather together and build the house of the Lord—an holy temple; for the time had come for the saints to establish the Lord's house "in the top of the mountains," for his name and glory and excellence shall be there. Kings, presidents, emperors, rulers of all nations and tongues and people were invited to participate in this work:

"Help us to build a house to the name of the God of Jacob," said the epistle to rulers and their people, " a place of peace, a city of rest, a habitation for the oppressed of every clime, even for those that love their neighbor as they do themselves, and who are willing to do as they would be done unto."

CONCLUSION—AT PEACE—THE NATURE OF THE KINGDOM—MOTTO

"We are at peace with all nations, with all kingdoms, with all powers, with all governments, with all authorities under the whole heavens, except the kingdom and power of darkness, which are from beneath; and [we] are ready to stretch forth our arms to the four quarters of the globe, extending salvation to every honest soul: for our mission in the gospel of Jesus Christ is from sea to sea, and from the rivers to the ends of the earth; and the blessing of the Lord is upon us; and when every other arm shall fail, the power of the Almighty will

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13. From this projected beginning arose the Deseret Museum of today. It possesses the most varied and greatest collection of curiosities, historic relics, and rare mineral specimens of the intermountain states. "The section devoted to the cliff dwellers contains numerous human bodies in their sepulchral wrappings of fur and feather cloth, with weapons, ornaments, tools, clothing, utensils, and other personal possessions buried with the dead; and is conceded to be one of the most remarkable collections in the United States. * * *

The Deseret Museum is not wholly a local institution. Its ethnological section contains material illustrative of the life of the American Indians, the Hawaiians, the Samoans, the Maoris and others. The natural history section has specimens from North America, Europe, Asia, India, Africa, Australia, New Zealand and the Antarctic, while the sections devoted to Mineralogy and Paleontology have a practically world-wide scope." (*Utah, Its People, Resources, etc.*, pamphlet, 1912, p. 43.)

be manifest in our behalf; for we ask nothing but what is right, we want nothing but what is right, and God has said that our strength shall be equal to our day. * * *

The kingdom which we are establishing is not of this world, but is the kingdom of the Great God. It is the fruit of righteousness, of peace, of salvation to every soul that will receive it, from Adam down to his latest posterity. Our good will is towards all men, and we desire their salvation in time and eternity; and we will do them good so far as God will give us power, and men will permit us the privilege; and we will harm no man; but if men will rise up against the power of the Almighty to overthrow his cause, let them know assuredly that they are running on the bosses of Jehovah's buckler, and, as God lives, they will be overthrown. * * * The kingdom of God consists in correct principles.

We ask no pre-eminence; we want no pre-eminence; but where God has placed us, there we will stand; and that is, to be one with our brethren, and our brethren are those that keep the commandments of God, that do the will of our Father who is in heaven; and by them we will stand, and with them we will dwell in time and in eternity.

Come, then, ye saints of Latter-days, and all ye great and small, wise and foolish, rich and poor, noble and ignoble, exalted and persecuted, rulers and ruled of the earth, who love virtue and hate vice, and help us to do this work, which the Lord hath required at our hands; and inasmuch as the glory of the latter house shall excel that of the former, your reward shall be an hundred fold, and your rest shall be glorious.

Our universal motto is, '*Peace with God, and good will to all men.*' "[14]

This general epistle may be open to criticism on the ground of a turgid style; and a certain strain of pomposity in its appeal to kings, governors, judges and the like for help in the work which the church had in hand; but for comprehensiveness of subject matter; for expression of high purposes; for its wise and practical suggestions to a people situated as the Latter-day Saints were; for its uncompromising stand for righteousness; for its spirit of fair dealing with those not of the faith of the saints; for its general breadth of view and magnanimity; for its respect and proposed adherence to the general principles of civil government in all lands, and especially for its avowed confidence in, and loyalty to American institutions and constitutions—for all these things the epistle is worthy of all admiration and all praise.

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[14] *"Written at Winter Quarters, Omaha Nation, West Bank of Missouri River, near Council Bluffs, North America, and signed Dec. 23rd, in behalf of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, Brigham Young, President, Willard Richards, Clerk."* (The Epistle is published *in extenso* in *Millennial Star*, vol. x, pp. 81-88).

ORGANIZATION OF THE FIRST PRESIDENCY

En route from Salt Lake valley president Young had conversed with his brethren of the apostles on the subject of reorganizing the presidency of the church.[15] He took occasion to bring the subject to the attention of the twelve when in council meeting at the house of Orson Hyde, at Kanesville, on the 5th of December. There were present at that meeting Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, Orson Pratt, Willard Richards, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith, Amasa M. Lyman, Ezra T. Benson. After each of these elders had spoken his mind with reference to the subject, Orson Hyde moved that President Young be sustained as the president of the church, and that he nominate his counselors. This was unanimously carried, and President Young named Heber C. Kimball and Willard Richards as his counselors, and all were unanimously sustained.[16]

Three weeks later this matter was brought before a general conference of the church at Kanesville, where, in the interim, the brethren had erected a "log tabernacle" especially for the occasion, capable of accommodating from 800 to 1,000 people. It was 65x40 feet inside dimensions, with a recess for a stand for the priesthood and a clerk's desk, 20x10. Some 200 workmen were engaged in its construction.[17]

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[15] His conversation with Elder Woodruff on the subject is thus related by the latter in his *Journal*: "Oct. 12, (1847) I had a question put to me by President Young, what my opinion was concerning one of the twelve apostles being appointed as the president of the church with his two counselors. I answered that a quorum like the twelve who had been appointed by revelation, confirmed by revelation from time to time—I thought it would require a revelation to change the order of that quorum. [But] *Whatever the Lord inspires you to do in this matter, I am with you.*" (*Woodruff's Journal*, entry for 12th of October, 1847).

[16] "Many interesting remarks were made by the various individuals who spoke," [this included all the members of the twelve present], writes Wilford Woodruff, "and we were followed by President Young. After which Orson Hyde moved that Brigham Young be the President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and that he nominate his two counselors, and they three form the first presidency. Seconded by W. Woodruff and carried unanimously. President Young nominated Heber C. Kimball as his first counselor; seconded and carried unanimously. President Young nominated Willard Richards as his second counselor; seconded and carried unanimously." (*Woodruff's Journal*, entry for Dec. 5th, 1847).

The conference lasted from the 24th of December to the 27th inclusive. It was on the last day of the conference that the action of the twelve in naming the first presidency was ratified by unanimous vote of the conference; and at the same time "Father John Smith," uncle of the Prophet Joseph, being also the brother of the first presiding patriarch, Joseph Smith, Sen., was unanimously chosen to be the presiding patriarch to the church.

"The spirit of the Lord at this time," said Brigham Young a month later, "rested upon the people in a powerful manner, in so much that the saints' hearts were filled with joy unspeakable; every power of the mind and nerve of their body was awakened." "A dead stillness reigned in the congregation while the president spoke." He said:

> "This is one of the happiest days of my life; it's according as Heber prophesied yesterday, our teachings today have been good. I never heard better. Is not the bliss of heaven and the breezes of Zion wafted here? Who feels hatred, malice or evil? If you come to the door with a bad spirit, it would not come in with you; no, it could not mingle here: but when you enter, your feelings become as calm and gentle as the zephyrs of paradise; and I feel glory, Hallelujah! Nothing more has been done today than what I knew would be done when Joseph died. We have been driven from Nauvoo here, but the hand of the Lord is in it,—visible as the sun shining this morning; it is visible to my natural eyes; it's all right: and I expect when we see the result of all we pass through in this probationary state, we will discover the hand of the Lord in it all, and shout *amen*—it's all right! We shall make the upper courts ring; we have something to do before then. I don't calculate to go beyond the bounds of time and space where we will have no opposition,—no devils to contend with; and I have no fault to find with the providences of the Lord, nor much fault to find with the people; and if the devils keep out of my path I will not quarrel with them. As the Lord's will is my will all the time, as he dictates so I

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17. An attempt was made to hold this conference on the 4th of Dec. in a large double block-house occupied by one of the brethren, but the saints congregated in such large numbers, crowded the house and so shouted at the windows for admission that the conference was adjourned for three weeks in order to give opportunity for the above mentioned "log tabernacle" to be constructed. (See Letters of Brigham Young to Orson Spencer, *Millennial Star*, vol. x, p. 114). Brigham Young gives the dimensions as 60x40. I follow *Woodruff's Journal* in the text.

will perform. If he don't guide the ship, we'll go down in the whirlpool."[18]

This speech was followed by music from the band, and the shout of "Hosanna, Hosanna, Hosanna to God and the Lamb. Amen! Amen! and Amen!" The shout was led by George A. Smith, in which the saints joined most heartily.[19]

Thus the breach in the church organization occasioned by the martyrdom of President Joseph Smith and Patriarch Hyrum Smith, and the apostasy of the two counselors of President Smith—William Law and Sidney Rigdon,—was healed, and the organization thus completed was prepared to resume all its functions by its regularly appointed officers as provided for in the wisdom and in the very councils of God.

Universal Confirmation of the Choice of the Presidency

The action of this conference, held December 24th-27th, was confirmed by action of the annual conference of the church held at Kanesville on the 6th of April, 1848.[20]

Subsequently this action of the saints in the settlements on the Missouri river, in conference assembled—being the largest number of church members in one body, with several high councils presiding in various divisions of the church in those settlements[21]—was ratified by unanimous vote of the saints in the Salt Lake valley, in the conference of the church held in that place on the 8th of October, 1848, there being about five thousand people in the valley by that time.[22]

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[18] Brigham Young's Letter to Orson Spencer, then in England, *Millennial Star*, vol. x, p. 115.

[19] This shout of "Hosanna" is given only on very great occasions. It is usually given three times in immediate succession; and when voiced by thousands and sometimes tens of thousands in unison, and at their utmost strength, it is most impressive and inspiring. It is impossible to stand unmoved on such an occasion. It seems to fill the prairie or woodland, mountain wilderness or tabernacle, with mighty waves of sound; and the shout of men going into battle cannot be more stirring. It gives wonderful vent to religious emotions, and is followed by a feeling of reverential awe—a sense of oneness with God.

[20] General Epistle of the First Presidency, etc., *Millennial Star*, vol. xi, p. 227.

[21] For the names of these subdivisions to which were given high councils, see this *History*, ch. lxxvii. It should be remembered that in Winter Quarters alone there were 22 organized wards, whose bishoprics acted upon this matter of reorganizing the presidency. (*Ibid*, note 6).

The action was also ratified by the saints of the British Isles in general conference assembled at Manchester, England, August 14th, 1848, at which there were present delegates from twenty-eight conferences, with a membership of 17,902. Of officers present there was one of the twelve apostles (Orson Pratt); 15 high priests; 7 seventies; 75 elders; 27 priests; 6 teachers; and 6 deacons.[23]

From this it will be seen that the action of the conference at Kanesville in reorganizing the first presidency was as promptly as possible presented to all the large groups of the Latter-day Saints assembled in conferences; and in every case it was ratified with unanimous approval. From that day forward to the day of his death, Brigham Young was sustained as the president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; also as the prophet, seer, and revelator of God to said church, in all the general conferences, and that with unanimity and good will.

Turning now to the remaining activities of President Young, at Winter Quarters and Kanesville during the winter of 1847-8, affecting the removal of the large companies of saints to the mountains in the summer of 1848, it must be said that his labors to make the necessary preparations were ceaseless; so, too, the labors of his associates, the apostles who were with him, and likewise many other prominent brethren and the people generally.

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[22] The action is thus stated in a signed communication of Brigham Young to Orson Hyde, Geo. A. Smith and Ezra T. Benson, under date of October 9th, 1848. "On Sunday, the 8th, conference convened at 11 a. m., was opened by singing and prayer by Elder Taylor. After the choir had sung another hymn, President Young resumed the business of the conference by introducing the order of the day; when Elder Parley P. Pratt nominated President Brigham Young as the First President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, seconded by Elder Heber C. Kimball and carried without a dissenting voice.

Elder Pratt then nominated Heber C. Kimball to be President Young's first counselor, seconded and carried unanimously. Elder Pratt nominated Willard Richards as his second counselor, seconded and carried unanimously. Elder Pratt then nominated John Smith to be patriarch over the whole Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, seconded and carried unanimously." (The *Frontier Guardian*, Kanesville, Iowa, Feb. 7, 1849.)

[23] *Millennial Star*, vol. x, p. 252; where the names of the officers are given; also the names of the conferences, and the statistics in detail.

As a result of these labors there was rendezvoused at the Elkhorn ferry by the first of June, six hundred and twenty-three wagons, divided into two great encampments under the leadership of Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball respectively.[24] A third encampment formed at the same place in July, under the leadership of Willard Richards, and Amasa M. Lyman, numbering about three hundred wagons, with about the same proportion of animals and people.[25]

The same plan of organization and method of traveling was adopted as in the previous year, the wagons were divided into groups of hundreds, fifties, and tens, with captains over each group to safeguard those placed under their jurisdiction. The journey was not materially different from that of the

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24. **President Brigham Young's Company.**	Wagons	Souls.	Horses.	Mules.	Oxen.	Cows.	Loose Cattle.	Sheep.	Pigs.	Chickens.	Cats.	Dogs.	Goats.	Geese.	Bee Hives.	Doves.	Squirrels.	Ducks.
Allen Taylor's, 100	190	597	30	16	615	316	63	134	66	282	19	31	3	8	0	6	0	0
Lorenzo Snow's, 100	99	321	20	3	308	188	38	139	25	158	10	26	0	0	0	2	0	0
Wm. G. Perkins', 100	57	155	14	0	191	99	34	97	28	94	3	12	0	0	2	0	0	0
Zera Pulsipher's, 100	51	156	10	0	161	96	49	41	22	71	5	13	0	2	0	0	0	0
Total	397	1,229	74	19	1,275	699	184	411	141	605	37	82	3	10	2	8	0	0
President Heber C. Kimball also had a company of 226 wagons, with a similar proportion of animals, afterwards found to number	226	662	57	25	737	284	150	243	96	299	17	52	0	0	3	3	1	5
Total	623	1,891	131	44	2,012	983	334	654	237	904	54	134	3	10	5	11	1	5

President Willard Richards and Amasa Lyman will also lead another large company to the mountains. (*Millennial Star*, vol. x, p. 314).

[25] The movements of these great camps of exiles were not attended by lamentations or any other manifestations of sorrow. Quite the contrary. Describing the start made by the first division of President Young's company on the 1st of June, Thomas Bullock, clerk of the Camp of Israel, writes: "On the 1st day of June, Lorenzo Snow's company [one hundred wagons] moved off the ground to the 'Liberty Pole' on the Platte, in order to make room for other wagons that came pouring in from Winter Quarters. If any person inquire 'Is Mormonism down?' he ought to have been in the neighborhood of the Elkhorn this day, and he would have seen such a host of wagons that would have satisfied him in an instant that it lives, and flourishes like a tree by a fountain of waters; he would have seen merry faces, and heard the song of rejoicing, that the day of deliverance had surely come." (Letter to Levi Richards, *Millennial Star*, vol. x, p. 314).

companies of the previous year and of the many companies that followed in succeeding years.

All three divisions arrived in Salt Lake valley in September and October: President Young's division, on the 20th of September; President Kimball's, on the 24th of the same month; and President Richards' began arriving on the 11th of October.[26] The arrival of these companies in the Salt Lake valley increased the population to about five thousand souls.

Final Journey of Brigham Young to the West

It may be of interest to mention the fact that conducting this large immigration of 1848 across the plains was the last time that President Young made that journey. He never returned to the eastern states. Upon leaving Winter Quarters on the 26th of May, he said—and there is a note of farewell and of sadness in his words:

> "On the 26th I started on my journey to the mountains, leaving my houses, mills and the temporary furniture I had acquired during our sojourn there. This was the fifth time I had left my home and property since I embraced the gospel of Jesus Christ."[27]

Henceforth the intermountain west will be the scene of the great leader's activities.

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[26] Letter of President Young to Messrs. Hyde, Smith and Benson, *Frontier Guardian*, of Feb. 7th, 1849.

[27] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1848, p. 36.

CHAPTER LXXXV

LAND CLAIMS OF THE SAINTS ON THE MISSOURI—POLITICAL CONTROVERSY IN IOWA

THERE were about 1,500 saints located on the Pottawattomie lands at this time. "Their settlements extended some fifty or sixty miles along the east bank of the Missouri river, reaching back to the east side of said river some thirty or forty miles."[1] The soil of this tract of land was fertile; and the face of the country though hilly was not mountainous, and it was far healthier than the level plains of Illinois. The tract had not yet come into market and such rights as the saints held upon it were known as "squatters' rights;" but these gave them the right of occupancy and the privilege of improving and cultivating the lands pending their coming into market. Their "squatters' claims," gave them the first right of purchase at the government price ($1.25 per acre) when thrown upon the market, and if others purchased the land the squatter's improvements must be paid for at a fair valuation.

POTTAWATTOMIE LANDS—AND CIVIL GOVERNMENT

It will be seen then that the occupancy of these lands had become a valuable asset to the Latter-day Saints; and that in consequence of their numbers, and the fact that they, for the most part, were American citizens, with all the rights and privileges of citizenship intact, including the elective franchise, they loomed large upon the political horizon of the state of Iowa. The Iowa legislature of 1847 provided for the organization of counties out of the Pottawattomie lands, under the supervision of the judge of the 4th judicial district of Iowa, whenever said judge "should decree that the public good requires such organization.[2] As the saints occupying these lands were anxious to acquire and to be able to dispose of preemption claims and improvements, they called meetings early in January and petitioned both for a post office at Kanesville and also a county government. Andrew H. Perkins and Henry W. Miller were sent to Iowa City, then the seat of government for the state, with these petitions. They learned that Judge Carolton of the 4th judicial district had already appointed a Mr. Townsend to organize Pottawattomie county, as already provided by the previous legislature. The post office at Kanesville was established in March, Evan M. Greene, a member of the church, being made postmaster. A county organization was effected about the same time.[3]

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[1] Such the statement of Orson Pratt. (General Epistle to the Saints in Great Britain, *Millennial Star*, vol. x, pp. 241-7.) In the same document quoted above he also remarks: "A great, extensive, and rich tract of country has also been, by the providence of God, put in possession of the saints in the western borders of Iowa. This country is also at some distance from all other settlements, there being none on the west, north or east; and on the south it is some forty or fifty miles to the thinly scattered settlements of Missouri. This country is called the "Pottawattomie country;" it was inhabited by a tribe of Indians by that name, until last season, when they were removed by the United States government, leaving the saints as the sole occupiers of the soil. This land is not yet in market. When it comes into market, the saints, being the first settlers, will, by law, have certain pre-emption rights, and the first chance of purchasing the land at about 5s.—$1.25—per acre." (*Ibid*, p. 242).

The "Mormon" delegation was graciously received by state officials; they were introduced to the secretary of state who expressed a great desire that the saints should stay in Iowa and improve the country. "Iowa politicians" comments President Young on the return of these delegates, "were very anxious to have a state road laid off, bridges built and a post route established for the convenience of the inhabitants of the Council Bluffs country. The Whig and Democratic parties were nearly equally balanced in the state, and both appeared very solicitous for the welfare of our people; they wanted us to vote at the next August election."[4] That was a presidential as well as a state election.

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[2] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1848, p. 11.

[3] The county was called Pottawattomie. The officers were: Isaac Clark, judge of probate; George Coulson, Andrew H. Perkins and David Yeardsley, county commissioners; Thomas Burdick, county clerk; John D. Parker, sheriff; James Sloan, district clerk; Evan M. Greene, recorder and treasurer, Jacob G. Bigler, William Snow, Levi Bracken and Jonathan C. Wright, magistrates. (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1848, pp. 18-25. Also History of the Church, Cannon, *Juvenile Instructor*, vol. xix, p. 5). Cannon's *History* throughout this period is but a reproduction of President Young's *Ms. History*, very slightly changed, the *Ms.* being written in the first person which Cannon changes to the third.

THE "BID" OF THE WHIGS FOR POLITICAL SUPPORT

Soon after the visit of the delegation from Kanesville to Iowa City, two delegates, Sidney Roberts and Winsor P. Lyon, were selected by the Whig central committee of Iowa to go to Kanesville and hold a caucus with the people and present to them an address drawn up by the central committee making an appeal to them to unite politically with the Whig party of the state. Lyon, on account of sickness, could not appear in person at the caucus, but he sent a very earnest letter seconding the appeal made to the saints in the central committee's address. Sidney Roberts at the caucus presented both his own and Mr. Lyon's credentials and also the address. Needless to say it was full of fair promises. It reviewed at length the persecutions heaped upon the saints in Missouri, the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith in Illinois and the cruel expulsion of the saints from that state. "The address also dwelt feelingly," says Brigham Young, "upon the deception and treachery of the Democrats for asking favors so often from, and as often heaping neglect, abuse, and persecution upon the saints, depriving them from time to time of civil and religious liberty and the inalienable rights of freemen." "And hearing," to come to the language of the document itself, "that the greedy cormorants of Locofocoism [a name at times applied in disparagement of the Democrats by their opponents] were at their heels," and had "commenced a systematical plan to inveigle them into the meshes of their crafty net," the Whig central committee had delegated Messrs. Roberts and Lyon to visit them and lay before them the national polity of the Whigs and solicit their political co-operation; assuring them that their party was "pledged to them and the country to a firm and unyielding protection to Jew, Gentile and Christian of every name and denomination, with all other immunities rightfully belonging to every citizen of the land."[5]

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[4] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1848, p. 11.

Mr. Lyon went even beyond this in his letter, and suggested that in carrying out the great emigration scheme which would remove the Latter-day Saints and secure them in peaceful possession of some remote part of the country, "where you can worship according to your own creed, where you may grow in the arts and sciences," etc., etc., would be through the aid, of the general government, best secured, as Mr. Lyon conceived the matter, by that government purchasing a tract of country commensurate with their present and prospective wants. Following is his *verbatim* deliverance upon that head:

> "To avoid these difficulties [i. e. probable conflicts with the Indians] and for the better security of your valuable enterprise, the first step preliminary to a general movement westward, to any given point upon a large scale, should be to secure the protection of the general government; and the most efficient way of doing this would be for the United States to purchase a tract of country of sufficient extent to accommodate a population commensurate with your present and prospective wants, and which would enable you, with confidence to concentrate your people once more, and to reorganize them into the social compact, under a guarantee of protection from the savage scalping-knife. This will follow as a natural consequence, growing out of the purchase."

"That General Taylor [the Whig candidate] will be the next president," he went on to say, "there is scarcely any remaining doubt. By casting your influence in favor of the 'old hero,' you would be gratefully remembered by him; and by securing Whig senators and representatives to congress from this state, through your influence, your claims for consideration would be placed in the most favorable light, and which could not fail to secure to you those advantages, privileges and immunities to which your enterprising spirit would so justly entitle you."[6]

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[5] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1848, pp. 18-25. Also History of the Church, Cannon, *Juvenile Instructor*, vol. xviii, p. 361.

REACTION OF THE SAINTS TO WHIG ADVANCES

To all this, a statement was drafted and adopted, by certain members of the church, which set forth at great length the persecutions and proscriptions endured by the saints, and ended with a resolution declaring that if the "Whigs of Iowa would lift up their hands towards heaven and swear by the eternal Gods that they would use all their powers to suppress mobocracy, insurrection, rebellion and violence, in whatever form or from whatever source such might arise against the Latter-day Saints and the citizens of Iowa, even to the sacrifice of all their property, and their lives, if need be, and that a full share of representative and judicial authority should be extended to the saints, then the saints would pledge themselves to unite their votes with the Whigs of Iowa at the elections of the current year and would correspond with the Whigs as solicited."[7]

THE FRONTIER GUARDIAN

The agreement was carried into effect and the saints very generally voted for the Whig ticket, state and national. Orson Hyde also established the *Frontier Guardian*,[8] which, though its first number was too belated to give any service in the political campaign of 1848;[9] and while it disclaimed in its Prospectus any intention to "enter the field of political strife," beyond reserving "the right and privilege of recommending such men to the suffrage of the people as the editor may think will prove true and faithful guardians of the national peace and honor, and of the persons and property of its citizens"[10]—yet during the three years of its continuance under Elder Hyde's editorship, it was a steadfast adherent of Whig policies.

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[6] History of the Church, Cannon, *Juvenile Instructor*, vol. xviii, p. 373; also *History of Brigham Young Ms.*, bk. iv, pp. 18-25, year of 1848.

[7] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1848, p. 11. Cannon's History of the Church, *Juvenile Instructor*, vol. xix, p. 5.

[8] The *Frontier Guardian* was a four-paged super-royal sheet, issued semi-monthly, edited for three years and one month by Orson Hyde. It was then sold to Jacob Dawson, a non-"Mormon," and issued as a weekly under the combined title of *The Frontier Guardian and Iowa Sentinel*, March 4th, 1842.

[9] The first number was published Feb. 7th, 1849.

THE INEVITABLE RESULT OF THE "CHURCH" IN POLITICS

The course followed embittered the Democratic party of Iowa against the saints. Nationally the Whigs were successful, but in Iowa the Democrats carried the state by about 1,500 majority;[11] and at the assembling of the legislature they introduced a bill for the disorganization of Pottawattomie county. It passed the lower house but failed of passage in the senate.[12] The justification offered for this attempt at the destruction of a county in order to deprive its people of political and civil rights was a charge of "corruption" against the voters of that county, in that they were bribed by the Whigs to support that party's candidates, state and national.[13] Also they were declared to be "fanatics and outlaws." Feeling ran very high during the discussion in the legislature; the senator from Davis and Appanoose counties, Mr. Selman, who was also the president of the senate, declared his willingness "to put himself at the head of a mob and drive them [the Latter-day Saints] from the state by the hands of violence."[14] In appointing the 27th day of April as a day of fasting and prayer, among the several persons to be prayed for was this same Dr. Selman, president of the Iowa senate. "Ask the Lord," said the communication of Elders Hyde, Smith and Benson—constituting the presidency at Kanesville, —"Ask the Lord to make him ashamed of his hard speeches made against a people that never injured him, neither wish to."[15]

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[10] See Prospectus, first issue of the *Guardian*.

[11] See *Frontier Guardian*, issue of April 4th, 1849, Springer's Speech.

[12] "The legislature has adjourned," said the *Guardian* of April 4th, 1849, "and up to the last hour the Democracy strove to pass the Pottawattomie Bill (the bill to disorganize the county was so called). But a motion to suspend a rule required three-fourths of the members present and the senate stood ten Democrats to four Whigs, 'good and true'—Springer, Cook, Wright and Sproot. Our readers may forget as soon as they can, the injustice which the Democrats sought to do us. Indeed the sooner the better; but never forget that four Whig members of the senate stood by your interests to the very last hour—manfully defended them, and defeated your oppressors."

[13] See Springer's speech against the disorganization of Pottawattomie county, *Frontier Guardian* of April 4th, 1849; also letters of Orson Hyde of 18th and 21st of September, 1848, to the *Missouri Republican* (reproduced in the *Guardian* of May 2nd, 1849); also letter of Almon W. Babbitt to the *Iowa Statesman*, of October 23, 1848, (reproduced in the *Guardian* of Feb. 21, 1849, with Introductory comments by Orson Hyde).

[14] Speech of Mr. Springer, *Burlington Hawk Eye*, March, 1849, copied into the *Frontier Guardian* of April 4th, 1849. See also editorials same issue of *Guardian*.

The controversy created dissension also among the saints. Elder Almon W. Babbitt's resentment against the course pursued by Elders Hyde *et al*, was such that he was disfellowshiped by a conference of seventies with which body of priesthood in the church he was connected.[16] Elder Hyde referred his own course to the presidency at Salt Lake for vindication, but the only reply he received on that head was:

> "In regard to politics and political papers we care little about them, and you are at liberty to do as you please concerning these matters while you tarry."[17]

ABANDONMENT OF KANESVILLE

The fact was that Kanesville, notwithstanding the valuable claims held by the saints in the Pottawattomie lands, the natural richness of the soil, and the importance of the place as a starting point for the emigration to the west, was looked upon by the authorities in Salt Lake valley merely as a temporary place of habitation for their people, and they evidently did not regard these political affairs as very important. It had been demonstrated over and over again that peaceful relationship between the saints and the people of the western states of the union, was out of the question, of which this political flurry in Iowa was only another but convincing evidence; and therefore the saints in that place were urged from time to time to remove to the mountains. In September, 1851, a particularly insistent letter was addressed to them at Kanesville, announcing the appointment of Ezra T. Benson and Jedediah M. Grant to assist them to remove to Salt Lake valley the following season—1852.

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[15] The communication in *extenso* will be found in the *Guardian*, Feb. 21, 1849, editorial, and Babbitt's letter of April 4, 1849.

[16] *Frontier Guardian*, Feb. 21, 1849, editorial and Babbitt's letter.

[17] *Guardian*, May 30th, 1849. Hyde and Babbitt were finally reconciled before church tribunals, and it was so announced in the *Guardian*, issue of Nov. 28, 1849.

> "We desire you to give heed to their counsel in all things, and come to this place with them next season, *and fail not.* * * * What are you waiting for? Have you any good excuse for not coming? No! * * * *Arise and come home.* * * * We wish you to evacuate Pottawattomie, and the states, and next fall be with us."[18]

On the strength of this letter to the saints in Pottawattomie, and a general epistle in the same spirit to all the church on the gathering, issued a day later, the saints in the British Mission were counselled not to emigrate, "except such as have money and faith sufficient to take them through to the valley (i. e. Salt Lake) the same season."[19] That is, there was to be no more stopping over on the Pottawattomie lands.

The result of this policy was that Kanesville and the surrounding country was within the. next year practically deserted by the saints. The desirable lands and all the settlements fell into other hands; the *Frontier Guardian* was sold early in the following year—February, 1852—to Mr. Jacob Dawson; the name of the principal settlement—"Kanesville"[20]—was soon changed to "Council Bluffs," and everything that marked the vicinity as a resting place of the exiled and gathering saints, was in a few years obliterated.

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[18] *Frontier Guardian,* Nov. 14, 1851.

[19] *Millennial Star,* vol. xiv, p. 27.

[20] Kanesville was originally known as "Miller's Hollow" (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.,* 1848, p. 3), "a small valley" down which flowed Indian Creek; and it was at the mouth of this "valley" or "hollow" that Kanesville—now Council Bluffs—arose (see *Liverpool Route,* pp. 78, 79).

CHAPTER LXXXVI

LIFE IN SALT LAKE VALLEY—CRICKETS AND SEA GULLS —ADVENT OF GOLD SEEKERS

THE spring months of 1848 were full of anxiety for the Latter-day Saint colony in Salt Lake valley. By dint of untiring industry during the fall and winter of 1847-8, they had constructed, notwithstanding the scarcity of material for that purpose and the distance it had to be brought out of the mountains, 3,638 rods, or nearly twelve miles of fence. This made one inclosure of more than five thousand acres, and included in it the chief part of the then city plat.[1] Within this enclosure about 2,000 acres of fall wheat was sown; and as the winter had been mild, and open so that plows could be kept running through part of every month of the winter, much more land was prepared for spring sowing and planting, variously estimated at between 3,000 and 4,000 acres.[2]

This was the crop planted for the harvest of 1848. But meantime provisions were running low in the colony, and there were those who were already destitute; and of course there was always the haunting fear that the crop planted would fail as so many of the mountaineers met *en route* had predicted it might.

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[1] "To many it may be interesting to know what portion of the valley was first fenced," writes Geo. Q. Cannon, and then gives the following description: "On the north, the line of fence commenced at a steep point in the bluffs just south of the Warm Springs—a little east and south of the present Bath House—and ran directly from there to the northwest corner of the fort; it then started from the southeast corner of the fort and bore east to some distance beyond Mill Creek, and then east to the bluffs at the foot of the mountains. * * * The land designed for agriculture extended from the north fork of City Creek—which at that time ran through the temple block and through what is now known as the 17th and 16th wards—to one mile south of Mill Creek; on the east it was bounded by the bench and on the west by the east line of the fort. In this space there were 5,133 acres taken for tilling." (History of the Church, Cannon, *Juvenile Instructor*, vol xix, p. 89).

[2] Elder John Taylor in a letter to the saints in Great Britain under date of Dec. 7th, 1847, reports 2,000 acres of wheat sown, "and great numbers of plows are incessantly going." Also he speaks of the colony having put in 2,000 bushels of wheat, "all of which has been drawn a distance of from 1,300 to 1,500 miles;" also mentions the intention to put in about 3,000 acres of corn and other grain with the opening of spring. (*Millennial Star*, vol. x, p. 324, *et seq.*). Cannon says that at "the beginning of March, 872 acres were sown with winter wheat; * * * the balance of the land, 4,260 acres, was designed for spring and summer crops." (History of the Church, *Juvenile Instructor*, vol. xix, p. 89. See also letters quoted by Richards, *Millennial Star*, vol. xi, pp. 8, 9).

THE COMMUNITY PLACED ON RATIONS

In this emergency a public meeting was held and the proposition made that the whole camp be put on rations, that those who were already destitute might be supplied with food. This was agreed to and bishop Edward Hunter and Tarlton Lewis were appointed to act in behalf of the destitute, and see that they did not suffer.[3] Beef was scarce as the cattle must be kept for work teams and the cows for milk. The few "beef" that were killed were poor and their meat tough.[4]

Prevailing hunger drove many in search of the earliest vegetation that made its appearance. This was the hardy thistle, native to the valley, the tops of which were gathered and used for "greens," and pronounced excellent;[5] the roots of the thistle were also cooked and eaten. The sego root was used as an article of food, the colonists in this but following the custom of the native Indians.[6] Some deaths occurred from eating poisonous roots, chiefly the wild parsnip that grew in the valley.

THE SEGO LILY: UTAH STATE FLOWER

Of these roots early used as food, the sego is of special interest; not so much as a food as on account of the beautiful flower it bears. The plant is classified by Stansbury as *Calochortus lutens;* by others as *Calochortus Nuttallii* (see

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[3] Cannon's History of the Church, *Juvenile Instructor,* vol. xix, p. 68.

[4] In one instance "it was so tough," that in sawing the joints Elder Taylor suggested that it would be necessary "to grease the saw to make it work!" (*Horne's Migration, Ms.,* p. 26, quoted by Bancroft, *History of Utah,* p. 275, note).

[5] Cannon's History of the Church, *Juvenile Instructor,* vol. xix, p. 68. "Bulk is as necessary as nutriment to food," he remarks. "To have the stomach full was an agreeable sensation, even if the contents were only thistle tops. People thrived better on a much smaller quantity of flour with plenty of greens than they did on flour alone."

[6] See *Stansbury's Report to United States Government On the Survey of the Great Salt Lake,* 1852, pp. 160, 208.

Century Dictionary), a bulbous root varying in size, from small onions to walnuts, very palatable and nutritious. It abounds on hill sides and in stony ground in great quantities. It bears a beautiful white, lily-like flower, with rich gold and purple markings at the base of the petals, and is now the flower emblem of the state of Utah, chosen, perhaps, as much out of sympathetic recollection of the uses made of it for food in the early days of the Salt Lake colony, as for its rare beauty.

The Sego Lily was constituted the state flower by a legislative enactment of 1911, the shortest bill ever passed by a Utah legislature, it is said. It was introduced by Senator W. N. Williams of Salt Lake City, and was finally approved on March 18, 1911, upon which date Governor Wm. Spry affixed his signature to the bill and it became a law. The enactment, which constitutes chapter 97 of the *Revised Statutes* of the state of Utah for 1911, reads:

"Be it enacted by the legislature of the state of Utah:

Section I. *Utah State Flower*: That the Sego Lily is hereby selected as, and declared to be, the Utah state flower."[7]

THE CRICKET WAR

Meantime March and April passed, and May came on. The colonists noted with joy that their grain which sprouted early promised a strong and healthy growth. Its color was rich, it stooled well, and barring frosts, late and early, the harvest would be a bounteous one. But before May passes an unlooked for pest makes its appearance. The Pioneers when entering the valley, it will be remembered, noted that in the foot hills there were great numbers of large, black crickets, which then excited but a passing remark. Now, however, in this month of May, they came swarming from the foot hills literally by millions, and descended upon the new-made fields of grain. They devoured all before them as they came to it. Their appetite never abated. They were cutting and grinding day and night, leaving the fields bare and brown behind them. There seemed to be no end to their numbers. They could not fly, their only means of locomotion was by clumsily hopping a scant foot at a time—hence, once in the fields, the difficulty of getting them out; and they came in myriads, increasing daily. Holes were dug and for the radius of a rod the pests were surrounded by women and children, and driven into them and buried—bushels of them at a time; and this was repeated again and again; but what was the use? This method seemed not to affect the numbers of the pests. Then the men plowed ditches around the wheat fields, turned in the water and drove the black vermin into the running streams and thus carried them from the fields and destroyed them by hundreds of thousands—all to no purpose; as many as ever seemed to remain, and more were daily swarming from the hills. Fire was tried, but to no better purpose. Man's ingenuity was baffled. He might as well try to sweep back the rising tide of the ocean with a broom as prevail against these swarming pests by the methods tried. Insignificant, these inch or inch and a half long insects separately, but in millions, terrible. The incident illustrates the formidableness of mere numbers. Since the days of Egypt's curse of locusts there was probably nothing like it. The failure to destroy these pests spelled famine to these first settlers of Salt Lake valley. It meant starvation to the companies of thousands of women and children then *en route* across the plains. Small wonder if the hearts of the colonists failed them. They looked at each other in helpless astonishment. They were beaten. That is something awful for strong men to admit, especially when beaten by units so insignificant. Meantime the ceaseless gnawing of the ruthless and insatiable invader went on. The brown patches of the wheat fields grew larger. Soon all would be bare and brown, and hope of food and life would disappear with the recently green wheat fields.

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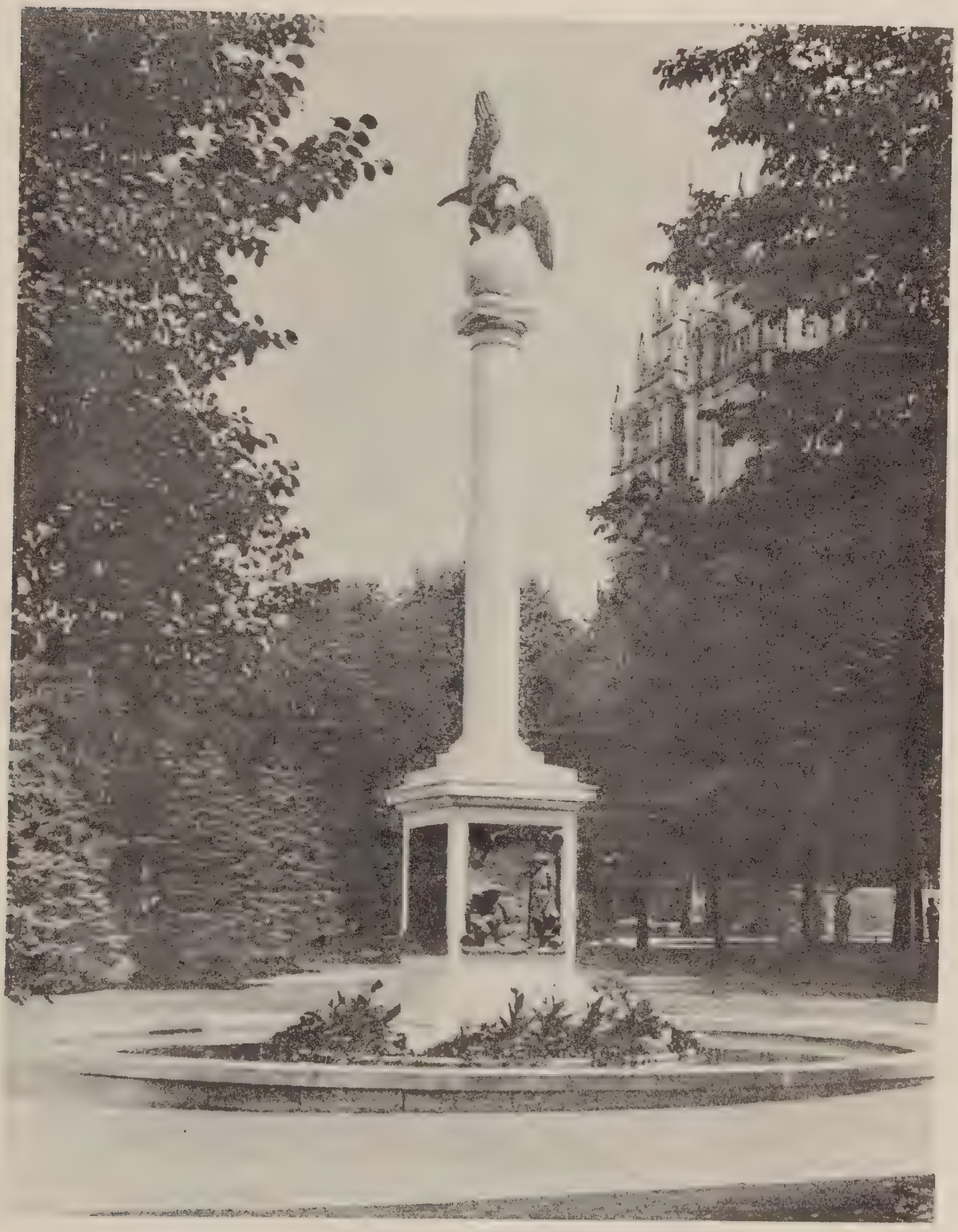
[7] See *Note* 1, end of chapter.

SEAGULL MONUMENT

Erected by the Church of the Latter-day Saints in honor of the deliverance of the Pioneers of Utah, 1848.



THE MIRACULOUS DELIVERANCE

Then the miraculous happened. I say it deliberately, the miraculous happened, as men commonly view the miraculous. There was heard the shrill, half scream, half plaintive cry of some sea gulls hovering over the wheat fields. Presently they light and begin devouring the crickets. Others come—thousands of them—from over the lake. The upper feathers of the gull's wings are tinted with a delicate grey, and some of the flight feathers, primaries, to be exact, are marked with black, but the prevailing color is white; and as they came upon the new wheat fields, stretched upward and then gracefully folded their wings and began devouring the devourers, to the cricket-vexed colonists they seemed like white-winged angels of deliverance—these gulls. They were tireless in their destructive—nay, their *saving* work. It was noted that when they were glutted with crickets they would go to the streams, drink, vomit and return again to the slaughter. And so it continued, day after day, until the plague was stayed, and the crops of the Pioneers saved.[8]

Is it matter for wonder that the lake sea gulls were held as sacred by the early Utah settlers, and that later they were protected by legislative enactments.[9]

THE "HARVEST HOME"—1848

The reports of the harvest of 1848 vary somewhat, doubtless influenced by the view point of the narrator. To many of the colonists on the ground, who had felt the pinch of hunger, the vegetables and grains seemed abundant, and the fruitfulness of the soil phenomenal;[10] while to those who regarded the harvest as to its real results only, and without having hungrily waited for it, are less enthusiastic.[11] The harvest, however, was accepted by all as a successful experiment, and demonstrated the feasibility of raising vegetables and grains, and perhaps fruit, of the temperate zones in the Salt Lake valley.

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[8] The incident is well attested in all our annals. See *Answers to Questions*, 1869, by Geo. A. Smith, church historian, 1854-1875, p. 17. Geo. Q. Cannon, an eye witness of the event, after describing the descent of the crickets upon the fields, writes: "At the time when the prospects began to appear most gloomy, and all human power seemed useless, the sea gulls came in flocks, visited the fields, pounced upon the crickets and devoured them. They killed and ate until they were filled, then vomited and ate again. On Sunday the fields were deserted by the people, who devoted the day to worship. This was a feast for the gulls—they devoured without let or hindrance. On Monday morning, on visiting the fields, the people found on the edges of the water ditches, the place where the crickets were always the most numerous, pile after pile of dead crickets which had been eaten by the gulls, and then vomited when they were full." (History of the Church, *Juvenile Instructor*, vol. xix, p. 100).

[9] See *Laws of Utah* for 1897, p. 97. The incident is commemorated by the erection of the Sea Gull Monument on temple square, Salt Lake City. (See Note 2 end of chapter).

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10. On August the 9th, the members of the twelve in the valley wrote: "Our wheat harvest is over, the grain is splendid and clean, but being mostly in shock and stack, we cannot state the number of bushels; however, we are all agreed that the wheat crop has done wonderfully well, considering all the circumstances, and that we can raise more and better wheat to the acre in this valley, than in any place any of us ever saw; and the same with all other grains, vegetables, etc., that we have tried. * * * Green peas have been so plentiful for a long time that we are becoming tired of them; cucumbers, squashes, beets, carrots, parsnips, and greens are upon our tables, as harbingers of abundance in their respective departments," etc. (*Millennial Star,* vol. x, p. 370). An excerpt from a letter of Parley P. Pratt's to his brother Orson says: "We are greatly blessed in gardens, in wheat, in corn, and in all things I have set my hands unto. I have raised some sixty bushels of good wheat without irrigation; a few bushels of rye and oats, and my corn in the field looks as well as any corn I ever saw in the states. The wheat crop has exceeded all expectation; oats do better than in the states—say sixty bushels to one of sowing on sod ground; every kind of vegetable suited to the northern latitude does well." (*Ibid*).

"Such are the general extracts" [i. e. from letters], says Thomas Bullock, which are abundantly confirmed by men who have lived in the valley; amongst other things, they report, that Elder Levi Hancock sowed eleven pounds weight of California wheat on the 14th of April, and reaped twenty-two bushels the latter part of July; he sowed half a bushel of English common wheat, on an acre and a half, and reaped upwards of twenty bushels; one grain of seven-eared wheat produced seventy-two ears. Barley that was sowed, ripened and was reaped, and carried off,—the land then irrigated, and produced from the roots a fresh crop, four times the quantity of the first crop. Oats that were sown produced a good crop, were cut down and cleared, the roots again sprung up and produced a beautiful crop. Peas first planted, a good crop ripened, gathered; then planted this spring, produced beets as thick as my leg which went to seed and yielded a great quantity. Cabbage seed planted this spring, produced seed again." (*Ibid*). In the same communication, Bullock reports 248 children born, by the 9th of August, 1848. (Letter of Thomas Bullock to Dr. Levi Richards in England, dated at the South Pass, Aug. 24th, 1848, *Millennial Star,* vol. x, pp. 369-70).

11. A less enthusiastic report of this first harvest is to be found in an epistle of the first presidency's, written after their arrival in the valley, Oct. 1848. Their report of the harvest is as follows: "Most of their early crops were destroyed, in the month of May, by crickets and frost, which continued occasionally until June; while the latter harvest was injured by drought and frost, which commenced its injuries about the 10th of October, and by the outbreaking of herds of cattle. The brethren were not sufficiently numerous to fight the crickets, irrigate the crops, and fence the farm of their extensive planting, consequently they suffered heavy losses; though the experiment of last year is sufficient to prove that valuable crops may be raised in this valley by an attentive and judicious management." (*Millennial Star,* vol. xi, p. 228).

A public "harvest feast" celebrated the ingathering of the first crop. It was held on the 10th of August, and there was food in abundance. "Large sheaves of wheat, rye, barley and other productions were hoisted on poles for public exhibition," writes Parley P. Pratt; "and there was prayer and thanksgiving, congratulations, songs, speeches, music, dancing, smiling faces and merry hearts. In short, it was a great day with the people of these valleys, and long to be remembered by those who had suffered and waited anxiously for the results of a first effort to redeem the interior deserts of America, and to make her hitherto unknown solitudes 'blossom as the rose'."[12]

THE RETURN OF BRIGHAM YOUNG FROM WINTER QUARTERS

President Young, returning from Winter Quarters with the company he was leading across the plains westward for the last time, arrived in Salt Lake City on the 20th of September of this memorable year in the great Pioneer's life. He had rendezvoused his company from Winter Quarters in the last days of May, on the Elkhorn, at a point about thirty miles west of Winter Quarters; and early in June started for the Salt Lake valley. His company consisted of 1,229 souls, and 329 wagons. A few days later Heber C. Kimball, now the first counselor in the first presidency with Brigham Young, followed with a company of 662 souls, and 226 wagons. Following him a few days later, from the same point of departure on the Elkhorn, came Dr. Willard Richards, the second counselor in the first presidency with a company of 526 souls, and 169 wagons. In that marching order these great companies crossed the plains, separated by a few days from each other and in like manner entered into Salt Lake valley. Elder Amasa M. Lyman also led "a large company" of emigrants across the plains that year, arriving in Salt Lake valley on the 10th of October,[13] but neither the number of souls comprising his company, nor the number of wagons can be ascertained. These companies comprised the emigration of the Latter-day Saints into Salt Lake valley that year, and increased the population by the addition of nearly two thousand five hundred souls. The journey across the plains and over the mountains was a very prosperous one and attended with but little sickness and with but few casualties of death and accidents; especially was this true in the company led by Brigham Young.

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[12] *Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt*, p. 406, also *Life of John Taylor*, p. 199. Cannon mentions also "the firing of cannon, music and dancing and loud shouts of 'Hosannah to God and the Lamb,' in which all present joined." (History of the Church, *Juvenile Instructor*, vol. xix, p. 100).

The Rise of Civil Government From Society

On his arrival in Salt Lake valley, Elder Young renewed his activities and leadership with increasing vigor; his influence had been enhanced both with the people and the leading brethren of the priesthood, by the fact of his having been chosen to be the president of the church, made also its official prophet, seer and revelator, this presidency and these other offices to be heartily ratified by the unanimous vote of the saints (as they were) at the forthcoming conference held within the fort on Sunday the 8th day of October. In the forenoon of the Sunday following his arrival he preached to the people, that was September the 24th. Meantime Elder Kimball had arrived and he preached in the afternoon of the same day. These two were appointed at the meeting to apportion off the city lots to applicants. It was also decided that the time had come when the people might leave the "forts" with safety, and build individual homes on their city lots. This permission was therefore granted. It was stipulated that all houses should be placed twenty feet back from the inner line of the side walks. The vote for it was unanimous. A sort of land office was instituted for recording land allotments. One dollar to be paid for surveying and fifty cents for recording the land. The farming lands immediately surrounding the city, divided off into lots of five and ten acres respectively, were to be obtained by the casting of lots. By the action of the high council of the stake that had been organized it was voted that liberty be granted to cut down trees, dry or green, within a radius of thirty miles of Salt Lake City, except in City Creek Canon. Also it was voted that Charles Crismon, who had erected a gristmill for grinding wheat should be allowed to increase his toll for grinding wheat and other grains from one sixteenth to one tenth per cent of the amount ground. Thus—in the absence of a civil government in these regulations suggested for the most part by their leader—their wise man—their "*can*-ing man" (Carlyle), and accepted and approved by the people, was civil government arising from society, and from society in one of its primitive forms.

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[13] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, postscript entry for Oct. 12, 1848, p. 70.

THE HARVESTS OF 1848-9 INADEQUATE

Notwithstanding the fairly good harvest of 1848, the large increase in the population by the immigration of that year—amounting as we have already seen to two thousand souls—kept the people upon short allowance of food and finally made necessary the repetition of putting the community on rations,[14] and those having plenty dividing with those who had little or nothing, and resorting again to the use of thistles and sego roots in the spring. The hardships of the colonists were also increased this year because of the severity of the winter.[15] Prices of grain were reported to be, corn, two dollars per bushel; wheat, from four to five dollars a bushel, "and little to be had at that."[16]

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[14] "There is, however, at this time (March 9, 1849) a scarcity of breadstuffs, and there will be a scarcity till harvest which we hope for early in July." (Letter of the twelve in the valley to Orson Pratt, under date of March 9th, 1849, *Millennial Star*, vol. xi, p. 244, *et seq.*). A census was taken in February and the amount of breadstuffs computed which disclosed that there would be "upwards of three-fourths of a pound per head per day from then till harvest, besides fifteen hundred bushels of seed wheat, and several hundred bushels of corn." (*Ibid*).

[15] "This winter has been a cold and snowy one, nearly equal to the climate of New York. The snow covered the ground to some depth, for nearly three months, and finally disappeared, from parts of the valley, the latter end of February; since that time cold winds have prevailed, and light snows are frequent, which disappear immediately; the ploughs are beginning to move." (*Ibid*, p. 245).

The second harvest was better than the first, the acreage greatly increased,[17] and the injury from drought and frost much less, (although there was a heavy fall of snow on the 23rd of May, followed the next day "by a severe frost")—[18] yet notwithstanding the better harvest and the increased acreage brought under cultivation, the supply of breadstuff and other food supplies fell below the needs of the community because of the influx of the population. The immigrating saints in the year 1849, came in five companies, of about five hundred wagons, and 1,400 people; led by Elders Orson Spencer, Allen Taylor, Silas Richards, George A. Smith, and Ezra T. Benson.[19] But besides these companies of saints, the "California gold seekers" began to arrive about the middle of July. "Since which time," writes the presidency of the church to Orson Hyde at Kanesville, "our peaceful valley has appeared like the half-way house of the pilgrims to Mecca, and still they come and go, and probably will continue to do so till fall."[20] And so indeed they did, and by thousands; but it is impossible to state the number with any assurance of accuracy.[21] The numbers, however, were large enough to be a source of anxiety to the leaders among the colonists. "Several hundred of the emigrants," writes President Young, on the 8th of October, "arrived too late in the season to continue their journey on the north route, and many of them contemplated wintering with us. So large an accession of mouths, in addition to those of our own emigration, threatened almost a famine for bread."[22]

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[16] Letter of the twelve to Orson Pratt, *Ibid*, p. 245.

[17] "Great preparations are being made for farming the coming season, and more than ten thousand acres will be enclosed and cultivated this summer." (Letter of the twelve to Orson Pratt. (*Ibid*, p. 245).

[18] General Epistle of the First Presidency to the Saints Scattered Throughout the Earth, Oct. 12, 1849, *Millennial Star*, vol. xii, p. 118, *et seq*. The grain crops in the valley have been good this season; wheat, barley, oats, rye, and peas, more particularly. The late corn and buckwheat, and some lesser grains and vegetables. have been materially injured by the recent frosts; and some early corn at Brownsville, [i. e. Ogden] forty miles north, a month since; and the buckwheat was severely damaged by hail at the Utah settlement, sixty miles south about three weeks since; but we have great occasion for thanksgiving to him who giveth the increase, that he has blest our labors, so that with prudence we shall have a comfortable supply for ourselves, and our brethren on the way, who may be in need, until another harvest."

[19] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, entry 19th October, 1849. "Captain Dan Jones with a goodly number of Welsh saints were included in Geo. A. Smith's company. This company did not leave the Missouri until the 14th of July. (See *Frontier Guardian*, July 25th, 1849): the result was they experienced inconvenience and suffering from cold in the mountains. On the 2nd of October, when on the Sweetwater, west of the rocky ridge, they were overtaken by a furious wind and snow storm which "continued through thirty-six hours. The snow drifted in every direction, in many places being three or four feet deep, and freezing on every thing it touched." A number of cattle perished from the cold, fifty-two in all, and some strayed away. Many pigs, chickens and even dogs perished in the storm. The cattle of these companies during the journey manifested a disposition to stampede on slightest provocation, and in one such instance a sister Hawk in Allen Taylor's company was trampled to death. (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, entry for 19th October, 1849).

THE COMPANY OF DEATH VALLEY EMIGRANTS—CAPTAIN JEFFERSON HUNT

To relieve this situation, Jefferson Hunt, who had been captain of Company "A" of the Mormon Battalion, proposed to guide California emigrants over the southern route that season, and thus avoid the danger of a rigorous winter journey over the Sierras. A company of about one hundred wagons accordingly formed and started southward with Captain Hunt as guide. With them went Elder Addison Pratt, returning to his mission in the Society Islands of the Pacific Ocean, accompanied by Elders James Brown and Hiram H. Blackwell. Elder Charles C. Rich also traveled in this company in order to join Elder Amasa M. Lyman in the presidency of "Western California," to which station Elder Lyman had been sent to preside in the month of April of that year.

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[20] Letter of the presidency to Orson Hyde, dated July 20th, 1849, *Millennial Star*, vol. xi, pp. 337-8.

[21] Wilford Woodruff, writing from Cambridgeport, Mass., not from the scene of the event he refers to in Salt Lake valley, but basing his assertions from communications to New York and other eastern papers from west bound emigrants, writes: "Whether the Gentiles are coming to the light of Zion or not, from 15,000 to 20,000 have passed through their city this season after gold." He also states that about three thousand of the gold seekers stopped in the valley, "Many of whom have been baptized." These roughly stated figures are doubtless too high for the number passing through Salt Lake City. Bancroft estimates the number of overland emigrants to California in the year 1849 as 42,000; of which 9,000 came from Mexico; 8,000 through New Mexico; *via* Santa Fe, and 25,000 traveling *via* South Pass, of whom, a large majority went *via* Fort Hall, without passing through Salt Lake City. While undoubtedly the overland emigration of gold seekers across the American continent is one of the most remarkable events in the history of the United Stats, and of migratory movements in the world, yet there were very extravagant claims made respecting its numbers, as may be learned by any one who will consult the *data* collected in Bancroft's *History of California*, vol. vi, ch. ix.

[22] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, entry for Oct. 8, 1849, p. 140.

Near Beaver Creek, about 200 miles south of Salt Lake, the California emigrants of Hunt's company abandoned his leadership, and went off with a "Captain Smith" in charge of a pack train bound for California, who had maps and charts of the so-called "Walker's cut-off," and persuaded the California emigrants to go that way. Hunt insisted that the route advocated by Smith was not a safe one; but all to no purpose; and by the time the company reached the "rim of the basin," the most of them withdrew from Hunt's leadership and followed Smith, leaving the former leader with a small company of but seven wagons. He, however, continued his journey and arrived near the coast on the 22nd of December.

Most of those who took the "cut-off," after wandering for a time in the mountains with very insufficient grass or water, turned back and followed the southern route. "Captain Smith and some others continued to struggle westward, and a few of them, after much suffering and disaster, arrived on foot in California."[23]

The experience of this party who withdrew from the leadership of Captain Hunt was most distressing, and in suffering was second only to the Donner party, of 1846, so many of whom perished in the snows of the Sierras. The party that left the leadership of Captain Hunt, suffered however in a different way; for whereas the Donner party were caught and locked in by the deep snows amid the summits of the Sierras, many perishing from cold and starvation, and some from cannibalism, the party leaving the Hunt guidance was lost in the sand ridges and doons of the western desert, where many died from thirst and the desert's heat. All suffered from lack of food and water and most of their stock perished. This was the party that lingered so long and suffered so much in what they named "Death Valley" in what is now the south central part of the state of Nevada.

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[23] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, entry for Dec. 22, 1849, p. 167.

The story is told by one who survived the awful experience, one William Lewis Manly, under the title *Death Valley in 1849,* The Autobiography of a Pioneer. It was published at San Jose, California, 1894. Though unpretentious in its structure this is a valuable contribution to western pioneer literature.

Of the formation of this company at Salt Lake, to be led by Captain Hunt, Mr. Manly says:

> "There was gathered in the camp for the southern route to California one hundred and seven wagons, a big drove of horses and cattle, perhaps five hundred in all. The train was divided into seven divisions and each division was to elect its own captain.
>
> The division of the company which occurred near the Mountain Meadows, was occasioned by the arrival of another company commanded by a Captain Smith. They had a map, made by one Williams of Salt Lake, a mountaineer who was represented to know all the routes through all the mountains of Utah, and this map showed a way to turn off from the south route, not far from the divide which separted the waters of the 'basin' from those which flowed toward the Colorado, and pass over the mountains coming out in what they called Tulare valley, much nearer than Los Angeles [i e., to the gold mines].
>
> Hunt said of this route: 'Young men who had no families could possibly get through and save time even if the road was not as good as the Los Angeles road. But, if you [meaning all] decide to follow Smith, I will go with you, even if the road leads to hell."[24]

It is a thrilling picture which our author, Manly, gives of Captain Hunt's course in the issue that arose between this company and himself where they separated.

> When the division of the wagons was made and only seven adhered to the Los Angeles route, Hunt stood at the forks of the road as the wagons went by and said to them: 'Good-bye friends. I cannot, according to my agreement, go with you for I was hired for this road [i. e. to Los Angeles] and no other was mentioned. I am in duty bound to go even if only one wagon decides to go.' [i. e., on the Los Angeles road and there were seven who so decided.] When

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[24] *Death Valley in 1849,* pp. 107, 109-110.

> the last wagon had passed him he stood talking with several who had chosen the new way and told them they were taking a big risk, for they did not know very much about the route, and he had been thinking that they might find it pretty rough and hard to get over the first time."[25]

Three days later their troubles began. The party "felt much inclined to attribute all their troubles to the advice of the Mormons." "Some said that the plan was thus to wipe so many more of the 'hated Gentiles' out of the way, and wishes were deep and loud that the 'Mormons might all be buried out of sight in the Great Salt Lake.'[26] They overlooked the advice of the 'Mormon' Captain John [Jefferson] Hunt, their late guide, not to take the route called the 'cut-off'," says Manly. They were finally rescued by a relief party from the California settlements, brought to them by two of their own number who had bravely gone in quest of help and found it.

Mr. Manly thus describes the circumstances of their leaving their "Death Valley" encampment: "Just as we were ready to leave and return to camp [after having climbed a ridge near their camp where they overlooked the Mohave desert] we took off our hats, and then overlooking the scene of so much trial, suffering, and death, spoke the thought uppermost, saying: 'Good-bye, Death Valley!' Then faced away and made our steps toward camp. Ever after this, in speaking of this long, narrow valley over which we had crossed into its nearly central part, and on the edge of which the lone camp was made for so many days, it was called 'Death Valley.' Many accounts have been given to the world as to the origin of the name, and by whom it was thus designated, but ours were the first visible footsteps; and we the party which named it, the saddest and most dreadful name that came to us first from its memories."[27]

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[25] Manly, p. 328.

[26] *Ibid*, p. 336.

[27] *Ibid*. p. 217.

WINTER SAINTS

Notwithstanding the opportunity afforded the California emigrants to reach their destination, some concluded "to stay in the valley for the winter anyway," remarks President Young, "and a few of them embraced the gospel."[28] Of those who thus accepted the faith of the Latter-day Saints both in this year, 1849, and the several years immediately following, the most of them were really converted, and were honest people; but not a few of those who professed the faith did so merely to secure more surely and more abundantly —as they supposed—the hospitality of the saints; which hospitality they sometimes abused and betrayed in the most shameful manner; from which circumstance arose the contemptuous term "winter saints," which "we understand to mean," wrote the editor of the *Deseret News,* "those who have been baptized just to have the privilege of serving the devil more perfectly, while they winter with the saints, or thieve their way to the mines."

This on the 18th of January, 1851, on the occasion of a conference of seventies excommunicating eleven men and women *en block,* "for conduct unbecoming the character of saints;" and to whom the president of the conference had applied the, by then, opprobrious title, "winter saints." One of the most reprehensible abuses of hospitality referred to above was that of winter-bound gold seekers marrying young women only to desert them in the spring; and so often did this happen that it was the cause of much bitterness in those early years, and of suspicion long years afterwards towards transients and emigrants passing through the territory.

THE FIRST "CIVIL GOVERNMENT" JURY TRIAL

The transgressions of some of these "winter saints" brought on the "first jury trial" under the judiciary established by the provisional state government the colonists had founded. A special session of the "Great Salt Lake county court" was called on the 3rd of January, 1851, before which some of these transient church members were tried and convicted of stealing, and sentenced to hard labor for various terms; but after serving part of their sentence they were pardoned by the executive, Brigham Young, and departed for California, "the place of their original destination."

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[28] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.,* entry for Oct. 8th, 1849. Also General Epistle of Presidency, *Millennial Star,* vol. xii, p. 118.

"This was the first jury trial there had been in the state of Deseret [of which more in a subsequent chapter] since its organization," remarks Brigham Young, "and the first occasion for the empaneling of a grand jury. It is supposed that about three hundred emigrants who quartered in the valley the past winter, have left for the gold mines this spring. Many emigrants on arriving at this place heard the gospel, believed, and were baptized, and thus far proved their sincerity by their works; while some professed to believe and were baptized, but their works have made manifest their hypocrisy, and their sins remain on their own heads. Had it not been for such kind of characters, no jury would have been needed in Deseret to this day."[29]

In the same epistle the presidency of the church sought to lessen the burdens of the Salt Lake colony by recommending that the California emigrants go *via* Fort Hall. Salt Lake City had recently obtained its charter and proposed to make provision against the inconveniences occasioned by trespasses of the California emigrants. The epistle said: "Hitherto, California emigrants have been accustomed to leave their sick on our hands, at a heavy expense, and depart without notice; to turn their teams loose in our streets, and near our city, which has caused much destruction of crops and grass, so that if we wanted a load of hay, we have had to go from ten to twenty miles to procure it, and drive our cattle a still greater distance to herd the succeeding winter; but since the organization of a municipality, quarantine has been introduced, and no animals are permitted to roam within the corporation, which extends to some six or eight miles square; and when the surrounding lands are fenced, the accommodations in our vicinity, for those who travel by multitudes, will be small indeed; and we believe it will be more convenient for the great mass of travelers to the mines to go by Fort Hall, or some route north of this, saving to themselves the expense and hindrance of quarantine, and other inconveniences arising from a temporary location near a populous city, where cattle are not permitted to run at large."

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[29] General Epistle of the Presidency, of April 7th, 1851, *Millennial Star*, vol. xiii, p. 212.

THE ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF A NATIONAL HIGHWAY STATION

The passing of this California emigration through Salt Lake valley had both its beneficial and disastrous effects upon the Latter-day Saint colonies. In the first place, it brought to the settlements of the saints very many earnest and sincere people who accepted the faith of the New Dispensation of the gospel, and some equally respectable who did not accept that faith, but remained, nevertheless, to make their homes in Salt Lake City. Both these classes became permanent and desirable elements in the then forming civil society. But there were also bad and lawless elements in that migrating host, some of whom became the "winter saints" of preceding paragraphs, and some who did not, but yet remained in the Salt Lake valley to vitiate society, corrupt community life, and give a dash of lawlessness to the times, from which circumstance the reputation of the Latter-day Saints suffered not a little, for that they were held responsible for all that happened of a lawless or disreputable nature in their community.

The saints also gained and lost through the reports that were sent to the east by those in the migrating hosts who chose to furnish the press with their descriptions and impressions of the "Mormon" settlements and their people. In some cases they were inordinately praised, and their achievements exaggerated; and by others as severely censured, misjudged and condemned; until in the annals of those times the fanatical saints of today, and the bitterly prejudiced anti-"Mormons," can each find material in support of his unstinted praise or bitter denunciation.[30]

Even on the side on which the passing migration is supposed to have been, and was, the most beneficial—its contribution to the material prosperity of the saints—it had its drawbacks since it created restlessness among the people, delayed the plans of colonizing adjacent valleys, and made it more difficult for the church authorities to hold the people to the achievement of those purposes to which the church was consecrated, *viz.,* (1) the proclamation of the gospel to every nation, tongue and people under the whole heavens; (2) perfecting the lives of those who accepted her message, to this end gathering together her converts.

TEMPTATIONS OF THE GOLD MINES

In the mad rush of the world for the gold fields, one of the main streams of which was passing through their settlements, it is one of the marvels of those times, and will be in all time to come, that the Latter-day Saints could be held to those ideals of their faith which led them in large measure to give no heed to the madness for riches which possessed those thousands of emigrants who passed through their settlements, and derided their contentment with the humble lot of pioneering settlements in a semi-desert region, when the rich gold fields of California were so near to them, and of such easy access. Besides their brethren, people of their own faith, had been prominent factors in both the discovery and early development of the gold mines—why not participate in the harvest to which all the world was hastening?

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[30] See *Note* 3, end of chapter.

Brigham Young and his associate leaders in the Church of the Latter-day Saints rose to sublime heights in those days. Under date of September 28th, 1849, the following is recorded in his *History, Ms.*:

> "Fourteen or fifteen of the brethren arrived from the gold country, some of whom were very comfortably supplied with the precious metal, and others, who had been sick, came back as destitute as they went on the ship *Brooklyn* in 1846. That there is plenty of gold in western California is beyond doubt, but the valley of the Sacramento is an unhealthy place, and the saints can be better employed in raising grain and building houses in this vicinity, than in digging gold in Sacramento, unless they are counseled so to do.
>
> The true use of gold is for paving streets, covering houses and making culinary dishes; and when the saints shall have preached the gospel, raised grain, and built up cities enough, the Lord will open up the way for a supply of gold to the perfect satisfaction of his people; until then, let them not be overanxious for the treasures of the earth are in the Lord's storehouse, and he will open the doors thereof when and where he pleases."[31]

COLONISTS *vs.* GOLD SEEKERS

And to this view Brigham Young and his associate leaders in the church adhered throughout the gold-fever period, and held their people to the higher duties of their lives as Latter-day Saints. Under date of March 9th, 1849, "the twelve in Salt Lake valley to the saints in the British Isles," said: "There are some rebellious and disorderly spirits here, who are generally now for the gold mines instead of Warsaw, Quincy, and St. Louis; but those who are on the Lord's side will stay at home and raise grain, etc., until sent abroad on heaven's errand," [i. e. to preach the gospel].[32]

In 1850, referring to the maintenance of an emigration fund to assist the poor in the world to gather to the church, in the mountains, President Young said:

> "I am going to bring before the people the necessity of keeping up the fund for the immigration of the poor. I declare openly and boldly, there is no necessity for any man of this community to go to the gold mines to replenish the fund; we have more property and wealth than we

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[31] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, for 1849, p.144.

[32] *Millennial Star*, vol. xi, p. 246.

> are capable of taking care of. If a man is not capable of improving one talent, what is the use of his getting more? He is like the foolish child, that could hold but one apple in both his hands, and in reaching for more, he lost what he had. If men only knew how to control what they have and were satisfied, they would do much better.
>
> I will commence at the north and go to the south settlements, and pick out twenty-five of our inhabitants as they average; and another man may take fifty of the gold diggers, off hand, and they cannot buy out the twenty-five who have taried at home. Before I had been one year in this place, the wealthiest man who came from the mines, Father Rhodes, with $17,000 dollars, could not buy the possessions I had made in one year! It will not begin to do it; and I will take twenty-five men in the United States, who have staid at home and paid attention to their own business, and they will weigh down fifty others from the same place, who went to the gold regions; and again, look at the widows that have been made, and see the bones that lie bleaching and scattered over the prairies."[33]

So the president continued through the troubled years of the gold fever to encourage and admonish his people to stay at home and be attentive to their work of building up "the kingdom of God," wherein dwelleth righteousness.

Of course it is not claimed here that none of the saints went to California in search of gold. A few did go; but quite generally they were persuaded to remain in Utah, and continue the work of colonizing in the interest of the church. Linn, grossly misrepresents Latter-day Saint history in this respect. He says: "Naturally in this rush for sudden riches, many a Mormon had a desire to join. A dozen families left Utah for California early in 1849; and in March, 1851, a company of more than five hundred assembled in Payson, preparatory to making the trip. Here was an unexpected danger to the growth of the Mormon population, and one which the head of the church did not delay in checking."[34]

This company of "five hundred," however, were not bound for the gold mines, but to "southern California" to make a settlement near the Cajon Pass. Following is Brigham Young's account of it:

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[33] Minutes of the General Conference, *Millennial Star*, vol. xiii, pp. 17, 18.

[34] Linn's *Story of the Mormons*, p. 407.

> "Elders Amasa M. Lyman and C. C. Rich, with some 20 others, having received my approbation in going to southern California, they were instructed by letter to select a site for a city or station, as a nucleus for a settlement, near the Cajon Pass, in the vicinity of the sea coast, for a continuation of the route already commenced from this to the Pacific; to gather around them the saints in California, to search out on their route and establish, as far as possible, the best location for stations between Iron county and California, in view of a mail route to the Pacific; to cultivate the olive and manufacture olive oil, and also to cultivate grapes, sugar cane, cotton and any other desirable fruits and products; to obtain information concerning the 'Tehuantepec route,' or any other across the Isthmus, or the passage around Cape Horn with a view to the gathering of the saints from Europe; to plant the standard of salvation in every county and kingdom, city and village, on the Pacific and the world over, as fast as God should give the ability."

It is admitted that too many were willing to go to California on this mission to suit the feelings of President Young, for he continues:

> "Elders Lyman and Rich's company, however, had swelled to above 570 persons with 152 wagons, most of whom had become so enamored of the California '*paradise*' that they had determined to try their fortune there. We held meetings at Payson on the 23rd, President Heber C. Kimball and Elders C. C. Rich, Amasa M. Lyman and R. McBride addressed the people. I was sick at the sight of so many of the saints running to California, chiefly after the God of this world, and was unable to address them. * * * We organized the companies with Andrew Lytle, captain of the hundred [i. e. wagons] and Joseph Mathews and David Seely captains of fifties."[35]

REMARKABLE PROPHECY FULFILLED—"STATES GOODS" CHEAPER THAN IN NEW YORK

As already remarked the most beneficial effect this migration to California's gold fields had upon the affairs of the "Mormon" colonists was its contribution to the material prosperity of the saints. In a public meeting at Salt Lake City, in 1848, in the midst of a great scarcity of food and clothing, and indeed of all the necessities of life, Elder Heber C. Kimball startled the congregation by declaring that within a short time *"states goods would be sold in the streets of Salt Lake City cheaper than in New York, and that the people could be abundantly supplied with food and clothing."* "I don't believe a word of it," said Elder Charles C. Rich, who was present on the occasion; "and he but voiced the sentiment of nine-tenths of those who heard the astounding declaration," remarks Elder Kimball's biographer. Even Elder Kimball himself doubted of the fulfillment of his own prediction, and as he took his seat remarked to the brethren about him that he was "afraid he had missed it this time." "But they were not his own words" writes his biographer, "and he who had inspired them knew how to fulfill."[36]

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[35] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, entry for March 23rd, 1851, pp. 13, 14.

The prediction was fulfilled in a most remarkable manner. Many of the overland gold seekers of 1849 conceived the idea that there would be a big demand for merchandise in the gold fields of California, and therefore loaded their wagons to capacity limit with various kinds of merchandise to be sold, as they hoped, at enormous profits. In some cases the teams were so heavily loaded with merchandise that the men walked and even women and children could not find room in the wagons.[37] A number of St. Louis merchants fitted out whole trains laden with merchandise such as was supposed would be in demand in the mining camps. The overland journey, however, was attended with more difficulties than was anticipated, and the progress much slower. A few weeks on the journey and property began to be sacrificed to haste. What was the profit in a load of merchandise in comparison of the profits in rich gold diggings if one were only there? And so there were frequent loadings and re-loadings, usually attended by a sacrifice of some portion of the owner's effects. When a heavy laden wagon would break down it was often left in the road where it stood; teams weakening, a wagon would now and then be abandoned and the teams doubled on other wagons to make more haste, until the overland trail was literally strewn with merchandise and broken down and abandoned wagons, for hundreds of miles.[38] In addition to these circumstances by the time some of these wagon trains reached Salt Lake City word was received of ships loaded with merchandise arriving in the Bay of San Francisco; also that coast-wise vessels were plying between the Isthmus of Panama and San Francisco, carrying goods that were shipped by pack trains across the Isthmus by companies organized in New York, Charleston and New Orleans,[39] which dispelled the dreams of the overland merchants of fabulous prices. Moreover, in Salt Lake City, gold dust from the California mines was current in trade and on exhibition,[40] and this, in connection with the other circumstances mentioned, so increased the enthusiasm of the gold seekers, and their impatience to reach California, that they were ready to dispose of all they had for fresh stock with which to make the journey. "Pack mules and horses,"

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[36] This his grandson, Orson F. Whitney, now one of the twelve apostles, *Life of Heber C. Kimball*, Whitney, ch. lviii; also Tullidge's *Life of Brigham Young*, pp. 203-8.

[37] "Heavy conveyances were provided with three yoke of oxen, besides relays of animals for difficult passages; a needful precaution; for California as well as the intermediate country, being regarded as a wilderness, the prudent ones had brought ample supplies, some indeed, in excess to last for two years. Others carried all sorts of merchandise, in the illusive hope of sales at large profits. Consequently such of the men as had not riding animals were compelled to walk, and during the first part of the journey even the women and children could not always find room in the wagons." (Bancroft's *History of California*, vol. vi, p. 145.)

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38. See *Frontier Guardian* of Sept. 15, 1849. In a letter to Orson Pratt, Wilford Woodruff says: "The last accounts from the gold diggers was that there were 500 wagons between South Pass and Fort Hall entirely helpless; all their teams having been drowned in crossing streams, or died for want of grass. Hundreds were then dying daily, and the road near blocked up at some passes with broken down wagons and teams, and the men had become mad because they could not get by or go ahead; they were fighting and killing each other. An express had been sent from Fort Hall for assistance to gather the destitute into the valley of the Great Salt Lake, as they must die if they had not help." (The letter is dated at Cambridgeport, Mass., October 13th, 1849, *Millennial Star*, vol. xi, p. 344. See also Bancroft's *History of California*, vol. vi, ch. ix).

39. There was a great rush of vessels from eastern and southern ports in the United States, *via* Cape Horn, also across Panama, Nicaragua and Mexico by pack trains to resume the water journey on the Pacific side by waiting vessels to make the coast-wise journey. In November the movement began by the departure of several vessels. In December it had swelled to a rush. Between the 14th of December, 1848, and the 14th of January, 1849, sixty-one sailing vessels left New York. Sixty more in February, besides the vessels that left other ports. Two of the November, 1848, vessels arrived at San Francisco in April, 1849; in June eleven arrived; in July forty; in August forty-three; in September, sixty-six; "after which the number fell off, giving a total of 233 from American ports; 316 vessels arrived from other ports, or 549 in all for the year 1849." (Bancroft's *History of California*, vol. vi, pp. 121-2 and notes).

40. "When they saw a few bags and kegs of gold dust that had been gathered and brought in by our boys [i. e. Mormon Battalion men] it made them completely enthusiastic." (Orson Hyde in *Frontier Guardian*, Sept. 15, 1849).

says one account, "that were worth twenty-five or thirty dollars in ordinary times, would readily bring two hundred dollars in the most valuable property at the lowest prices. Goods and other property were daily offered at auction in all parts of the city. For a light, Yankee wagon, sometimes three or four great heavy ones would be offered in exchange, and a yoke of oxen thrown in at that. Common domestic sheeting sold from five to ten cents per yard by the bolt. The best of spades and shovels for fifty cents each. Vests that cost in St. Louis one dollar and fifty cents each, were sold at Salt Lake for 'three bits,' or 37½ cents. Full chests of joiners' tools that would cost $150 in the east, were sold in that place for $25. Indeed, almost every article, except sugar and coffee, is selling on an average, fifty per cent below wholesale prices in the eastern cities."[41]

Still another account says:

> "The emigrants the past summer brought many things with them which they found to be superfluous upon their arrival at the valley, and were glad to give them in exchange for horses, oxen, etc., besides there were many small merchants who brought from two to ten thousand dollars worth of goods with them who found it indispensably necessary to sell out in the valley, owing to the loss of teams, and pack from thence to the mines. The Messrs Pomeroy of Missouri, with about fifty thousand dollars worth were of the number who found it impractical to proceed."[42]

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[41] *Frontier Guardian*, Sept. 15, 1849, also *Millennial Star*, vol. xi, p. 340, *et seq*. Bancroft in his *History of California* makes mention of this incident: "Many, indeed, tired and discouraged, with animals thinned in number and exhausted, halted at Great Salt Lake, accepting the invitation of the Mormons to stay through the winter and recuperate. The saints undoubtedly reaped a harvest in cheap labor, and by the ready exchange of provisions to starving emigrants for wagons, tools, clothing, and other effects, greatly to the delight of the leaders, who, at the first sight of gold from California, had prophesied plenty, and the sale of states goods at prices as low as in the east." (*History of California*, vol. vi, pp. 151-2.) In a footnote he names Kimball as having made the prediction.

[42] Letter of John Taylor to the *Frontier Guardian* of Jan. 9, 1850. Elder Taylor calls attention to the fact that the goods destined for California, but disposed of in Salt Lake City, as described above, were largely men's ware, so far as clothing was concerned, and that the disposal of these goods did not prevent Messrs. Livingston and Kinkade of St. Louis, Colonel John Reese of New York, and other mercahnts who were carrying goods laid in especially for the "valley," from disposing of the goods and at "large profits." "So much so," he adds in addressing the editor of the *Guardian*, "that if you had been at *Deseret* (i. e. the Honey Bee State), you would have thought the ladies were bees and their stores the hives—though unlike in one respect, for the bee goes in full and comes out empty, but in this case it was reversed."

This unlooked for arrival and sacrifice of goods in such abundance was certainly a fulfillment of Elder Kimball's prediction, and of material benefit to the Latter-day Saint colonists. It relieved them of many hardships, contributed to their progress, and hastened the development of the country in the eastern valleys of the Great Basin beyond all expectation.

NOTES

1. UTAH'S STATE FLOWER

OUR SEGO LILY

By John W. Pike

When Flora, gracious Queen of Flow'rs,
First saw these hills and vales of ours,
She strew'd the rugged landscape o'er
With treasures from her floral store,
Then plucked from out her chaplet rare
The fairest flow'r that nestled there,
And bade it bloom for evermore
Where flower had never bloomed before!

"Bloom, thou," she said, "that men may see
How wondrous fair a flower can be!
Thy outer robe of spotless white
Shall rival snow on yonder height;
Thy breast, which my fond tear bedews,
Shall radiant be with rainbow hues;
And men shall ever speak of thee
As, 'Beauty, robed in Chastity!' "

And here it blooms—as fair a flow'r
As ever bloomed in Southland bow'r
Where never winds blow rude or chilly!
Yet here, beside the lasting snows,
It rears its head, and fairer grows,
And mutely shows, what man can see,
That Beauty's charm is Chastity!
Thus, O belov'd, bloom on and on,
Till all thy gracious work is done;
And Time shall leave thee, passing o'er
Still more beloved and yet still more!—
Our own, our mountain, Sego Lily!

Salt Lake City, February, 1916.

2. THE SEA GULL MONUMENT ON TEMPLE SQUARE SALT LAKE CITY

The Sea Gull monument which commemorates the Cricket and Gull incident narrated in the text of this chapter is the work of Mahonri M. Young, a grandson of the great Pioneer, Brigham Young. Mr. Young studied abroad. The granite base, of the monument weighing twenty tons, rests upon a concrete foundation, surrounded by a miniature fish moat fed from a fountain. From the base rises a round column of granite fifteen feet high, surmounted by a granite globe.

Two sea gulls of bronze rest upon the granite ball. The birds weigh about 500 pounds and the stretch of the wings, from tip to tip, is eight feet.

The unveiling ceremony took place on Wednesday, October 1st, 1913.

The tablets are thus described by the author of this *History*.

"The graceful Doric column of the monument surmounting the base, is fifteen feet high and is topped by a granite sphere, on which two gulls are seen in the act of lighting upon it—a most graceful thing in itself—and Mr. Young, the sculptor, has caught the action of it true to life.

On three sides of the high base, in relief sculpture, the Sea Gull story is told. The tablature on the east tells of the arrival and early movements of the Pioneers. In the left foreground of the rugged Wasatch Mountains there is a man afield with ox team, plowing the stubborn soil, aided by the boy driver, followed by the sower. In the right foreground is the wagon home, women preparing the humble meal while an Indian sits in idle but graceful pose looking upon all this strange activity that is to redeem his land from savagery and give it to civilization.

The second tablature—on the south—tells the story of the threatened devastation from the crickets' invasion.

A point of mountain and a glimpse of the placid, distant lake is seen. The settler's fight with the invading host is ended—he has exhausted all his ingenuity and his strength in the fight. He is beaten—you can see that in the hopeless sinking of his figure to the earth, his bowed head and listless down hanging hands from which the spade has fallen.

Despair claims him and laughs. With the woman of this tablature it is different. She is holding a child by the hand—through it she feels throbbing the call of the future—the life of a generation of men and women yet to be.

Strange that to woman—man's complement—is given such superior strength in hours of severest trial! Where man's strength and courage and fighting ends, woman's hope and faith and trust seem to spring into newness of life. From her nature she seems able to do this inconsistent yet true thing—to hope against hope, and ask till she receives.

I do not know in what school of psychology the sculptor studied his art, but he has certainly been true to the great psychological difference between man and woman. But to return to this woman of the second tablature—she, too, is toil-worn, and there is something truly pathetic in her body-weariness. But her head is raised,—raised to what until now has seemed the pitless skies; but now they are filled with the oncoming flocks of sea gulls. Does she watch their coming with merely idle curiosity or vague wonderment? Or does her soul in the strange gull cry hear God's answer to her call for help? God's answer to her they were, these gulls, in any event, as the gulls soon proved by devouring the destroyer.

The third tablature commemorates the Pioneers' first harvest—worthily, too. In the background rises Ensign Peak.

In the middle background the log house home stands finished; in the foreground, harvesting the golden grain is in progress, both men and women take joyous part. To the right, a mother half kneeling holds to her full breast a babe, who 'on the heart and from the heart' receives its nourishment; and about her knees another child plays in happy, childish oblivion of toil and care. O, happy scene of life and joy, 'where plenty leaps to laughing life, with her redundant horn.'

On the fourth tablature is the title of the monument. Fortunately it is simple, and not explanatory—the work of the sculptor tells the story—tells it well and eloquently. Too much narration would have marred it—this is the inscription:

SEA GULL MONUMENT,
ERECTED IN GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE OF
THE MERCY OF GOD TO THE MORMON PIONEERS."[43]

3. Treatment of California Emigrants by Mormons: A Slander Refuted

The following document drawn up by the leaders of the first companies of the "gold seekers" to pass through Salt Lake City—arriving there on the 16th of June, 1849—will illustrate in part the statement of the text respecting misrepresentations that sometimes obtained against the saints. It is taken from the *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, entry of June 24; and which he introduces as follows:

"I introduce the following testimony concerning the treatment of emigrants to California by the people in the valley:—

G. S. L. City, June 25, 1849.

This is to certify that we, the undersigned, members of the Delaware Mining Company, from Ohio, when passing by the south side of the Platte river, met Jacques Rouvel Brunnette, a resident of Fort Laramie, about 180 miles east of his said fort, who informed us that the Mormons had instigated the Indians to be unfriendly to all emigrants on the south side of said river, and that they were bad men. But we found the Indians friendly, and we firmly believed his statement to be false; and as he said he should report it to government, we sign this in favor of the 'Mormons' in Salt Lake Valley, from whom we have received universal kind treatment.

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[43] *Utah: Its People, Resources, Attractions and Institutions*, published by the Temple Square Bureau of Information, Salt Lake City, pp. 32-35.

Andrew McIlvain
L. B. Harris
Daniel Plotmer
A. G. Hinton
James A. Barnes
Simpson Laid
Joshua D. Breyfogel
Josephus McClead
John C. Murphey
Simeon Badly
Israel Breyfogel
R. Cadwalader
P. Knight Gualt
A. C. Moses
E. L. Coldren
E. R. Moses
James Hinkle
James Edelman
Evan Evans
Jed L. Allen
John F. Stimmel
Daniel A. High
Irwin Boynton
Robert Cunningham
Samuel High."

CHAPTER LXXXVII

THE MORMON BATTALION IN CALIFORNIA—THE DISCOVERY OF GOLD—THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE BATTALION

WE may now take up and complete the story of the Mormon Battalion, and take account of its contributions to the settlement of the west—Pacific coast and intermountain valleys.

IMPORTANCE OF THE BATTALION IN CONSOLIDATING PACIFIC COAST VICTORIES

The battalion by reaching the Pacific early in January, 1847, had arrived too late to participate in the immediate war-conquest of California; but it was useful in the performance of garrison duty at San Diego, San Luis Rey, and Los Angeles; and in connection, of course, with the New York volunteers, who arrived *via* Cape Horn in March, and the constantly increasing naval forces along the coast, assisted in making secure the conquest achieved.[1]

While in garrison many members of the battalion obtained permission to accept employment of the inhabitants of the towns at which they were stationed, such as making adobes, digging wells, building houses, and making bricks. The first burnt bricks in San Diego, and for matter of that in California, were made and burned by members of the Mormon Battalion.[2] The battalion no less than other divisions of the camps of modern Israel kept up the reputation of the "Mormon" people for industry and frugality. They won golden opinions among the Californians for industry, honesty, and sobriety, notwithstanding the efforts of Missourians under Fremont's command to prejudice the people against them.[3]

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[1] See *Note,* end of chapter.

[2] Tyler's *Battalion,* p. 286-7.

[3] "Many of the latter [Fremont's troops] immigrants from the western states, were hostile and circulated among the Californians damaging reports on Mormon

REENLISTMENT PROPOSED

As the expiration of the term of the battalion's enlistment drew near, which would be in July, 1847, strong efforts were made for their reenlistment by General Kearney, before departing for the east in May;[4] by Colonel Jonathan D. Stevenson, of the New York Volunteers, who succeeded Colonel Cooke in command of the battalion, by being given command of the southern district of California, Cooke having accompanied General Kearney on his return to the east. Stevenson's efforts for the battalion's reenlistment were prompted by Governor Mason's instructions.[5]

Stevenson represented among the advantages of the battalion's reenlistment, the privilege of choosing their own officers, "with the fact that the Mormon commander would be the third in rank among the officers of California, and might become first."[6] The close of Stevenson's speech was

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character; but it is probable that this enmity, especially that of Fremont himself, and the rumored threats to attack the camp and wipe the saints 'out of existence,' were seen through the glasses of prejudice. It is true that the Californians had formed in advance a very unfavorable opinion of the Mormons, but equally true that the latter by their conduct succeeded in almost entirely removing this feeling. In morals and general deportment they were far superior to other troops in the province, being largely under the control of their religious teachers. Church meetings were held often, and sermons were preached by Captain Hunt, the spiritual guardians Pettegrew and Hancock, or by Hyde, Tyler and others." (Bancroft's *History of California*, vol. v, p. 488). Tyler refers to the vindictiveness of the men of Fremont's command and reports that the Mexicans were told that cannabalism was common among the "Mormons." (Tyler's *History of the Mormon Battalion*, p.276).

[4] "On the 4th of May, an order was read from Colonel Cooke, giving the battalion the privilege of being discharged on condition of being reenlisted for three years as United States Dragoons; but under the circumstances the generous proposition could not consistently be accepted." (Tyler's *Battalion*, p. 280). General Kearney addressed the battalion on the 10th of May; "He sympathized with us in the unsettled condition of our people, but thought, as their final destination was not definitely settled, [in this of course his information was defective] we had better reenlist for another year, by which time the war would doubtless be ended, and our families settled in some permanent location. In conclusion he said he would take pleasure in representing our patriotism to the president, and in the halls of congress, and give us the justice our praiseworthy conduct had merited." (Tyler's *History of the Mormon Battalion*, pp. 282-3).

[5] Colonel Richard B. Mason had been appointed governor and commander-in-chief of United States forces in California, by order of the president. (Bancroft's *History of California*, vol. v, p. 583). That Stevenson acted under Governor Mason's instruction, see Bancroft's *History of California*, vol. v, p. 490, also History of the Church, Cannon, *Juvenile Instructor*, vol. xix, p. 133.

[6] *Ibid*.

most unfortunate, and gave offense. It is reported as follows: "Your patriotism and obedience to your officers have done much towards removing the prejudice of the government and the community at large, and I am satisfied that another year's service would place you on a level with other communities!"[7] Very properly the remark was resented as an insult.[8]

The battalion's officers quite generally favored reenlistment, as the best means of aiding the work of the Lord and their absent families; but not so the men, who, under the leadership of Father Pettegrew, William Hyde, and Sergeant Tyler, were in favor of returning to their families and the body of the church.

The result was that a company of eighty-one, officers and men only, reenlisted for six months, and performed garrison service at San Diego; while the rest of the battalion, on being mustered out of service, in July, began their march for the Great Basin of the Rocky Mountains, going *via* Sutter's Fort, at the juncture of the American and Sacramento rivers, northeastward from San Francisco about seventy-five miles, and now the site of Sacramento, capital of the state. About one-half of these returning volunteers arrived in Salt Lake valley on the first of October.

BATTALION ADVISED TO REMAIN IN CALIFORNIA TEMPORARILY

The reason for not more than one-half of their number reaching Salt Lake valley that fall—they numbered about 240 when leaving Los Angeles—arose from the following circumstances: Arriving at Sutter's Fort, and finding opportunity for employment at good wages there, a number desired to take advantage of that opportunity, and accordingly, with the consent and approval of their associates, "a few" remained. On the sixth of September, when the returning volunteers were leaving the basin of Lake Tahoe, they met Samuel

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[7] Bancroft's *History of California*, vol. v, p. 491.

[8] Tyler's *Battalion*, p. 294.

Brannan, leader of the *Brooklyn* colony, returning to California from his visit to Brigham Young. He gave them a doleful account of the semi-desert region where the church was settling, and predicted the final removal of the saints to California. He urged all, except those known to have families in Salt Lake valley, to return to California and work until spring; but without avail. The next day, however, the volunteers met Captain James Brown, ranking officer of the Pueblo detachment of the battalion, and a small party *en route* for California. He brought with him letters from many of the families of the battalion; also an epistle from the twelve apostles advising those who had no means of subsistence to remain in California and labor during the winter, and make their way to Salt Lake valley in the spring, bringing their earnings with them. About one-half of the volunteers thus encountered accepted this suggestion and returned to Sutter's Fort where they found employment.[9]

The rest of the company continued their journey to Salt Lake valley where they arrived at the time already stated.

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[9] I am following Tyler in the matter of the number that returned; his language is—"probably over half of the company returned, in accordance with the instruction from the twelve, to spend the winter in California" (Tyler's *Battalion*, p. 316). The number as given by others is forty. But if the number leaving Los Angeles for Salt Lake valley in July was 240, as stated by Bancroft (*History of California*, vol. v, p. 493), and only "a few" from this number remained at Sutter's Fort, when the main body resumed its journey over the mountains, and one-half of these returned to Sutter's Fort, the number returning must have been more than forty. The distribution of the battalion roughly stated, and that is all that may be done, is as follows: 150 in various detachments were sent to winter at Pueblo; 81 reenlisted at Los Angeles, in July, 1847 (Tyler's *Battalion*, p. 326-7); 3 from each of the companies were detailed to accompany General Kearney to Fort Leavenworth (Tyler's *Battalion*, p. 283, Bancroft's *History of California*, vol. v, p. 489): 3 were discharged or resigned, and 7 died. The following note from Bancroft's *History of California* (vol. v, p. 477), shows that some slight discrepancies exist as to the exact number of the battalion: "An official report, *U. S. Govt. Doc.*, 31st Cong., 1st Sess., H. Ex. Doc., 24, p 228, gives the number mustered in as 15 officers and 468 men. There is apparently some error here, to say nothing of the fact that about 150 men did not reach California. Tyler gives the names of 506 men, including officers and the men left behind [516 men, and officers, see list of officers and men, Tyler's *Mormon Battalion*, pp. 118-125] Kane says there were 520 men. Other authorities speak of the number as about 500." In addition to these there were about fifteen families that expected to leave with the battalion, and a number of wives and children belonging to members of the command (see Tyler's *Battalion*, pp. 125-6). Which justified the remark of Colonel Cooke, that the battalion was enlisted too much by families for effective soldiering. (See *ante*, chapter lxxv).

Captain Brown took with him to California the muster rolls of the Pueblo detachment of the battalion, and also had a power of attorney from all its members to draw their pay. The Pueblo detachment had drawn its pay per Captain Brown up to May at Santa Fe, at which time he received orders to resume the march to California, *via* Fort Laramie. The detachment arrived in Salt Lake valley on the 29th of July, where they were disbanded, since the term of their enlistment had expired on the 16th of that month.[10] On the presentation of the claims for pay of this detachment to Governor Mason of California, they were allowed. "Paymaster Rich," says the governor, "paid to Captain Brown the money due to the (Pueblo) detachment up to that date, according to the rank they bore upon the muster rolls upon which the battalion had been mustered out of the service."[11]

THE DISCOVERY OF GOLD

One thing more remains to be mentioned in connection with the Mormon Battalion—the part its discharged members took in the discovery of gold in California. As already stated a number of the Mormon Battalion members found employment at Sutter's Fort, with Mr. John Sutter himself, in fact, who was a rather enterprising Swiss; one "who had houses and lands, flocks and herds, mills and machinery." "He counted his skilled artisans by the score," says the account I am following, "and his savage retainers by the hundred. He was, moreover, a man of progress."[12] Among his pressing needs and the needs of the country at large, was a sawmill. The flour mills he then had in course of construction needed timbers, and there would be large profit in shipping lumber to San Francisco. Accordingly, his foreman, a Mr. James William Marshall, a native of New Jersey, and then about thirty-three years of age, and a carpenter, took in hand the task of building a sawmill. After considerable exploration the requisite combination of water power, timber, and the possibility of easy access to the fort, was found in the Coloma valley, on the south fork of the American river, and about forty-five miles due east of Sutter's Fort.

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[10] Tyler's *Battalion*, chs. xvi, xvii.

[11] This circumstance is noted in Governor Mason's report of October 7th, 1846, *California and New Mexico Messages and Documents*, 1850, p. 355; quoted by Bancroft, *History of California*, vol. v, p. 494 and note 25.

[12] Bancroft, *History of California*, vol. vi, p. 26.

In the latter part of August, or the first of September, Mr. Marshall with a party of about a dozen white men, nine of whom were discharged members of the Mormon Battalion,[13] and about as many Indians, went to Coloma valley and began the construction of the proposed mill. A brush dam was built in the river and a mill race constructed along a dry channel, to economize labor. The largest stones were thrown out of this, and during the night the water would be turned in to carry off the dirt and sand. On the 24th of January "while sauntering along the tail race inspecting the work, Mr. Marshall noticed yellow particles mingled with the excavated earth, which had been washed by late rains."[14] Sending an Indian to his cabin for a tin plate, Marshall washed out some of the soil and obtained a small quantity of yellow metal. During the evening he remarked to his associates of the camp that he believed he had found gold, which was received with some doubts, the expressions being, "I reckon not;" and, "no such luck!" But Henry W. Bigler, one of the battalion members, made the following entry in his *Journal* that day:

> *"Monday 24* [*January*]: *This day some kind of metal was found in the tail race that looks like gold."*
>
> *"Jan. 30: Clear, and has been all the last week. Our metal has been tried and proves to be gold. It is thought to be rich. We have picked up more than a hundred dollars worth this week."*

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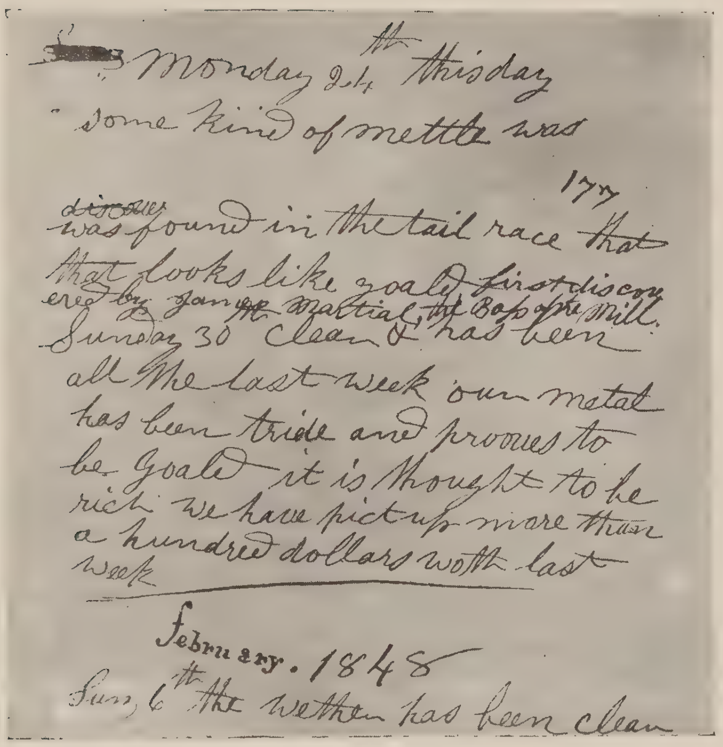
[13] Their names given by Bancroft are as follows—I add the given names: Henry W. Bigler, Alexander Stephens, James S. Brown, James Barger, William Johnson, Azariah Smith, William Ira Willis, Sidney Willis, [brothers] William Kountze (*History of California,* vol. vi, p. 31, note). The brothers Willis and Kountze returned in September to work on Sutter's flour mill, so were not in the Coloma valley at the time of the gold discovery. (*History of California,* vol. v, p. 31, note).

[14] Bancroft's *History of California,* vol. vi, p. 33.

FACSIMILE FROM HENRY W. BIGLER'S JOURNAL

Determining the Discovery of Gold in California as the 24th of January, 1848.



Monday 24th this day
some kind of mettle was
177
~~discover~~
was found in the tail race ~~that~~
~~that~~ looks like goald first discov
ered by James Mr Martial, the Boss of the mill.
Sunday 30 clear & has been
all the last week our metal
has been tride and prooves to
be Goald it is thought to be
rich we have pict up more than
a hundred dollars woth last
week

February. 1848
Sun, 6th the wether has been clear

That is the historical record of the event that turned the eyes of the civilized world to California. Which within a year started that mighty wave of western emigration from all parts of the United States, many parts of Europe, and even from Asia.[15] It was to be a subject of the president's message to congress before the close of the year;[16] within two years it would make California one of the sovereign states of the American Union, with a population of nearly one hundred thousand; in seven years it would result in adding nearly five hundred million dollars to the world's store of gold;[17] and then as the gold from soil and sand was exhausted, and costly operations upon gold-bearing quartz ledges, and delving into the earth were required to secure the precious metal, many men who came to the mines turned their attention to agriculture and to horticulture and found in the grain fields, vineyards, and orchards of the Pacific slope, even a greater source of wealth than in the gold mines.

A "MORMON" DIARY DETERMINES THE DATE OF THE DISCOVERY OF GOLD

It is the "Mormon's" *Journal* which determines the date of the event which started all this. Usually the 19th of January is given as the date, but in his *History of California,* Bancroft discusses the subject as follows.

> The 19th of January is the date usually given; but I am satisfied it is incorrect. There are but two authorities to choose between, Marsh-

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[15] The following is a brief description of that great movement from a standard *History of the United States.*

"The 'Gold Fever':—When tidings of the discovery reached the east a rapid emigration to California began. From all parts of the United States and from Europe men hastened to the gold fields. Some crossed the continent, some made their way across the Isthmus of Panama, some sailed around Cape Horn. Many died on the Isthmus route. Many perished in the long journey over the plains, where the line of march was indicated by the skeletons of animals. But thousands reached California, whose population rapidly increased. The growth of San Francisco was a marvel. In a short time its population rose to twenty thousand, while a far greater number had flocked to the mining region." (*History of the United States,* Morrison, p. 328).

[16] Lossing's *History of the United States,* p. 497; also *Messages and Papers of the Presidents,* vol. iv, p. 636.

[17] *History of the United States,* Morris, p.

all, the discoverer, and one Henry W. Bigler, a 'Mormon' engaged upon the work at the time. Besides confusion of mind in other respects, Marshall admits that he does not know the date. "On or about the 19th of January," he says (*Hutchings' Magazine*, ii, 200); "I am not quite certain to a day, but it was between the 18th and 20th." Whereupon the 19th has been generally accepted. Bigler, on the other hand, was a cool, clear-headed, methodical man; moreover he kept a *Journal*, in which he entered occurrences on the spot, and it is from this *Journal* I get my date. If further evidence be wanting, we have it. Marshall states that four days after the discovery he proceeded to New Helvetia [Identical as to location with Sutter's Fort] with specimens. Now, by reference to another *Journal*, *New Helvetia Diary*, we find that Marshall arrived at the Fort on the evening of the 28th. If we reckon the day of discovery as one of the four days, allow Marshall one night on the way, which Parsons gives him, and count the 28th one day, we have the 24th as the date of discovery trebly proved.[18]

Later of Bigler and his *Journal* Bancroft says:

"To me * * * he [Bigler] kindly presented an abstract of the diary which he kept at the time, with elaborations and comments and which I esteem as one of the most valuable original manuscripts in my possession. The version given in this diary I have mainly followed in the text [i. e., of his *History of California*] as the most complete and accurate account. The others wrote from memory, long after the event; and it is to be feared, too often from a memory distorted by a desire to exalt their respective claims to an important share in the discovery. But Bigler has no claims of this kind to support."[19]

"SAM BRANNAN'S" ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE DISCOVERY OF GOLD

For a time an effort was made to keep the discovery quiet, but gradually it became known, and the secret of the Sierras was revealed to the world, with the result already noted. San Francisco, however, was indifferent for some time, the final conversion of that town did not take place until Samuel Brannan, the leader of the *Brooklyn* colony of Latter-day Saints to California, came down from Sutter's Fort—where he had a store—to San Francisco in company with a number of others who had with them specimens of collected gold in both dust and nuggets. Brannan, holding in one hand a bottle of yellow dust, and with the other swinging his hat, passed down the street shouting, "Gold! Gold! Gold, from the American river!" This in May; and soon afterwards San Francisco was nearly deserted for the gold fields.[20]

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[18] Bancroft's *History of California*, vol. vi, p. 32, note.
[19] Bancroft's *History of California*, vol. vi, p. 34.

EXTENSION OF THE DISCOVERY—"MORMON" ISLAND

The spare time of the "Mormons" at Sutter's sawmill was devoted to washing out gold in the mill race and from the deposits of the sand bars along the river. Henry Bigler on the 21st of February wrote to members of the battalion at Sutter's Fort, telling them of the discovery of gold, but cautioned them to impart the information only to those who could be relied upon to keep the secret. They entrusted it to three other members of the battalion. Six days later three of the number, Sidney Willis, Levi Fifield, and Wilford Hudson, came up to the sawmill, and frankly told Mr. Sutter they had come to search for gold, and he gave them permission to mine in the tail of the mill race. The next day they began work and were fairly successful. Hudson picked out one piece of gold worth six dollars. After a few days, however, these men felt under obligations to return to the fort as they had given it out that they were merely going to the sawmill on a visit and a few day's shooting. Returning, Willis and Hudson followed down the stream for the purpose of prospecting. Fifield, accompanied by Bigler, followed the wagon road. About half way between the sawmill and the Fort, Hudson and Willis, on a bar opposite a little island in the river, found a small quantity of gold of not more than half a dollar in value; and while the smallness of the find filled the two prospectors with disgust, the other battalion members at the fort insisted upon being taken to the point where the gold had been found, that "together they might examine the place." "It was with difficulty that they prevailed upon them to do so," remarks Bancroft; but finally

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[20] Bancroft's *History of California*, vol. vi, p. 56. He also cites *Bigler's Diary, Ms.*, p. 19, for Brannan's action.

Willis and Hudson consented, "and the so lately slighted spot," continues the historian of California, "presently became famous as the rich 'Mormon Diggins;' the island, 'Mormon Island,' taking its name from these battalion boys who had first found gold there."[21] But notwithstanding this new discovery by these members of the battalion, and notwithstanding their development of the discovery of Mr. Marshall, and the huge excitement which followed, and the fact that whenever they could get released a day from their duty to their employer they could usually obtain in gold several times over their day's wages, history has to record that they were true to their engagement to Mr. Sutter. "They had promised Sutter," says Bancroft, "to stand by him and finish the sawmill, this they did, starting it running on the 11th of March. Henry Bigler was still there. On the 7th of April, Bigler, Stephens and Brown presented themselves at the fort to settle accounts with Sutter."[22]

Duty *vs.* Mammon

The call of duty was also pressing the members of the battalion from another direction. And here it is the pleasure of the historian to record an incident of which in behalf of his people and their religion, he is truly proud. The instructions from the twelve, to the members of the battalion, as we have seen, were that they should remain in California during the winter, but make their way to the Salt Lake valley in the spring, bringing their earnings with them. Hence when settling with Sutter on the 7th of April, the preliminaries were arranged for this prospective journey to the Great Basin of the Rocky Mountains. The 1st of June was fixed upon as the time for their departure. Notice was given to Sutter accordingly, so that by that time he could replace the "Mormon" workmen in his employ by others. Horses, cattle and the seeds they intended taking with them were to be bought of him; also two brass cannon to be a defense against possible Indian attacks *en route*, and for defensive use against a like foe in Salt Lake valley. At first a company of eight went into the mountains to explore a route, but found the snow too deep for passage at that time. The constantly growing gold excitement, also, in consequence of its general unsettling of things, delayed their departure a month beyond the time fixed upon for starting. Meantime many of the battalion members availed themselves of the opportunity to search for gold. Bigler and two others of the battalion followed up the American river from Sutter's Fort about fifteen miles, finding gold as they went. Arriving at Mormon Island they came upon the seven members of the battalion mining there, who that day had taken out \$250.[23] Bigler and his associates mined for two months about one mile below the sawmill, dividing with Sutter and Marshall, who furnished tools and provisions. The land owners demanded one-half the product for a time; this was finally reduced to one-third.[24] Brannan, as exercising a sort of presidency over the saints in California, urged the payment of ten per cent for tithing.

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[21] Bancroft's *History of California*, vol. vi, p. 49.
[22] Bancroft's *History of California*, vol. vi, p. 50.

In the midst of this prosperous mining venture, and the daily growing gold fever, the mad rush from San Francisco and other parts of California, the members of the battalion sought out a rendezvous for the gathering of the saints preparatory to their journey across the mountains. The place of rendezvous was called by them Pleasant valley, near the present site of Placerville, a short distance up the south fork of the American river, and not far from the place where gold was first discovered on that stream. Parties came in one after another until the 3rd of July, when about forty-five men and one woman, the wife of one of the party, had assembled, bringing with them wagons, horses, cattle, and other effects. On the 3rd a start was made. "As the wagons rolled up along the divide between the American river and the Cosumnes, on the national 4th, their cannon thundered independence before the high Sierras."[25] "Thus," as further remarked by the author, *"amidst the scenes now every day becoming more and more absorbing, bringing to the front the strongest passions in man's nature, * * * at the call of what they deemed duty, these devotees of their religion unhesitatingly laid down their wealth-winning implements, turned their back on what all the world was just then making ready with hot haste and mustered strength to grasp at, and struggle for, and marched through new toils and dangers to meet their exiled brethren in the desert!"*[26]

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[23] *Ibid*, vol. vi, p. 50.

[24] *Ibid*, vol. vi, p. 51, note.

And this is the event to which the writer alluded to a moment since, as being proud of in behalf of his people—this placing of duty above gold by members of the Mormon Battalion, and of the Church of the Latter-day Saints. The fame of having discovered gold may not be claimed for members of the Mormon Battalion, that belongs to Mr. Marshall, unquestionably, though the "Mormons" in camp, when it was found, of white men, were doubtless in the majority, and the shovels in their industrious hands it was which threw up the gold-laden soil; and they were the first to extend the discovery and enlarge upon it; and theirs the honor to first chronicle the date and fact of the event that was to mean so much to the Pacific coast of America, and to the world. But while the honor of making the discovery of gold may not be claimed for them, nor the honor of making the conquest of California, that which is infinitely better than either of these achievements, or both of them combined, may be claimed for them, the honor of writing into the annals of California and of the world's history this example of fidelity to duty, detailed above, which is not over-matched in any of the records written by men.

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[25] Bancroft's *History of California*, vol. vi, p. 51.

[26] Bancroft's *History of California*, vol. vi, p. 49.

The Wagon Road Cut Through the Sierras

It was a difficult task to cut a wagon road through the lofty Sierras that faced these returning battalion men. A task of infinite toil and in the presence of great danger from the lurking savages. Three Pioneers who had insisted upon going in advance to blaze the route for the main company had been murdered by the Indians. These Pioneers were named Daniel Browett, Ezra H. Allen, and Henderson Cox. The main camp came upon their mutilated bodies at a spring which, because of this event, still bears the name, "Tragedy Spring." What numbers of these savages the main company would encounter, what their mood would be—murderous or friendly—of course could not be conjectured, it was of the dangers they must risk. By almost incredible toil and patience, however, this company of Mormon Battalion men conquered the ascent of the Sierras from the western side, hewing a roadway for their seventeen wagons through stony heights, and in like manner down steep declivities and narrow gorges, until the eastern sloping deserts beyond were reached and finally the valley of the Great Salt Lake,—about the first of October—to them, for the time, the place to which duty had called them.

The company that reenlisted at Los Angeles for six months beyond the battalion's original term of enlistment, served eight and then were mustered out of service. Some of these on being disbanded went by way of the coast to the mines or engaged in other industries in California for a time, but most of them finally made their way to Salt Lake valley in the course of one or two years, though a few remained permanently in California. A squad of twenty-five from this company, however, on being mustered out of the service, organized at once for the journey to Salt Lake valley, taking with them one wagon and a band of 135 mules. They went by way of what was called the "southern route;" hitherto, however, traveled only by packers, and the wagon of this battalion company was the first to make the journey over the pack trail. This company reached Salt Lake valley on the 5th of June.[27]

REENLISTMENT OF "MORMON" VOLUNTEERS URGED

The best evidence that the service of the Mormon Battalion was honorable and appreciated by both the people of California and the United States government exists in the fact of the efforts that were made on the part of both the people and the government to prolong their service, some of which efforts have already been noted in these pages. As the time approached for the company to be mustered out of service that had reenlisted, and was called the "Company of Mormon Volunteers," the people of San Diego drafted a petition, begging the governor to use his influence to keep the company in the service. The petition was signed by every citizen in town and Governor Mason tried hard to induce the company to remain in the service another year; failing in that, then to stay six months longer.[28]

THE UNITED STATES AND CALIFORNIA ASK FOR A SECOND MORMON BATTALION

When the battalion proper was mustered out of service in July, 1847, efforts were set on foot to raise a second Mormon Battalion of which Captain Jefferson Hunt was to be given the command, with the office of lieutenant colonel, the office held by its first commander, Allen, and later by Colonel Cooke. It is learned from a report made by Governor Mason that the war department, and hence the national administration, sought the enlistment of this second battalion.

In his report to the adjutant general of September 18th, 1847, Governor Mason says:

> "Of the service of this battalion, of their patience, subordination, and general good conduct, you have already heard; and I take great

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[27] Tyler's *Battalion*, ch. xl.

[28] Tyler's *Mormon Battalion*, excerpt from *Bigler's Journal*, pp. 330-1. Bancroft follows Tyler as authority, *History of California*, vol. v, pp. 495-6.

> pleasure in adding that as a body of men they have religiously respected the rights and feelings of these conquered people, and not a syllable of complaint has reached my ears of a single insult offered or outrage done by a Mormon volunteer. So high an opinion did I entertain of the battalion and of their special fitness for the duties now performed by the garrisons in this country, that I made strenuous efforts to engage their service for another year."[29]

The month following, after Governor Mason had met Captain Brown of the Pueblo detachment, and received his report, and paid off that division of the command; also after Captain Hunt, who had been for some time acting as Indian agent at Luis del Rey, was well on his way to Salt Lake valley to raise the proposed second battalion of Mormon Volunteers, Governor Mason wrote to Washington:

> "Captain Brown [after making his report and receiving the pay of the Pueblo detachment] started immediately for Fort Hall, at which place, and in the valley of Bear river he said the whole Mormon emigration intended to pass the winter. He reported that he had met Captain Hunt, late of the Mormon Battalion, who was on his way to meet the emigrants and bring into the country this winter, if possible, a battalion, according to the terms offered in my letter to him of the 16th of August, a copy of which you will find among the military correspondence of the department. In my letter I offered Captain Hunt the command of the battalion, with the rank of lieutenant colonel, with an adjutant; but I find, by the orders lately received, that a battalion of four companies is only entitled to a major and acting adjutant. I will notify Captain Hunt of this change at as early a moment as I can communicate with him. *I am pleased to find by the despatches that in this matter I have anticipated the wish of the department.*"[30]

When, however, the subject of raising a second battalion was presented to Brigham Young, both through Colonel J. D. Stevenson, formerly of the New York regiment of volunteers, prompted by Governor Mason, also through Captain Hunt in person, the proposition was declined. Regarding the first enlistment from the standpoint alone of the sacrifices it involved, President Young saw no occasion to make further sacrifices.[31]

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[29] *California and New Mexico Messages and Documents*, 1850; also quoted by Bancroft, *History of California*, vol. v, p. 492.

[30] *California and New Mexico Messages and Documents*, 1850, p. 355. Also quoted by Bancroft, *History of California*, vol. v, p. 494, note.

[31] Tyler's *History of the Mormon Battalion*, ch. xliv, also History of the Church, Cannon, *Juvenile Instructor*, vol. xix, p. 133.

It is now (1929) eighty-three years since the Mormon Battalion was called into the service of the United States; we may, therefore, from this vantage ground of perspective contemplate the battalion's achievements while in the service of the United States, and what incidentally grew out of that service.

We now know that the call for the enlistment of the battalion was not a villainously-designed plot on the part of the administration of the government at Washington, in 1846, to destroy the exiled Latter-day Saints. Also we know that it was not designed as a test of "Mormon" loyalty to the government of the United States, in which it was anticipated that they would fail, by refusing to raise the battalion, and thus afford an excuse for turning loose upon them militia mobs from Iowa and Missouri to destroy them. Also we know that it was not a wicked, inhuman plot on the part of the administration to take from the camps of the saints the flower of their manhood—their effective fighting force—and thus leave them a helpless prey to hordes of savage tribes to wipe them out of existence. Unfortunately all these evil surmisings have been indulged against the administration then in power, not discerning between some evilly disposed and irresponsible individuals at Washington, who may have uttered idle threats and boastings of what they would do to the "Mormons" in certain eventualities, and the responsible officials of the administration. Contrary to all this we now know that the design on the part of the federal administration was intended to be helpful to the Latter-day Saint exiles, and was helpful to them, as we have seen, in many ways.[32] As this eighty-three years of perspective corrects the misconceptions of the past with reference to the calling of the battalion, so also does it enable us to recognize the real importance and value of the incident, and the greatness of the achievements of this battalion of United States troops, for such they were; and the matter of their coming from the camps of the Latter-day Saints *en route* to the west, should not be allowed to obscure that fact.

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[32] See this *History*, ch. lxxiv, where the matter is somewhat at length discussed.

The battalion participated in four great movements that made possible the development of the west—the great intermountain region, and the Pacific slope. These were:—

1. The Conquest of Northern Mexico;
2. The Opening of the Highways to the Pacific;
3. The Discovery of Gold in California;
4. The Assistance Given in the Development of Settlements in the Great Basin.

In all of these movements the battalion was an important factor. Let us consider these several items.

The conquest of northern Mexico, including, of course, California and Utah, as well as Nevada, New Mexico, and Arizona, was brought about by the cooperation of the Pacific fleet of the American navy, and the Army of the West, the main division of which was under the command of General Stephen W. Kearney. The battalion's connection with and participation in the achievements of this Army of the West in its conquest of northern Mexico are officially recognized in the military order of the colonel commanding already quoted in these pages, and which is now on file as a government document at Washington. Also their participation in the opening of the highways to the west is acknowledged in the same document. Of this achievement Colonel Cooke commenting upon the battalion's march and the map he made of it, says:

> "A new administration, in which southern interests prevailed, with the great problem of the practicability and best location of a Pacific railroad under investigation, had the map of this wagon route before them with its continuance to the west, and perceived that it gave exactly the solution of its unknown element, that a southern route would avoid both the Rocky Mountains and Sierra Nevada, with their

snows, and would meet no obstacle in this great interval. The new 'Gadsden Treaty' was the result; it was signed December 30, 1853."[33]

In addition to the wagon road opened westward through southern New Mexico, Arizona and California, it was a detachment of twenty-five discharged members of the battalion which brought the first wagon through from the coast *via* Cajon Pass to Salt Lake, following what is now the general course of the San Pedro, Los Angeles and Salt Lake Railroad, and which became known in the early Utah-California times as the "Southern California Route to the Coast." Also, as we have seen, the battalion members returning from the gold fields of the American river region cut a new wagon road much of the way for their seventeen wagons and two cannons from the western side of the Sierra, across the summit of that lofty range, thence down to the eastern sloping deserts of Nevada and so to Salt Lake valley.

The part of the battalion in the discovery of gold has already been detailed. Their connection with the commencement of the settlements in Salt Lake valley, and the results of that event, will receive attention in a later chapter.

It has already been noted in part that the enlistment of the battalion gave the general encampment of the saints occupying Indian lands along the Missouri, in the vicinity of Council Bluffs, great advantage, since they could plead the absence of so many of their number in the service of the United States in justification of that occupancy,[34] and later how that occupancy, as the lands later came into market, was changed into the acquirement of substantial preemption rights by many of the Latter-day Saints, an indirect benefit from the service of the battalion.

In addition to all this, the battalion reflected great credit upon the community of the Latter-day Saints by reason of the excellence of their conduct not only on the march to the Pacific coast, but also when doing garrison duty in southern California, of which the efforts to secure their reenlistment, and, failing that, the efforts to secure the enlistment of a second Mormon Battalion, were the open confessions of both California and federal officials—since both participated in such efforts—to the worth of these "Mormon" United States soldiers. *"They religiously respected the rights and feelings of the conquered people of California; not a syllable of complaint of a single insult offered, or an outrage done by a 'Mormon Volunteer',"* is the record of the battalion according to the report of them by Governor Mason. Such the reputation of the Mormon Battalion; of its officers, chosen from its ranks; and of its men, the rank and file.[35]

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[33] *Conquest of Mexico and California*, Cooke, p. 159. The Gadsden Treaty added 45,535 square miles to the territory of the United States for which the government paid $10,000,000, this in addition to what had been obtained as a result of the war. (*History of the United States*, Morris, p. 326).

[34] The official correspondence on this subject will be found in the *Notes* at the end of chapter lxxvi, this *History*.

THE SUBSEQUENT CAREER OF THE BATTALION OFFICERS

It may be of interest, and certainly it belongs to the history of the battalion, to say that its commanding officer and the two lieutenants of the regular army, his staff officers, rose to honorable distinction during the war between the states:

Colonel Cooke: During that war Colonel Phillip St. George Cooke, though a Virginian served on the side of the Union army and rose through the grade of brigadier general (1861) to the rank of brevet major general (1865). His son, John Cooke, fought on the side of the confederacy, being in the engagements at Seven Pines, Fredericksburg, and Sharpsburg. He was wounded seven times. The daughter of General Cooke, Flora, married J. E. B. Stuart, the dashing cavalry officer of the Confederacy, and of course her sympathies were with the South; and thus was the "Mormon Battalion's" commanding officer's family divided in that unhappy conflict, daughter and son against the father!

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[35] The governor and the eleventh state legislature of Utah (1914) created "The State of Utah Mormon Battalion Commission" to select a proper site on the Capitol grounds and procure suitable designs for a monument to properly commemorate the historic march and achievements of the Mormon Battalion. Such a monument now (1930) graces the Utah Capitol grounds, erected at a cost of $200,000; raised conjointly and equally by an appropriation of the state legislature and voluntary subscription from the people, chiefly of the intermountain states. The legislature of Arizona also appropriated $2,000. The monument is a work of art of which the state is justly proud.

Lieutenant A. J. Smith: In the same war, Lieutenant Smith rose from the grade of commander of California volunteers to that of brigadier general of volunteers (1862); and to major general of volunteers (1864). In the battle of Nashville he commanded the sixteenth corps on General Thomas' right, and received the brevet of major general in the regular army for his services in that battle.

Lieutenant George Stoneman: In 1861, Lieutenant Stoneman was in command at Fort Brown, Texas, with the rank of captain. Later he was in command of the Union cavalry in the Peninsula campaign. After the death of General Stephen W. Kearney at Chantilly, Stoneman took the command of the fallen general's division and commanded the Third Corps at Fredericksburg. At Chancellorsville he commanded the federal cavalry. In a raid upon Andersonsville, the object of which was to liberate the federal soldiers imprisoned there, he was captured by the confederates. After the war he was in command of one of the many military departments created by the government; and from 1883 to 1887 was governor of California.

SUBSEQUENT CAREER OF THE FIVE BATTALION CAPTAINS

Jefferson Hunt—Captain Company A. Jefferson Hunt was born in Kentucky, January 4, 1804, the son of Thomas Hunt and Martha Hamilton, his mother being a sister of General Hamilton of Revolutionary fame. He moved with his parents, in early childhood, to Edwards county, Illinois. There he met and married Celia Mounts in 1823. They embraced the "Mormon" faith in 1834. Later they joined the "Mormons" at Clay county, Missouri, and were driven from there to Caldwell county and shared in the persecutions of the "Mormons" at that place. They lived near Nauvoo until the exodus in the spring of 1846. During the Illinois disturbances, Jefferson Hunt was appointed a major in the Nauvoo Legion.

In July, 1846, at Council Bluffs, when the call was made for the "Mormons" to enlist for service against Mexico, he joined the Mormon Battalion and was chosen captain of the first company. His two eldest sons, Gilbert and Marshal, also were members of that company, Marshal being the youngest member of the battalion. He was seventeen. The Hunt family was among those who accompanied the battalion as far as Santa Fe. Gilbert Hunt was sent with the detachment that conveyed the sick to Pueblo. He there married Lydia A. Gibson and came to Salt Lake valley in 1847.

Captain Hunt, after making the march to California, with his son Marshal and others came back by way of Sutter's Fort and reached Salt Lake valley in October, 1847. That fall he went to California again with his sons and fifteen others to obtain provisions, cattle, seeds, and grain. They took the southern route, reaching what is now San Bernardino, Christmas day, 1847. With 200 head of cattle they returned to Salt Lake, reaching here in May, 1848. In the spring of 1849 he left Salt Lake and helped to settle Provo. There Captain Hunt remained until 1851, when he was called to go to California with Elder Amasa M. Lyman and C. C. Rich. He settled at San Bernardino, living there until 1857, when with the coming of Johnston's army he was called back to Utah. Captain Hunt was a member of the first legislature of California and erected the first sawmill in San Bernardino county.

After his return to Utah he lived in Ogden valley, Huntsville being named after him. He also lived at Oxford, Idaho, where he died in 1879. Many of his children are still living.

Jesse D. Hunter — Captain Company B. Jesse D.

Hunter was a native of Kentucky, born in 1804. Little is known of his life previous to his becoming a member of the "Mormon" church. He is mentioned among the prisoners arraigned before Judge Austin A. King at Richmond, Missouri, in connection with Joseph Smith, and was, therefore, active in the stirring mob scenes enacted against the saints in that state. He removed to Nauvoo, Illinois, and was a major in the second cohort, fifth regiment, of the Nauvoo Legion. He joined the "Mormon" exodus from that city to Council Bluffs in 1846, where he accepted service with the Mormon Battalion volunteers, and was made captain of Company B. He was accompanied in the march to the coast by his wife, spoken of as a most "estimable lady," and who died at San Diego April 27, 1847, leaving a babe a few weeks old. Captain Hunter never came to Utah, but remained in California and was appointed Indian agent at San Luis Rey.

During the gold excitement of 1848 he went to the mines but shortly returned to be again appointed Indian agent in the district where he had previously operated. He died in Los Angeles, 1877, at the age of seventy-three, leaving seven grown children with families.[36]

James Brown—Captain of Company C, and Founder of Ogden. James Brown when he enlisted in the Mormon Battalion left his family in tents on the Missouri river and was made captain of Company C. When the detachment of ill and disabled was sent from Santa Fe to Pueblo, he was placed in command of them. In the spring of 1847, Captain Brown's company made its way northward toward the "Oregon Trail" along the Platte river and so nearly overtook the advance guard of Brigham Young's party that they arrived in Salt Lake valley only five days behind them. He it was who went to California and obtained from government the pay of the Pueblo detachment of the battalion and returned with it to Utah.

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[36] See Bancroft's *History of California*, vol. iii, p. 791.

Early in 1848, Captain Brown with $3,000 in Spanish doubloons, bought the Goodyear Fort or old Spanish Mission from Miles Goodyear, this tract of land being the site of the city of Ogden. He immediately moved there.

His death occurred in 1863 as the result of an accident that befell him as he was feeding sugar cane into a mill.

Nelson Higgins—Captain Company D. Nelson Higgins was born in Saratoga, New York, September, 1806. When ten years old his father moved to Ohio, leaving the boy with a married sister. In the course of a year the sister died, and the boy started out on foot on a journey of about 400 miles to find his family which he finally did in Huron county, Ohio. At the age of twenty-one he married Sarah Blackman, by whom he had ten children. He became a member of the "Mormon" church in 1834, and rose through the office of priest, elder, and seventy. He was a member of Zion's camp, and accompanied Joseph Smith to Missouri in 1834. In 1837 he moved to Missouri to reside and passed through the mobbings and other persecutions endured by the saints in that state. He moved to Nauvoo and left there in the general exodus with the body of his people. In 1846 he enlisted in the Mormon Battalion and was elected captain of Company D. He arrived in Salt Lake valley with the Pueblo detachment of the Mormon Battalion. In 1849, he was called with others to go to Sanpete valley to assist in establishing settlements there. In 1855 he was called to go to Carson valley, Nevada, to assist in establishing a colony, and there remained until the breaking up of the colony in 1857. In 1864 he was called to go to Richfield to take charge of the settlements in Sevier valley, and was ordained a bishop under the hands of Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball, in which capacity he served until 1873, when he was honorably released and moved two miles south of Elsinore, in Sevier county, where he lived through the remaining years of his life.

He was successively captain, major, and colonel in the Utah Militia, and served as general in the absence of Charles C. Rich. He was successively captain, major, and colonel during the Walker War, while living in Sanpete; and was a major and commanding officer all through the "Utah Indian Blackhawk War." Amid these frontier conditions he reared a large family.

Daniel C. Davis — Captain Company E. Daniel C. Davis was born in New York, Feb. 23, 1804. He became a member of the "Mormon" church, and was numbered among that people upon their arrival at Council Bluffs. He enlisted in the battalion, and was chosen captain of Company E. He made the march across the continent and became the commanding officer of the company of about one hundred that reenlisted for another six months' service in California. Upon being mustered out of service he came to Utah with other members of the battalion, settling a little south of the town of Farmington, fourteen miles north of Salt Lake City. Davis county was named for him. He remained at his home near Farmington until 1850. That year he started east on personal business, and died *en route* at Fort Kearney, on the 1st of June.

NOTE

THE CONQUEST OF CALIFORNIA

The conquest of California was easily achieved. Fremont in the north with a company of but sixty Americans, with whom he had been sent to explore portions of New Mexico and California, was opposed in the vicnity of Monterey by a force under General Castro in June, 1846. With the aid of American settlers in the vicinity of San Francisco, Fremont defeated the Mexicans in two engagements, and on the 5th of July, the American Californians declared themselves independent, and placed Fremont at the head of their affairs.[37] On the

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[37] The exact date is in controversy, some hold the declaration to have been made on the fourth of July. Lossing gives the 5th (*History of the United States,* p. 487); and Bancroft the 5th, though mentioning the claims for the fourth (*History of California,* vol. v, pp. 178-9).

7th of the same month Commodore Sloat, then in the command of the United States squadron in the Pacific, bombarded and captured Monterey. On the 9th Commodore Montgomery took possession of San Francisco. Commodore Stockton arrived on the 15th of July and in cooperation with Colonel Fremont took possession of the city of Los Angeles on the 17th of August. There was, however, a subsequent uprising in the south, an attempt of the Mexicans to regain possession of the country. The attempt, however, proved abortive, and was chiefly noteworthy as occurring at such time as to allow General Kearney's troop of one hundred soldiers, who had marched from Santa Fe, to participate in some of the last engagements—December 16th, 1846; Jan. 8th, 1847—that ended in the conquest and pacification of California.

A question of authority arose between Colonel Fremont and General Kearney. The former had acted in the self-appointed capacity of "Military Commandant of California." General Kearney refused to recognize him in that capacity since in addition to being Fremont's superior military officer, Kearney also had been instructed himself to establish civil government in California.[38]

Fremont refused to obey the orders of his superior, and was ordered home to be tried for his disobedience. He was deprived of his commission; but in consideration of previous service, it was offered to him again, but refused; and Fremont "went again to the wilderness and engaged in exploration."[39]

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[38] See Letter of Secretary of War to Kearney, *Executive Document* No. 60, of June 3rd, 1846, delivered to Kearney by Colonel Kane.

[39] Lossing's *History of the United States*, p. 487. Bancroft's *History of California*, vol. v, *passim*, but especially pp. 411-468.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII

THE FOUNDING OF MISSIONS 1849-1850

THE activities of the Latter-day Saints through their church in the period, to which our historical narrative has now brought us, 1849-1850, were in marked but unconscious antithesis to the spirit of their fellow countrymen of the United States. I say unconscious antithesis because neither in the annals of the church in the period referred to, nor in Latter-day Saint literature since that time, do I remember to have seen anything that leads me to believe that the saints were then conscious of the antithesis, nor are they conscious of it now.

ANTITHESIS: THE SAINTS AND THE WORLD

At the time period referred to, the people of the United States—to give the subject no broader scope—were gold crazed, and engaged in a mad rush for the gold fields of California. On the other hand, though some of the representatives of the church were present when gold was discovered in California, were the first to extend the area of that discovery, and had participated in some of the richest finds on the American river, and had even brought considerable quantities of the precious metal to the Salt Lake valley settlements, until gold dust and certain stamped disks of gold, ranging in value from $2.50 pieces to $20 pieces were used as mediums of exchange[1]—notwithstanding all this, and the further fact that large communities of Latter-day Saints were comparatively adjacent to these gold fields—a very few individuals aside—the Latter-day Saints were unmoved by the gold fever excitement, and were held to the high community purposes of colonizing semi-desert valleys; to gathering their co-religionists from the Missouri frontiers to these same valleys; and to sending the message of the New Dispensation of the gospel to very many nations, and to the islands of the seas.

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[1] This was called "The State of Deseret Coinage of Gold," and was meant only for local use. See *Note* 1, end of chapter on early Utah currency and coinage.

In the work of gathering their co-religionists from the Missouri frontiers—their fellow exiles from Illinois, too poor to make the journey to the valleys without the assistance of their more fortunate brethren—the saints in the valleys of Utah contributed both time and means on a large scale; but in this they were reminded that they were but fulfilling the obligations entered into at Nauvoo before the exodus began.[2] It was in this year of grace, 1849, however, that what was known afterwards as "The Perpetual Emigration Fund" was established. It had for its purpose, first, the removal to the mountains of all the worthy Latter-day Saints exiled from Illinois, who desired to gather to the main body of the church, and after that to extend aid to the worthy poor among the saints throughout the world.

THE PERPETUAL EMIGRATION FUND

The "perpetual" feature of the plan was to be maintained by those who received aid from this emigrating fund returning "the same, in labor or otherwise, as soon as their circumstances will admit," and "with interest if required,"[3] in order that the means might be used again to aid others; which arrangement if followed out, with additions made by new contributions from time to time by those philanthropically inclined, was calculated not only to make the fund perpetual but constantly increase its volume, and by that also increase its power for good in its chosen and very necessary field.

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[2] A covenant was proposed by Brigham Young in the Nauvoo Temple to the effect that "We take all the saints with us, to the extent of our ability, that is, our influence and our property." (See this *History*, ch. lxix).

The spirit in which the call for subscriptions to the Emigrating Fund was responded to in Salt Lake valley may be judged by the following incident related by Lorenzo Snow, one of a committee appointed to collect the fund: "One man insisted that I should take his only cow, saying that the Lord had delivered him, and blessed him in leaving the old country and coming to a land of peace; and by giving his only cow, he felt that he would only do what duty demanded, and what he would expect from others, were the situation reversed." (*Biography and Autobiography of Lorenzo Snow*, 1884, p. 108).

[3] Section xvi of the act of incorporation of the "Perpetual Emigration Fund Company," and note of obligation signed by those receiving aid from the fund, *Liverpool Route*, 1855, pp. 10, 11. Also *Note* 2, end of chapter.

Opening and Strengthening of Missions

The measure taken by the church to send forth her message to nations wherein it had never yet been proclaimed, and which activity forms part of the contrast between the saints and the world of that period—the antithesis I am here considering—were astonishingly large, all circumstances considered.

The choice of three members of the apostles' quorum to form the first presidency, and disfellowshiping Lyman Wight, another of the apostles,[4] had made four vacancies in that quorum, and these vacancies on the 12th of February were filled by the selection and ordination of Charles C. Rich, Lorenzo Snow, Erastus Snow, and Franklin D. Richards.[5] This circumstance of filling these vacancies in the apostolate is mentioned preliminary to recounting the missionary movements of the church began in 1849, because these new members are to take prominent part in those movements.

The Mission of Elders Lyman and Rich to California

At the general conference held in October[6] Charles C. Rich was appointed to join Elder Amasa M. Lyman who had been in California since April previous, (1849) and assist him in the presidency of the mission in western California, as the Pacific slope of the Sierras and the coast line of mountains was then called; and also to succeed Elder Lyman in the presidency of the mission when the latter should return to Salt Lake City. The mission of Elders Lyman and Rich in western California, resulted in establishing something like discipline among the scattered church members on the Pacific slope; and ultimately, about two years later, in the purchase of the San Bernardino Rancho, a tract of country of from eighty thousand to one hundred thousand acres of land in what has since proved to be one of the richest fruit-growing regions of southern California.[7] In the spring of 1851 a company of about five hundred saints from Salt Lake valley removed to this rancho for the purpose of settlement,[8] and it was designed also that the immigration from the British Isles should be diverted to that region *via* the Gulf of Mexico across the "Isthmus of Panama, Tehuantepec or some of the interior routes, and land them at San Diego, and thus save three thousand miles of inland migration through a most sickly climate and country."[9] It was also intended that this settlement on the Pacific slope would be the western terminus of a line of settlements over the eight hundred miles of country between that point and Salt Lake City.

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[4] "On the 3rd of December, 1848, at a meeting held in the fort (i. e. Salt Lake City) fellowship was withdrawn from Lyman Wight, one of the twelve apostles, and George Miller, bishop (History of the Church, Cannon, *Juvenile Instructor*, vol. xix, p. 134. Also *Millennial Star*, vol. xi, p. 246). Lyman Wight was then in Texas, in which state he died March 31, 1858.

[5] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, p. 6. Entry for Feb. 12, 1849. "I [Brigham Young] was mouth in the ordination of Elder Rich and E. Snow; Bro. Kimball in the ordination of Elders L. Snow and F. D. Richards." (See also an appended note *Ibid*, p. 17).

[6] The minutes of this conference are published in *Millennial Star*, vol. xii, pp. 131-135.

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[7] The two elders making the purchase describe the tract as follows: "The soil is rich; the water and timber abundant. We are situated about one hundred miles from San Diego, seventy miles from the seaport of San Pedro, and fifty miles from Pueblo de Los Angelos." (Letter of Lyman and Rich, December 10, 1851. *Millennial Star,* vol. xiv, pp. 75-6.)

[8] See Lyman-Rich letter, *Millennial Star,* vol. xiv, p. 75. The *Los Angelos Star* for May 31st of that year thus announced the arrival of the "Mormons" in southern California: "We learn that 150 Mormon families are at Cajon Pass, sixty miles south of this city, on their way here from Deseret. The families, it is said, intend to settle in this valley, and to make it their permanent home. We cannot yet give full credit to these statements, because they do not come to us fully authenticated. But if it be true that Mormons are coming in such numbers to settle among us, we shall, as good and industrious citizens, extend to them a friendly welcome."

[9] General Epistle of the Presidency, under date of April 7, 1851, *Millennial Star,* vol. xiii, pp. 209-216. Also letter of Lyman and Rich, above, note 7. The presidency of the British Mission, under instructions from the first presidency investigated this route of immigration, but it was found impracticable and emigration was resumed over the old route *via* New Orleans, the Mississippi and the Missouri rivers, and Kanesville. (*Liverpool Route,* 1855, p. 10). Lyman and Rich in describing the purpose of their settlement on the *Rancho de San Bernardino,* say: "Our location here is made in view of forwarding the gathering of the saints from abroad, and from Europe in particular, by this route, should we be enabled to settle in this country as we wish." (See letter cited above). Captain Stansbury refers to the same matter: "Measures are being taken to open a southern route, by which the converts coming from abroad may cross the Isthmus of Panama and

These several enterprises connected with the opening of this California Mission gave great promise of large success, but a few years later the mission was disrupted by an event, the consideration of which belongs to a subsequent chapter.

ADDISON PRATT'S MISSION TO THE SOCIETY ISLANDS—SOUTH PACIFIC OCEAN

"It was moved and seconded that Elder Addison Pratt, James Brown, and Hiram H. Blackwell, go to the Society Islands to preach the gospel. Carried." Such the action of the conference of October 6th, 1849; and shortly afterwards these men left the valley on their way to the islands. Sometime previous to starting upon this mission, Addison Pratt, who had been a faithful elder for many years, but on account of his absence on previous missions in the South Pacific Islands had not had an opportunity to receive the endowment ceremonies of the temple, was taken to the summit of Ensign Peak and there received those sacred ordinances, the mountain being dedicated especially for that purpose.[10] This action was in harmony with the instructions of the Prophet in Nauvoo when he said that these ordinances of the temple

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landing at San Diego may thence reach the land of promise by a comparatively short and easy transit, without being subject to the hazard of a sickly voyage up the Mississippi or to the tedious and expensive journey across the plains." (*Stansbury's Report*, 1852, p. 139).

[10] President Young's account of the incident is as follows: "Addison Pratt received his endowments on Ensign Hill on the 21st, the place being consecrated for the purpose. Myself and Elders Isaac Morley, P. P. Pratt, L. Snow, E. Snow, C. C. Rich and F. D. Richards, Levi W. Hancock, Henry Harriman and J. M. Grant being present. President H. C. Kimball, Bishop N. K. Whitney and Elder John Taylor came after the ordinances were attended to. Elders C. C. Rich and Addison Pratt were blessed by all, President Kimball being mouth." (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1849, p. 107). Thus a new sanctity was given to this prominent peak, "in the side of the mountain" group, which overlooks Salt Lake City from the north. A very fine view of this now sacred mountain in the engraving of Great Salt Lake valley from the painting by Mr. Culmer, is published in this volume. The mount is on the upper right hand of the engraving.

under certain circumstances might be obtained on the mountain top, as Moses did them.[11]

This mission of Addison Pratt's was but a renewal of his labors in the Pacific Islands, previously mentioned in these pages; but his second advent among the natives of those islands, with his new companions was not only a renewal but an enlargement of the work which has continued without abatement until the present, resulting in the conversion of thousands of those people to a true faith in God, and an acceptance of the Christ as the Redeemer of the world.

ELDER LORENZO SNOW'S MISSION TO ITALY, SWITZERLAND AND MALTA

It was "moved and carried" by this October, 1849, general conference of the church, that "Lorenzo Snow and Joseph Toronto go on a mission to Italy." And they accordingly went and opened the door of the gospel to that nation. Progress in introducing the gospel into Italy was at first slow, that being a Catholic country, with religious liberty at the time somewhat restricted. Yet within eleven months of his departure from Salt Lake valley, Elder Snow succeeded in effecting an organization of the church in Italy. During a sojourn in London—Elder Snow years before had been a missionary in the world's metropolis—Elders T. B. H. Stenhouse and Jabez Woodward were added to the Italian mission, and these, with Elders Snow and Toronto, for a time constituted the "Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Italy," which they, on the 19th of September, 1850, in formal manner, and with great rejoicing, organized on the summit of a mountain overlooking the Piedmont valley, a short distance from La Tour, and which they named "Mt. Brigham." About one month later baptisms began, and ultimately resulted in the organization of a branch of the church among the Waldenses at La Tour and vicinity, with John D. Malan, president. Joseph Toronto, a native of Sicily, in the early months of the mission, visited his relatives in that island, but could make no impression with his message.

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[11] Journal entry *Sunday, May* 1st, 1842: "I preached in the grove on the keys of the kingdom, charity, etc. The keys are certain signs and words by which false spirits and personages may be detected from true, which cannot be revealed to the elders till the temple is completed. The rich can only get them in the temple, the poor may get them on the mountain top as did Moses." (*History of the Church,* Period I, vol. iv, p. 608).

Elder Stenhouse was sent by Elder Snow to Switzerland to open the work in that country. He began his labors in Geneva, but later extended them to the city of Lausanne, and succeeded in baptizing a number of converts in both these cities. He was twice visited by Elder Snow, and by their conjoint labors the mission was founded which remains to this day, and is one of the most fruitful missions maintained by the church.

Elder Snow with the assistance of Elder Woodard and Thomas Obray, the latter as well as the former from England, introduced the New Dispensation of the gospel on the Island of Malta, south of Sicily, where a branch of the church was organized in June, 1852. Elder Snow regarded Malta as "a most important field of labor, where a great work may be accomplished, extending to adjacent nations." "The organization of a branch of the church here," he remarks, "would lessen the spiritual fetters of many nations, as the Maltese in their commercial relations are spread along the shores of Europe, Asia and Africa." Indeed Elder Snow from this island raised his eyes to empire conquests in his missionary enterprises. In the October conference of 1849, replying to the question "Can Lorenzo Snow dictate [i. e. the work] anywhere but in Italy?" President Young answered: "Yes. The twelve dictate in all the world. We have appointed Lorenzo and Erastus Snow to certain missions, have they a right to go anywhere else? Yes; I wish they would open the door to every nation on earth."[12] Acting under this extended authorization Elder Snow conceived the idea of introducing the gospel into several countries bordering the Mediterranean sea, including Russia, Turkey, and Spain. Meeting with a brother in England who had lived several years in India, he conceived the idea of opening the door of the gospel in that country by sending him and others with authority to preach the gospel, himself to follow later to give apostolic sanction to their work. Conferring with his fellow apostles in England upon the subject, they sanctioned his suggestions and Elder William Willis was sent to Calcutta, where a few days after his arrival he baptized nine natives of the East Indies. Subsequently he baptized three hundred natives, and raised up a branch of the church among the Europeans of over forty members.[13] About the same time Elder Hugh Findlay, president of the Hull conference, England, was sent to Bombay, by Elder Snow; and a little later Elder Joseph Richards was sent to the assistance of Elder Willis at Calcutta. It was the purpose of Elder Snow, as already stated, to visit these distant countries himself, and then accomplish the circumnavigation of the globe by returning to Salt Lake valley "by way of San Francisco, San Diego, and the newly established settlements in the valleys of California."[14]

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[12] Minutes of the Conference, *Millennial Star*, vol. xii, p. 133.

Such his plans for the extension of missionary work both for himself and others; but while waiting at Malta for a vessel in which to begin the journey to India he received his release from the church authorities at Salt Lake City, as his labors and influence were needed in Utah. Leaving Elder Stenhouse as president of the Swiss Mission; Elder Woodard, president of the mission in Italy; Elder Obray, president of the mission in Malta; and Elder Willis, president of the mission in India, Elder Snow returned to Utah *via* England and the United States.

While on this mission Elder Snow published in the French language—much in use both in Piedmont and Switzerland—*The Voice of Joseph,* chiefly a compilation of historical *data* covering the rise and progress of the New Dispensation from the beginning of the work, with the visions of Joseph Smith to the arrival of the exiled saints in the valley of the Great Salt Lake.[15] Later he wrote and published another tract for his mission, *The Ancient Gospel Restored,* published in a first edition under the title *The Only Way to be Saved.*[16] The latter pamphlet was afterwards translated into Bengalee and Hindostanee. Elder Snow also superintended the translation of the *Book of Mormon* into Italian; and had the happiness of seeing it published in that language before leaving his mission.[17]

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[13] Report of the Church Historian, 1880, in *Utah Pioneers*, p. 26.

[14] Snow's *Autobiography*, p. 199.

MISSION OF ERASTUS SNOW TO SCANDINAVIA

The conference of 1849 sent the then newly ordained apostle, Erastus Snow, to open the door of the gospel to the Scandinavian countries. He was accompanied from Salt Lake by Peter O. Hansen, a native of Denmark, and Elder John Forsgren, a native of Sweden. In England the mission was joined by George P. Dykes, an American elder, then on a mission in that land. He was lieutenant in Company "D" of the Mormon Battalion during its march to California, it will be remembered, and for a time adjutant to Colonel Cooke. Elder Hansen was the first of the mission to arrive in Copenhagen, where the others arrived on the 14th of June, 1850. By August 12th, Elder Snow baptized in that city fifteen persons, and on September 15th organized a branch of the church composed of fifty members.

"Elder John Forsgren was sent to Geffle, in the north of Sweden, where he baptized twenty persons, for which he was arrested and sent to Stockholm, August 8th, where he was under surveilance of the authorities until September 11th, when he was put on board a vessel for America, but escaped at Elsinore, in Denmark, and continued his labors with Elder Snow.

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[15] The pamphlet will be found *in extenso* in the *Biography and Autobiography of Lorenzo Snow,* chapters xxi and xxii, where it occupies thirty-two pages. The compilation was made in English and then translated into French by a professor from the University of Paris residing in England and engaged by Elder Orson Pratt to do the work. It appears that it was also later published in Italian. (Snow's *Autobiography,* p. 215).

[16] Snow's *Autobiography,* p. 215.

[17] These missionary labors are elaborately set forth in *Elder Snow's Biography and Autobiography,* by his sister, Eliza R. Snow Smith, chapters xviii to xxxi. Also *Millennial Star,* vols. xii-xiv, *passim.*

"Elder George P. Dykes was sent to Jutland, arriving in Aalborg, October 10, 1851, where, and in the vicinity of which, he labored six months, and baptized ninety-one persons."

September, 1851, Elder Canute Peterson was sent by Elder Snow from Aalborg to Norway. He baptized a few persons and organized a branch at Bergen.

The same year Elder Snow sent from Copenhagen to Iceland Elder Gudmund Gudmundsen, a native Icelander, whom he had baptized and ordained to preach the gospel in his native land. Gudmundsen baptized several persons and laid the foundation for subsequent missionary labors there.

"During Elder Snow's stay of twenty-two months in Denmark about six hundred persons were baptized. The *Book of Mormon* and the *Doctrine and Covenants* were translated and published in the Danish language, as also a number of pamphlets in Swedish and Danish, and the *Scandinavien Stjerne* founded, which continues the organ of the church in that country to this day."[18]

ELDER JOHN TAYLOR'S MISSION TO FRANCE AND GERMANY

The October conference of 1849 appointed John Taylor of the quorum of the twelve, and Curtis E. Bolton and John Pack to a mission in France and Germany. Elder William Howell, a zealous elder from Wales, had preached the gospel in various places in the Jersey Islands and on the coast of France and had baptized a few into the church, and organized a branch of the church with six members, on the 6th of April, 1850, at Boulogne-sur-mer, France.[19]

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[18] Report of Church Historian in *Utah Pioneers*, p. 27. Also *Millennial Star*, vols. xii to xiv *passim*.

PUBLIC DISCUSSION IN FRANCE—BOULOGNE-SUR-MER

After a brief stay in England Elder Taylor and his associates of the French Mission crossed the English channel, arriving at Boulogne-sur-mer on the 18th of June. A hall was taken in the center of the city and a course of lectures announced which were attended by a number of Protestant ministers of the city, three of whom finally joined in a challenge to Elder Taylor to publicly discuss the subject of "Mormonism." The challenge was promptly accepted.[20] The *Boulogne Interpreter* published a condensed report of the discussion, and subsequently, in substance, it was published in pamphlet form and circulated in the British Mission.[21] The fact that the discussion was published and circulated in the British Mission gives evidence of the success of Elder Taylor's advocacy and defense of the cause he espoused. So vigorous were the replies of Elder Taylor to the charges and arguments of his opponents that the three ministers asked that the discussion close, and while yet speaking the chairman informed Elder Taylor that the other side wished the debate to end.

The following is the manner of the closing. Elder Taylor was defending the organization and ordinances of the New Dispensation by a comparison of them with the *New Testament* doctrines, then—

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[19] See Howell's letters to *Millennial Star*, vol. xii, pp. 90-92; also pp. 157-9. Following is Howell's characteristically Welsh report of the event:

"*April 6th*, 1830.—The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was organized on the continent of America containing six members.

April 6th, 1850.—I had the pleasure of organizing a branch of the same church on the continent of Europe containing six members, to be called the Boulogne-sur-mer branch of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, under the presidency at Liverpool." Elder Howell also ordained G. Viet, to preach the Gospel in France.

[20] *Revs*. C. W. Cleve, James Robertson and Philip Carter were the names of the three ministers. Elder Taylor inclosed the challenge to the Mayor of Boulogne with a note asking if there would be any objection to such a meeting. Being informed there would be no objection, the challenge was accepted and the preliminaries arranged. (*Life of John Taylor*, 1892, Roberts, p. 202).

[21] It is published in the *Works of Orson Pratt*, edition of 1851, Liverpool.

Chairman (To Elder Taylor)—"Do you wish to continue; the gentlemen on the opposite side are satisfied that it rest here?

Elder Taylor.—"I certainly did not anticipate this. I expected to investigate their principles further, according to agreement.

Chairman.—"They do not wish to say any more.

Elder Taylor.—"If they have no reply to make, of course, I must let it rest."[22]

There is one item connected with this discussion that should be dealt with, since it is a matter that the enemies of Elder Taylor have sought to make much of in casting reproach upon his veracity and moral courage. In the course of the discussion his opponents rehearsed writings and lectures of John C. Bennett after he was excommunicated from the church, and accused the saints with practicing the grave immoralities described by this arch apostate. Among the immoralities charged were those of promiscuous intercourse, a community of wives, the keeping of seraglios, polygamy, illicit intercourse, by permisison of the Prophet, and the keeping of spiritual wives.

To all this Elder Taylor made a general and emphatic denial, and read from an article then published in the Appendix of the *Doctrine and Covenants,* expressing the belief of the church on the subject of marriage; and inasmuch as he knew of and had obeyed the law of celestial marriage, including as it does a plurality of wives, he has been accused of falsehood, and of seeking to deceive by denying the charges then brought against the church.

The polygamy and gross sensuality charged by Bennett and repeated by those ministers in France, had no resemblance to celestial or patriarchal marriage which Elder Taylor knew existed in Nauvoo, and which he had obeyed. Hence in denying the false charges of Bennett he did not deny the existence of that system of marriage that God had revealed; no more than a man would be guilty of denying the legal, genuine currency of his country, by denying the genuineness and denouncing what he knew to be a mere counterfeit of it.

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[22] Public Discussion in France, p. 36, in *Orson Pratt's Works,* edition of 1851.

Notwithstanding much opposition the mission in France was successful, and branches of the church were organized in Paris, Havre, Calais, and Boulogne. In June, 1851, the branches of the Channel Islands were added to the French Mission. By December, 1851, when a conference was held in the city of Paris, more than four hundred members in the French Mission were represented.

Besides publishing a number of articles in the current press of France on the subject of his mission, Elder Taylor founded a monthly periodical in French under the title, *Etoile Du Deseret,* a royal octavo sheet, the first number of which appeared in May, 1851. With the assistance of his associates, Elders Curtis and Bolton, together with the assistance of Louis Bertrand (Elder Taylor's first convert in Paris), and others, he succeeded in translating and publishing the *Book of Mormon* in French. A few wealthy members of the church in England and the Jersey Islands,[23] supplied the means, and he made such arrangements with the publishers that when copies of the book were sold a certain amount of the proceeds was set aside for printing another edition, "until 200,000 copies were printed without additional expense."

Elder Taylor introduced the New Dispensation of the gospel into Germany as well as into France. He preached in the city of Hamburg and organized a branch of the church there in the summer of 1851. Here also he founded another monthly periodical called *Zion's Panier,* the first number of which issued from the press November 1st, 1851.

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[23] A young man of the name of Philip De La Mare of Jersey Island,—of whom more later—contributed a thousand dollars to these publications, five hundred dollars to each of them. This according to a brief *Ms., Biography of Philip De La Mare* now in possession of his family and submitted to the author.

Elder Taylor supervised the translation of the *Book of Mormon* and arranged for its publication in German. The work was completed and the plates stereotyped; and the text so arranged that the French and German pages would face each other, each page containing the same matter in the same opening, thus admitting of their being bound together in one volume.

In this work he was assisted by Elder Viet, a German, and a teacher of that language in France, where Elder Taylor found him; by Elder George P. Dykes, who by this time had been transferred from the Scandinavian Mission to Germany; and by a Brother Charles Miller, who was among the first converts in Hamburg.

The unsettled conditions obtaining in France during the years 1850-1852, hindered very much the progress of the mission to France, especially in the matter of publishing *Etoile Du Deseret,* those being the years of the revolution which marked the rise to power of Napoleon III; and Elder Taylor found it necessary to leave France in the closing month of 1851.

Industrial Undertaking to Build up "Deseret"

In the mission movement of 1849-1850, that sent so many prominent elders of the church into nearly all parts of Europe, President Young admonished them to be alert in the observation of industries and enterprises that might be suitable to establish in "Deseret" (i. e. Utah). In pursuance of this instruction President Taylor took note of the many industries of France. At one time he was much attracted to consider the "colza plant" plantations of that country, as a possible industry for "Deseret." "Colza" is an oil plant, the manufactured product of which, at the time, was used in lamps to illuminate homes in place of sperm whale oil then much used for that purpose. This, after some investigation, was abandoned.

Some three months after completing the translation of the *Book of Mormon* into the French and German languages, Elder Taylor received a letter from President Young urging him to further endeavors "to get ideas and machinery if necessary to send to "Deseret" to further and build up her industries."[24] In pursuance of this new urging a visit was made to Arras in the department of *Pas-De-Calais* in northern France, which had long been a center of the beet sugar industry of France, the little town putting on the market from two to three million pounds of sugar per year. A careful investigation was made of the soil in the vicinity, of the growing plants; and through the courtesy of those in charge the machinery was inspected. The result of the investigation was an enthusiastic conviction that sugar beet manufacturing was a feasible industry for the then distant "State of Deseret," and the idea of the organization of the "Deseret Manufacturing Company" was born. Young Philip De La Mare, who had accompanied Elder Taylor on this tour of investigation, agreed to take one thousand English pounds of the stock ($5,000.00); and Elder Taylor went to England to raise the remainder of the capital among some wealthy gentlemen newly converted to the faith. The stock was enthusiastically subscribed: A Mr. Collinson, a wealthy boot and shoe manufacturer in Liverpool, and for whom John R. Winder, later to become so prominent in the church—no less than a member in its presiding bishopric, and later a member of its first presidency—was then at work, subscribed a thousand pounds. Mr. John W. Coward, a salt dealer in Liverpool, and a recent convert to the church, subscribed a thousand pounds. Captain Russell, a wealthy ship builder of Scotland, also a recent convert, subscribed nine thousand pounds. This brought the capital stock up to twelve thousand pounds, equal to $60,000.00, subscribed by the four stock owners. To Elder Taylor was assigned

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[24] *History of the Deseret Manufacturing Company, Ms.*, Philip De La Mare.

$10,000.00 of the stock for being the chief mover in promoting the company. Under his supervision the machinery for the sugar plant was manufactured by the firm of Faucett, Preston & Co., at a cost of $12,500.00. It is claimed for it that it was first class machinery, the best that could be obtained, and certainly it was the product of one of the most reliable and foremost manufacturers of machinery in England. Such was its weight that it required over 200 yoke of cattle to haul it across the plains to "Deseret."

DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED

Many were the difficulties encountered in carrying this first sugar plant to "Deseret"—the first beet sugar plant for Utah, and also, so far as known, imported into or erected within the United States. The shipment was made *via* New Orleans. And here, unexpectedly, was demanded the payment of $5,000.00 government tariff assessed upon machinery. There was no way of avoiding the payment, and it had to be advanced by the importing company, and none of it was ever recovered though strenuous efforts were made to have it refunded through congress. Captain Russell had been sent on ahead of the machinery to secure fifty-two wagons thought necessary for the shipment of the plant across the plains. These were manufactured at Omaha and taken to Fort Leavenworth on the Missouri, to which point the machinery had been shipped on small boats on the rivers *via* St. Louis. Here it was discovered that the fifty-two wagons manufactured at Omaha were worthless; being too light they broke down under the great weight of the machinery, and had to be abandoned. Those not broken down were given to a number of poor families of saints gathered at Fort Leavenworth to accompany the "sugar train" to Salt Lake valley.

The funds of the company after the payment of the expenses of the journey thus far, the purchase of the worthless wagons, and buying more than four hundred head of cattle for the plains journey, were greatly depleted. But Young De La Mare, who here, at Fort Leavenworth, was supervising the shipping of the sugar plant to Utah, fortunately met one Charles H. Perry, a non-"Mormon," who sold him on credit forty great Santa Fe wagons, of heavy weight, onto which the machinery was loaded. De La Mare also purchased a large amount of flour on credit. This proved to be worthless, filled with worms, and heavily mixed with "plaster of paris," and had to be thrown away, and replaced by another purchase on credit.

Beginning of the Plains Trek

By the 4th of July, however, all the preparations were completed and the journey of twelve hundred miles from Fort Leavenworth to Salt Lake City began. That journey was an epic of itself in industrial enterprise. It may not, however, be minutely followed here. Through the hot summer days the train drew its slow-moving length across the monotonous plains. As the mountain end of the journey was approached winter storms threatened. On the Sweetwater, west of Green river and still some two hundred miles from Salt Lake City the first severe snow storm was encountered. Snow fell to the depth of two feet, and the thermometer dropped to below zero. Here their cattle broke away and scattered in every direction; and while most of them were rounded up some were never found. Provisions ran low while moving through western Wyoming and the camp compelled to kill some of their remaining cattle which weakened their team power and slowed up their speed of travel. At Green river they were fortunate enough to purchase on credit some cattle from trappers—Descamp and Garnier—to take the place of those that had been eaten. Further on in western Wyoming they were met with provisions and other supplies sent to them from Salt Lake City by Elder John Taylor, per Brother Joseph Horn; and they were again met with more teams and food supplies at Fort Bridger, again brought from Elder Taylor by Abraham O. Smoot. With other provisions he brought a load of good flour, and flour at that time was $50.00 per hundred weight. On Mr. Smoot returning westward most of the families traveling with the "sugar train" went on into Salt Lake with him, the machine-ladened train following more slowly.

Soon after crossing Bear river the snow was found to be so deep and the roads so rugged that it became necessary that several of the large boilers of the machinery should be left on the roadside until the following spring. The rest of the outfit moved on into Salt Lake City in the latter part of November, 1852, having spent about five months in making the journey from Fort Leavenworth.

THE SUGAR PLANT IN UTAH

The sugar machinery in the first place was shipped to Provo, but later was returned to Salt Lake City where part of the plant was set up on the northeast corner of the temple block, where it made its first run, and its first attempt in molasses making. The whole plant, however, was finally set up about four miles south of Salt Lake City, and its location became known as "Sugar House," a suburb of Salt Lake City. Here the first attempt in the manufacture of sugar in Utah was made. Five thousand pounds of beet seed had been brought from France with the machinery. It was planted for the most part in low lands, and the juice was filled with minerals and was dark. In this the enterprise met its most discouraging incident. When Mr. Mollenhauer, an expert sugar maker who had been brought to Utah to superintend the manufacture of the sugar, saw the state of the juice, he sought for the "retorts" of the plant to clarify and purify the syrup. Then he found that the "retorts" were not with the plant! These "retorts" were the cast iron ovens wherein bones were burned to make the animal charcoal that had to be used to clarify and purify the juice of the beets before it could be granulated and made into white sugar. It turned out that the "retorts" had never been ordered at the English manufacturers of machinery, "as they were not in the plans given by the Arras company" to the proposed enterprise. Mr. Mollenhauer had supposed all the time they had been brought along with the machinery. The discovery was most disappointing and humiliating to the company, and for the present defeating to the project. Mr. Mollenhauer and Mr. De La Mare, however, gathered a few bones together and burned them in a charcoal pit, and from the few bones thus burned they clarified a few bottles of the black beet sirup "until it was clear as crystal;" and "satisfied ourselves" says Mr. De La Mare, who relates the incident, "that the sugar could be made, and all that was needed was an abundance of animal clarifying matter."

CONTRIBUTING CAUSES TO FAILURE

Speaking of the serious mishap of the omitted "retorts," Mr. De La Mare says: "If that had been all the matter they [the retorts] could have been ordered, and imported for next season's use. But the fact was the company received such opposition from quarters not expected, it was broken up and disheartened. They did not receive the aid they had been promised. They had spent all their funds and were heavily in debt. Bills were pressing with no means to pay them; and to clear matters up with those we owed we turned the whole plant over to the church with the understanding that they [the church] assumed the debts that were against us. And that was the end of the matter with the 'Deseret Manufacturing Company'."

The plant was used thereafter in the manufacture of sirup, chiefly, but beet sugar was not made.

QUALITY OF THE MACHINERY AND WORKMEN EMPLOYED

Some writers treating "the history of the sugar industry" of Utah, have assigned the failure of this first wonderful attempt to produce sugar as due to the "crude condition of the machinery, operated by men wholly unskilful in its manipulations." This Mr. De La Mare—really the hero of this remarkable undertaking[25]—resents, by giving the account of the manufacture of the machinery in England, its cost and excellence; and on the score of unskilled manipulations of the machinery he cites the facts that Elias Morris (an experienced builder) was engaged in Wales to come with the plant and put up the building for the factory. "John Vernon, an expert and competent engineer of Hull, England, and who was engaged in the construction of the machinery (at the works of Faucett, Preston & Co.), was secured to come to Utah and supervise the erection of the same. And Mr. Mollenhauer, an expert sugar maker and refiner was placed in charge of the running of the plant; and to aid him came also John Bollwinkle and a Mr. Connor, who had worked in a sugar factory in Liverpool."[26]

Not All Waste This Sugar Plant Enterprise

This immense undertaking though technically resulting in failure was not all waste. It disclosed two things, yea, three: First, that beet sugar could be produced in Utah; and the present, and for years past, successful manufacture of beet sugar in Utah and throughout the intermountain west, until it is now one of the recognized major industries of that region, is a vindication of Elder Taylor's conviction and judgment that the soil and climate of Utah and the region round about, was preeminently suited to that great industry. Second, this movement is a strong testimony to the financial and moral and physical courage, and to the largeness of views, and the spirit of daring enterprise of the Latter-day Saint men of early Utah. Third, the character of those men, early converts to the New Dispensation in England, both those men who furnished the capital for the sugar company, as also those employed by that company in conveying the plant to Utah, and to carry on its affairs, their wealth and standing, in the financial and industrial world—is a strong refutation of the charge made against the Church of the Latter-day Saints that she gathered her converts from the slums and lower orders of the people in England and other countries of Europe.

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[25] *History of the Deseret Manufacturing Company, Ms.*; also see *Note*, end of chapter.

[26] The history of this initial movement for the manufacture of sugar in the state of Utah by the Latter-day Saints is condensed from the *Ms. History* of it by Philip De La Mare, now in the possession of his family at Tooele City, Utah, and comprises three *ms.* papers, that well deserve editing and publishing in a separate brochure.

Elder Orson Pratt's and Elder Franklin D. Richards' Mission in the British Isles

Elder Pratt was already in England when the general conference of October, 1849, appointed Elder Franklin D. Richards, of the council of the twelve, and a number of other elders from the Salt Lake valley,[27] to a mission in England; Elder Richards being selected to succeed Elder Pratt in the presidency whenever the latter should deem it advisable or necessary to return home.

Elder Pratt, it will be remembered, went to England from Winter Quarters in 1848, arriving in Liverpool in the latter part of July, honorably releasing Elder Orson Spencer from the presidency of the British Mission. He inaugurated a most vigorous administration; and some of his most effective and valuable works appeared in the *Millennial Star* of the next two years. Then appeared his series of articles on *Divine Authority, or Was Joseph Smith Sent of God; The Kingdom of God; Remarkable Visions; The New Jerusalem,* a consideration of the prophecies concerning the founding of a holy city, Zion, on the American continent; *Divine Authenticity of the Book of Mormon;*

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[27] The other elders called by this conference to go to England were Job Smith, Haden W. Church, Geo. B. Wallace, John S. Higbee, Jacob Gates, Joseph W. Johnson, Joseph W. Young. (See Minutes of the Conference, *Millennial Star*, vol. xii, pp. 131-5; also an Epistle of the First Presidency, *Ibid*, pp. 118-122). "Elder Orson Pratt is doing a great work in England, and the cause of truth is advancing rapidly," said the epistle.

A Reply to Remarks on Mormonism, being an answer to a pamphlet printed at Glasgow with the "approbation of clergymen of different denominations;" and a philosophical treatise on the *Absurdities of Immaterialism.*

After one year and a half of this vigorous work, which extended to preaching the gospel, the organization of branches, the multiplying of conferences, and the emigration of the saints to America, as well as to the publication of the works above noted, he could say on the 15th of March, 1850:

> "It is now over one year and a half since our arrival in this country; during this period, the kingdom of God has rolled forth with unparalleled success; its numbers have increased in Great Britain alone, from about eighteen thousand to nearly twenty-nine thousand souls (increase of 11,000). Two thousand of this number have emigrated to America. The circulation of the *Star,* during the same period, has increased from thirty-seven hundred to fifty-seven hundred. The great reduction proposed in the price of the *Star* will, no doubt, have a tendency to soon quadruple its circulation."[28]

All these achievements were accomplished before the arrival of Elder Richards, and Elder Pratt makes the above comment on the eve of a departure for the United States on business.

Elder Richards arrived in England in March, 1850, and during the temporary absence of Elder Pratt assumed the responsibilities of presidency.[29] The latter part of July Elder Pratt returned and resumed the presidency,[30] which he held until the latter part of January, 1851. During his administration the *Millennial Star* increased in circulation from 3,700 to 22,000; by his agency 5,500 souls emigrated from the British Mission to America; and twenty-one thousand were brought into the church.[31]

After his departure Elder Richards, the appointed president from the October conference of 1849, continued the work in the same spirit. It was during his presidency that the *Millennial Star* was changed from a semi-monthly to a weekly periodical, in which form it continues to this day (1930). He enlarged and printed a new edition of the *Latter-day Saints Hymn Book;* published a collection of revelations and writings of the Prophet Joseph Smith, known as the *Pearl of Great Price,* which, with the *Bible, Book of Mormon,* and *Doctrine and Covenants,* is now recognized and accepted as one of the volumes of scripture by the Church of the Latter-day Saints, and binding upon the church as authority in doctrine and history.[32] He published a new edition of Parley P. Pratt's "Mormon" classic, the *Voice of Warning;* stereotyped plates of the *Book of Mormon;* founded the Perpetual

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[28] *Millennial Star,* vol. xii, p. 89.

[29] See Epistle, *Millennial Star,* vol. xii, p. 135, *et seq.*

[30] See Pratt's Epistle in *Millennial Star,* vol. xii, p. 246, *et seq.*

[31] See testimonial to Orson Pratt on the occasion of his departure for Salt Lake City, given 22nd January, 1851. (*Millennial Star,* vol. xiii, pp. 43, 44).

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[32] Its title page was as follows:

The
PEARL OF GREAT PRICE
Being a
Choice Selection
from the
Revelations, Translations, and Narrations
of
JOSEPH SMITH,
First Prophet, Seer, and Revelator to the Church
of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

In addition to the articles now published in the current and authorized version of the book, it also contained a number of excerpts from the revelations of the *Doctrine and Covenants,* including a key to the revelations of St. John (*Doctrine and Covenants,* sec. lxxvii); commandments to the church concerning baptism (*Doctrine and Covenants,* sec. xx); on the method of administering the sacrament of the Lord's Supper (*Doctrine and Covenants,* sec. xx); the duties of the elders, priests, teachers, and deacons and members of the church (*Doctrine and Covenants,* sec. xx); on priesthood (*Doctrine and Covenants,* sec. lxxxiv); the calling and duties of the twelve apostles (*Doctrine and Covenants,* sec. 107); an extract from the revelation given July, 1830, (*Doctrine and Covenants,* sec. xxvii); extract from the revelation on the rise of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (*Doctrine and Covenants,* sec. i); John Jaques' splendid hymn, entitled "Truth," (*Hymn Book,* p. 71), and last but not least, the revelation and prophecy on war, (*Doctrine and Covenants,* sec. lxxxvii). From this enumeration of articles omitted from this choice collection in the later editions of the work, it is seen that nothing is omitted but what is now published in the *Doctrine and Covenants* or *Hymn Book;* and the eliminations were made to avoid duplicating the publication of the articles in several books.

Reverting to the revelation and prophecy on war, I call attention to the fact that the Preface of the *Pearl of Great Price* bears the date of July 11, 1851, and the work was published in that year; but it was not until the morning of the 12th of April, 1861, that the first gun in the great rebellion was fired on Fort Sumter by General Beaureguard, so that this remarkable prophecy made by the Prophet in 1832 was actually in print and widely published in England and the United States nearly ten years before the war of the rebellion broke out.

Emigration Fund in Great Britain, and sent the first company by that agency to the Salt Lake valley. During his presidency about one thousand souls emigrated to Utah.[33]

Such were the missions appointed by the conference of 1849; such, in brief, the things accomplished by those missions. These achievements are remarkable when all the circumstances are taken into account. The men engaging in these missionary enterprises had been for two years, and some of them for three years, exiles, and forced into camp life in the wilderness, on the frontiers of the United States. Some of them had been in the Mormon Battalion march from the Missouri river to the Pacific coast. Some of them had been leaders in the "Mormon" Pioneer journey, from Winter Quarters to the Salt Lake valley. All had been engaged in founding colonies on the shores of the Salt Lake, America's "Dead Sea." Their families were living in log or adobe huts in the newly settled, wilderness homes. Their *habitat,* when called to these missions, was comparatively adjacent to the gold fields of California, to which vast multitudes were hastening with all available speed; one of the main streams of this gold-mad migration passed through their city of huts of log and adobe homes, and mocked the humble lives they led, derided the faith they followed, the ideals they cherished as evangels of a New Dispensation of the gospel of Christ, and often urged them to forsake this to participate in the world's rush for gold. But these men responded to the call of conceived duty, and became the founders of missions in foreign lands, or enlarged the work where it was already established. They founded periodicals and translated their scriptures and wrote books in languages to them before unknown. They directed streams of emigration to the faraway "state" they and their associates were founding in the Great Basin. Their thoughts were upon big things. They were building the world-wide empire of the Christ. Their vision of their work stretched wide as eternity. They were living in conscious union and service with God. They were his ambassadors to the nations and empires of the world. Their work concerned itself with the salvation of men. Their service was given for the love of God and the love of man. If it be true that occupation influences character (and who doubts it?); that as men's spirits can never be generous and noble while they engage in petty, mean employments; so also they can never be abject and mean-spirited while their actions are honorable and glorious,[34] then what must have been the greatness of soul, the spirit-expanding power experienced by these men while engaged in these missions of the church, appointed in that year of grace 1849!

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[33] Nine hundred and seventy-seven to be exact. (*Liverpool Route,* Tables, p. 15). The reason there was such a falling off in the numbers emigrated in Elder Richards' administration as compared with that of Elder Pratt's, arose from the fact that about the time Elder Richards' administration began the presidency of the church suspended immigration to America except in cases where the parties could meet the expense of the journey through to Salt Lake valley, and as but few could do this, the emigration was very much decreased.

And while considering the account of these missions, the antithesis their work presents to that of the gold-mad migration rushing westward through their settlements, ought not to be overlooked.

NOTES

1. EARLY UTAH CURRENCY AND COINAGE

The first currency in Salt Lake valley would naturally be such United States money as the people would bring with them, which, considering their circumstances when driven from their homes, would not be a large amount. When Captain Brown of the Mormon Battalion returned from California in December of 1847 with the pay of the invalided detachments of the battalion, which he had been authorized to collect, he brought the amount, about $10,000, in Spanish doubloons; and this, for a time, supplied a currency. On the arrival of Brigham Young in the valley in 1848 he brought with him $84 "in small change," and this was distributed in the community; but this was inadequate, soon disappeared, and the people were distressed for want of change. The gold dust brought into the valley from the California mines by members of the Mormon Battalion was inconvenient to handle and there was much waste in weighing it. An effort was made to coin the dust, John Kay being employed to do the work, but all the crucibles

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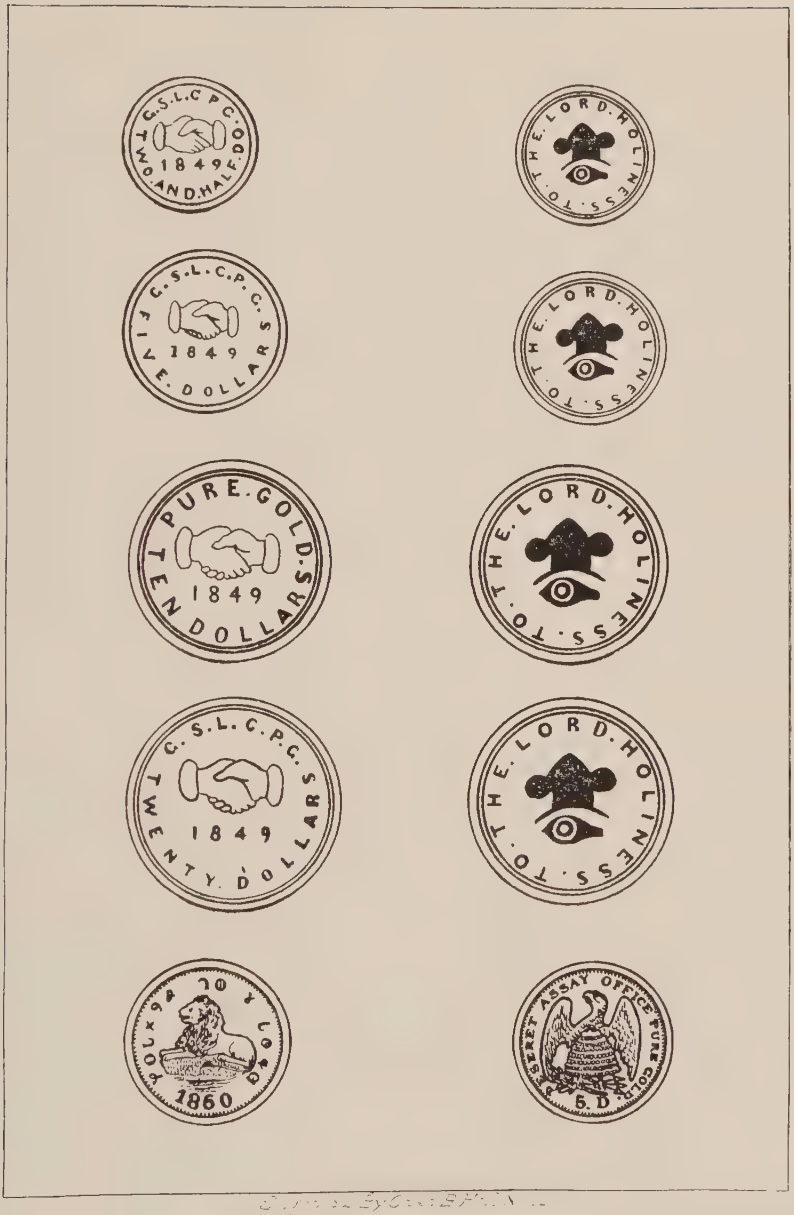
[34] Demosthenes Orations, *Harvard Classics*, vol. i, p. 172.

DESERET GOLD COINAGE


G.S.L.C.P.C. TWO.AND.HALF.DO. 1849
TO.THE.LORD.HOLINESS.
G.S.L.C.P.C. FIVE.DOLLARS 1849
TO.THE.LORD.HOLINESS.
PURE.GOLD. TEN.DOLLARS 1849
TO.THE.LORD.HOLINESS.
G.S.L.C.P.C. TWENTY.DOLLARS 1849
TO.THE.LORD.HOLINESS.
1860
DESERET ASSAY OFFICE PURE GOLD 5.D

[illegible]

Deseret Gold Coinage

1849–1860

$2½. $5 – $10 – $20 –

broke and the effort failed. President Young then proposed to issue paper currency against the gold deposited until the dust on hand could be coined. The municipal council of Salt Lake City authorized the issuance of such currency, and appointed Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball and N. K. Whitney to issue it. The first bills of one dollar denomination were printed on the first day of January, 1849, and this was the first printing done in Salt Lake valley.[35] Later Kirtland Bank bills (see *ante* this *History*, ch. xxxi) of various denominations, which had been preserved by some of the saints, were brought out, resigned and placed on a par with gold. "Thus fulfilling the prophecy of Joseph" [Smith], said Brigham Young, "that the Kirtland notes would one day be as good as gold" (*Journal History of Brigham Young*, 1849, p. 3. See also *Ibid* p. 56). A second attempt at coinage of gold dust was successful, and coins of the denomination of $2 1-2, $5, $10, and $20 pieces were issued. Their fineness was 899.1000, no alloy being used except a little silver. The coinage continued intermittently until as late as 1860.

An engraving of these several coins from photographs of them is published with this chapter. The characters on the reverse side of the coin of 1860, (around the lion couchant) are in the characters of the "Deseret Phonetic Alphabet," designed by Orson Pratt, and reads *"Holiness to the Lord."*

2. The Latter-day Saints Perpetual Emigration Fund Company

The first steps in effecting this organization, as stated in the text of this *History*, were taken in September, 1849, when "the propriety of creating a perpetual fund for the purpose of helping the poor saints to emigrate to this place [i. e. the Salt Lake valley], agreeably to our covenants in the (Nauvoo) temple that we would "never cease our exertions, by all the means and influence within our reach, till all the saints who were obliged to leave Nauvoo should be located at some gathering place of the saints." The council approved this suggestion, and a committee was appointed to raise a fund by voluntary contribution to effect this purpose. "The October conference (1849) sanctioned the doings of the committee," says the epistle of the presidency, bearing date of October 12th, 1849, and appointed Edward Hunter, a tried, faithful and approved bishop, as general agent to bear the perpetual emigration funds to the states, to superintend the direction and appropriation thereof, and return the same to this place with such poor brethren as (it) shall be wisdom to help.

"We wish all to understand, that this fund is *perpetual*, and is never to be diverted from the object of gathering the poor to Zion while there are saints to be gathered, unless He whose right it is to rule shall otherwise command. Therefore we call upon President Orson Hyde and all the saints, and all benevolent souls everywhere, to unite their gold, their silver, and their cattle, with ours in this perpetual fund, and cooperate with Bishop Hunter in producing as many teams as possible, preparatory for next spring's emigration."[36]

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[35] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1849, p. 1.

The subject at the October conference was brought up by Heber C. Kimball. Referring to the Nauvoo covenant he said: "Shall we fulfill that covenant, or shall we not?" The vote was unanimous to fulfill the covenant. "Now let every man and woman take hold," said Elder Kimball, "and do not send your agent to the states with less than $10,000; and then you will cause a day of rejoicing among the poor in Illinois." The conference appointed a committee of five to gather contributions for the fund. The names of the committee follow: Willard Snow, John S. Fulmer, Lorenzo Snow, John D. Lee and Franklin D. Richards. Bishop Edward Hunter was appointed to be the agent to go east and expend the funds thus raised,—amounting that year to six thousand dollars;[37] in gathering the poor to the valleys. It was moved by Elder John Taylor that the whole business pertaining to the fund be placed under the direction of the first presidency of the church, and his motion was carried unanimously.[38]

The general manner of using the fund was thus stated in the epistle of the first presidency, under date of Oct. 12, 1849:

"This perpetual fund is to be under the special direction of the presidency at all times, and as soon as Bishop Hunter shall return with the same and his freight of saints to this place, the cattle and teams will be disposed of to the best advantage, and the avails, with all we can add to it, will be sent forth immediately on another mission, and we want you all prepared to meet it and add to it, and so would we continue to increase from year to year, until 'when a nation is born in a day,' they can be removed the next, if the Lord will; therefore, ye poor, and meek of the earth, lift up your heads and rejoice in the Holy One of Israel, for your redemption draweth nigh; but in your rejoicings be patient, for though your turn to emigrate may not be the first year, or even the second, it will come, and its tarryings will be short, if all the saints who have, [means] will be as liberal as those in the valley."

This passage reflects the spirit in which the movement was conceived and in which for many years its work was carried on. In order to give this charity stability and perpetuity its promoters were organized into a company by the provisional government of the "State of Deseret," September 14, 1850; under the style and title of "The Perpetual Emigration Fund Company." This act was legalized by the Utah

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36. *Millennial Star*, vol. xii, p. 120.

37. "Bishop Hunter is now in Kanesville with $6,000 as the first fruits of the fund which was obtained in the valley by voluntary donations for the purpose of buying oxen, and to take the poor saints from the Bluff's to the Valley in the spring." (Letter from Wilford Woodruf, Cambridgeport, Mass., June 12, 1850, in *Millennial Star*, p. 62-3.) At the general conference of the church held at Salt Lake in September, 1850, President Young placed the sum at over $5,000: "Last year we did wonders," are his words, "we accomplished a good thing in raising over $5,000, which was sent back to the states for the poor." (*Millennial Star*, vol. xiii, p. 21).

38. Minutes of conference for Oct., 1849: *Millennial Star*, vol. xii, p. 131, *et seq.*

territorial government, Oct. 4th, 1851; amended by the same authority in January 12, 1856.[39]

The method of making this fund a perpetual one was by requiring those emigrated by the fund to repay into its coffers the amount used in their emigration, "with interest if required;" this to be used again in immigrating others. The first efforts of the Emigration Company was to provide for the gathering of the exiles from Illinois; but the presidency of the British Mission was also authorized to introduce this system for the gathering of the saints out of that country, and by January, 1852, 1,140 English pounds, equal to about $5,700.00 had been subscribed; and in the emigration of that year from England, 251 persons were sent by the "fund." Special arrangements had been made to conduct this company from Liverpool to Salt Lake City; John S. Higbee and Isaac C. Haight having charge of the saints on the ocean voyage traveling in two vessels, the *Kennebec*, Haight in charge, the *Ellen Maria*, Higbee in charge; the first sailing from Liverpool in January; the second in February. On arriving in America, these elders delivered their respective companies over to the care of Abraham O. Smoot, who conducted them over the plains and mountains to Salt Lake City, where they arrived on the 3rd of September following. This company was met at the mouth of Emigration canon by President Young, a number of the twelve, and many leading citizens on horseback and in carriages and escorted into the city, headed by Captain Pitts' band. When passing temple square the company was saluted by the firing of cannons; and before dispersing were welcomed in a public address by President Young, in the course of which he said—and from this paragraph may be judged the spirit of this whole emigration movement in behalf of the poor:

"I will say to this company, they have had the honor of being escorted into the city by some of the most distinguished individuals of our society, and a band of music, accompanied with a salutation from the cannon. Other companies have not had this mark of respect shown to them; they belong to the rich, and are able to help themselves. I rejoice that you are here; and that you will find yourselves in the midst of an abundance of the common necessaries of life, a liberal supply of which you can easily obtain by your labor."[40]

In order to comply with the requirements of the 16th section of the act of incorporation, *viz*, that "all persons receiving assistance from the Perpetual Emigration Fund for the Poor, shall reimburse the same, in labor or otherwise, as soon as their circumstances will admit," the following obligation was drawn up and signed by each emigrant of this first and by members of all subsequent companies:

CONTRACT

"Perpetual Emigration Fund Company, organized at Great Salt Lake City, Deseret, U. S. A., October 6th, 1849.

____ Agent, Liverpool.

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[39] See *Utah Enactments* of the territorial legislature for those years and dates.

[40] *Liverpool Route*, 1855, p 12.

We, the undersigned, do hereby agree with and bind ourselves to the Perpetual Emigration Fund Company, in the following conditions, *viz.*—

That, in consideration of the aforesaid company emigrating or transporting us, and our necessary luggage, from Great Britain to the valley of the Great Salt Lake, according to the rules of the company, and the general instructions of their authorized agents;

We do severally and jointly promise and bind ourselves to continue with, and obey the instructions of, the agent appointed to superintend our passage thither: that we will receipt for our passages previous to arriving at the several ports of New Orleans, St. Louis, and Kanesville;

And that, on our arrival in the Great Salt Lake valley, we will hold ourselves, our time and our labor, subject to the appropriation of the Perpetual Emigration Fund Company, until the full cost of our emigration is paid, with interest if required."[41]

That these obligations were never rigorously pressed—some anti-"Mormon" writers to the contrary notwithstanding–is witnessed by the fact that by the year 1880, the unpaid principal of indebtedness to this fund amounted in the church to the sum of $704,000; and if interest on this outstanding indebtedness during the years it could legitimately have drawn interest at the rate of ten per cent—the usual rate in the west previous to 1880—that interest would have amounted to $900,000; making a total of principal and interest of $1,604,000. Yet instead of oppressively seeking to collect this amount, the Fund Company in the year 1880—the year known in our annals as the Year of Jubilee, the church then having been in existence fifty years—one-half of this principal and interest was cancelled, being applied on the indebtedness of the worthy poor, they being wholly set free from the obligation of payment.[42]

It will be observed that the obligation in the signed contract concerning interest was an agreement to pay interest *"if required."* When ever there was anything like promptness in the payment of the principal, or where misfortune had been encountered, it was the policy of the company not to require interest; indeed the policy of the company was very generous in respect of the payment of both principal and interest. This fund conceived in such noble spirit was the means of bringing tens of thousands of the landless poor from Europe—for its operations were not confined to America and the British Isles—to the unoccupied lands of the Great Basin, where in a few years, they and their descendants became landed proprietors, independent and prosperous citizens of the intermountain west. The "Perpetual Emigration Fund Company" was dissolved by act of congress in 1887, the congressional enactment known as the *"Edmunds-Tucker Act,"* of which more in the appropriate place.

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41. *Liverpool Route*, pp. 10, 11.

42. See *Minutes of the Fiftieth Annual Conference, Year of Jubilee*, 1880, pamphlet, p. 62.

3. PHILIP DE LA MARE, EARLY UTAH INDUSTRIAL HERO

Philip De La Mare spoken of in the body of this chapter as supervising the transportation of the sugar plant from Liverpool, England, to Salt Lake valley, and more especially from Fort Leavenworth. Kansas, to Utah by a train of ox teams, with from four to eight yoke of cattle to a wagon, in the summer and fall of 1852—well deserves the title accorded him at the head of this note—"Early Utah Industrial Hero."

Philip De La Mare was of French descent, though born on the Island of Jersey, a British possession, on April 3d, 1823, at Grouville, and in the parish of Grouville, and hence was but 29 years of age at the time of his great American plains adventure somewhat detailed in the text of this chapter. The ancestors of the De La Mares left France and settled in the Island of Jersey in the 16th century, this on account of religious and political unrest in France, due to the religious contentions of that period and the successive revolutions that occurred; the De La Mares were Protestants, a rural agricultural people, and preferred flight and peace to the uncertain conditions prevailing in France in that religiously cruel 16th century.

Though a peaceful and rural folk devoted largely to agricultural pursuits, there was a spirit of enterprise and adventure accompanied by executive ability of a high order in the race that expressed itself worthily in the family. Abraham De La Mare, grandfather of our Philip, was a government contractor in his day and built the old North Pier, on the Island of Jersey, in the 17th century. Philip's father, Francis De La Mare, was born on the Island of Jersey in 1792. He became also a government contractor and builder, reputed to be of high skill in marine constructive work and of rare executive ability. In 1841 the Jersey parliament awarded the great Victoria Pier on the south coast of Jersey at the contract price of 280,000 English pounds, equal to about $1,400,000 of American money, a sum in those days considered almost fabulous, and represented an enormous undertaking. This contract was successfully completed in 1845.

A second government contract was awarded to Francis De La Mare by the Jersey parliament in 1847 to construct the Albert Pier, a greater enterprise than the first contract since it was built at a cost of 549,000 English pounds, or about $2,745,000. The contract was completed in five years.

Our Philip's connection with all this: In his childhood, notwithstanding these later great and prosperous contracts of his father's, which enriched the family, he had in common with the children of the Island of Jersey very limited educational opportunities, and at ten years of age began work on a farm, which he followed for two years. Then he was apprenticed for five years, to the blacksmith trade. For this period he received no remuneration whatever. The sixth year he was paid 30 cents a day and the next year 36 cents a day—a journeyman's wages then. This brought him to the year of his father's first contract, and though but eighteen years of age he was put in charge of twenty-nine skilled blacksmiths, whose duty it was to make and keep in repair all the tools necessary to carry on the work of construction of the pier.

The first contract in Jersey completed, young De La Mare went to England where he obtained employment in the great shops of Abbott and Brown at Van Castle, and assisted in the construction of the "high level" bridge built in five sections across the river Tyne, which has the distinction of being built by Robert Stephenson and stands one hundred and twelve feet above the flood of the Tyne, at New Castle on Tyne. While here young De La Mare spent his spare time and his evenings in acquiring such education as his opportunities afforded. His father's second contract brought him back to the Island of Jersey, to participate in the construction of the Albert Pier, on which five hundred men were employed through five years. Such was the success of the De La Mares that young Philip himself made a clear profit of $10,000.00.

Here the gospel of the New Dispensation found him through the preaching of Wm. C. Dunbar then on a mission in the Island of Jersey, and later became one of the founders of the daily *Salt Lake Herald* in Utah. The contact was brought about by the casual remark of one of the blacksmith workmen on the pier, one John LeCocq—that a new religion was being preached in the town. Being religiously inclined young De La Mare attended the service only to become so impressed by what he heard that he was soon afterwards baptized by Elder Dunbar and a week later ordained an elder, that he might preach the new faith. This in 1849.

In the autumn of 1850 came Elder John Taylor to the Island of Jersey to visit Elder Dunbar and the saints of that vicinity. Here he met young Philip De La Mare and their friendship began. Subsequent visits of Elder Taylor and the completion of the Albert Pier contract resulted in young De La Mare accepting an appointment to fill a six months' mission with Elder Taylor, and he accompanied the latter to Paris. He had already subscribed $1,000.00 to the publication of the *Book of Mormon* in the French and German languages; near the close of his six months' mission he accompanied Elder Taylor on his visit to Arras to investigate the sugar plants and industry of that region, shared Elder Taylor's enthusiastic conviction that the industry could be successfully launched in distant "Deseret;" he subscribed his $10,000 to the proposed "Deseret Manufacturing Company" and accompanied Elder Taylor to England to raise the rest of the capital, with the result already set forth in the text of this chapter.

One feature connected with this rich and wonderful experience of Philip De La Mare in connection with this industrial undertaking of conveying a sugar plant to Utah, yea, two features should be noted as follows: first, at the close of his account of the experiment in Utah, when failure had to be admitted not from *one* but from a variety of sources, and the enterprise which had cost him so much was abandoned under the advice of Brigham Young, he says: "And that was the end of the matter with the Deseret Manufacturing Company. Personally I came out of the affair without a dollar to my name, and had to start life anew, with my wife and children to support."

A note of melancholy is struck in that remark; but the chapter of Philip's biography thus closed, never affected the pure white light of his faith in the gospel of the New Dispensation, he had received. He built his life anew making his home in Tooele, where he became a prosperous farmer and where he reared a family of patriarchal proportions who were, and his descendents now are, faithful members of the Church of the Latter-day Saints. Both sons and grandsons of his are numbered among the faithful elders who have performed missionary work for the church in various lands. The writer labored with one of his sons—a faithful earnest man—in the Southern States Mission, 1884, where he acquitted himself with honor.

The second feature as following this apparent disastrous ending of Philip De La Mare's experience in this sugar production in Utah, is the fact that its disastrous results never affected his faith in, nor his esteem for President John Taylor. Always, to the close of each life, in fact and in memory they remained friends; and when in the course of events some would attempt to blame "his chief" or censure his judgment or charge him with bringing to Utah and installing faulty or inferior machinery, or defects in his undertaking or that superior workmen had not been secured for the manufacture of sugar, Philip always defended him. "I discover some errors" he wrote to one such critic, "which I desire to correct, in justice to President John Taylor."

Again in closing a somewhat extended article largely in defense of "his chief," he said:

"Being the only surviving member of the original company, and as my days may not be long upon this land, I desire to write this much in behalf of the honor of President John Taylor, and the other few men that spent their time and money so freely to try to establish the first sugar factory in Utah."

Such the friendship—worthy the name! which the gospel of the New Dispensation brings to men.

CHAPTER LXXXIX

THE FOUNDING OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT IN THE GREAT BASIN—"DESERET"—UTAH

THE founding of civil government in the Great Basin by the Latter-day Saints can only properly be understood by viewing the act in the light of the declared intentions and purposes of the church leaders; and accordingly these are here considered.

THE DECLARED RELATIONS OF THE CHURCH WITH THE UNITED STATES

On the 7th of August, 1846, a council meeting was held at the tent of Geo. D. Grant in the Camp of Israel at which the twelve, Bishop Whitney, *et al,* were present and met with Colonel Thomas L. Kane who wished to know the intentions of these church leaders respecting their relationship to the government of the United States. To which President Young made the following answer:

> "I informed the colonel we intended settling in the Great Basin or Bear river valley, and those who went round by water would settle at San Francisco. We would be glad to raise the American flag; we love the Constitution of our country, but are opposed to mobocracy; and will not live under such oppression as we have done. We are willing to have the banner of the United States Constitution float over us.
>
> Colonel Kane said Boggs had been working against us in Washington, and asked whether we should like a territorial government. I replied we should, and that many of our English emigrants would probably settle at Vancouver Island.
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> The colonel said that Lord Aberdeen informed Mr. McLance that the British government designed to colonize Vancouver's Island. I said, we would be willing to carry the mail across the continent, and build block houses wherever the United States might wish."[1]

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[1] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.,* 1846, bk. 2, p. 133. Later, namely, on the 31st of August of the same year, discussing the same subject, and the action of some of the "great ones at Washington," President Young, referring to the government, said "that if they (i. e. the government) would treat us as they ought, we would fight for them, and do them good; but we never would consent to be governed again by unjust judges or governors, let the consequences be what they might." (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.,* 1846, bk. 2, pp. 219-220, entry for Aug. 31st, 1846).

I have already published a letter of Parley P. Pratt's in *facsimile*,[2] dated at the "Camp of Israel, July 9th, 1846," in which, when urging haste in raising the Mormon Battalion, he said:

> "Be assured it is the mind and will of God that we should improve the opportunity which a kind Providence has now opened for us to secure a permanent home in that country, [i. e. the Rocky Mountains] *and thus lay a foundation for a territorial or state government under the Constitution of the United States*, where we shall be the first settlers and a vast majority of the people, and thus be independent of mobs and be able to maintain our rights and freedom, and to assist in the redemption of our country, and the emancipation of the world from bondage."

Again, in a letter to President James K. Polk, dated at "Omaha Nation, August 9th, 1846," and signed by BrighamYoung, president; and Willard Richards, Clerk, in a series of six resolutions contained in that letter the *first, third,* and *fifth* were as follows:

> (1) "*Resolved,* That as children of the United States, we have not been disappointed in our anticipation of a brighter day and a more righteous administration in our endeavors for the canvass of his excellency, James K. Polk, to the presidency. * * *
>
> (3) *Resolved,* That should we locate within the territory of the United States, as we anticipate, we would esteem a *territorial government of our own,* as one of the richest boons of earth, and while we appreciate the Constitution of the United States as the most precious among the nations, we feel that we had rather retreat to the deserts, island or mountain caves than consent to be ruled by governors and judges whose hands are drenched in the blood of innocence and virtue, who delight in injustice and oppression. * * *
>
> (5) *Resolved,* That as soon as we are settled in the Great Basin we design to petition the United States for a territorial government, bounded on the north by the British, and south by the Mexican dominions, and east and west by the summits of the Rocky and Cascade mountains."[3]

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[2] See this *History,* chapter lxxiii.

[3] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.,* 1846, bk. 2, pp. 136-140, where this letter is published *in extenso.* Also in this *History, Note* 5 end of ch. lxxiii. I find reference made to it in a personal letter by Colonel Thomas L. Kane to President Millard Fillmore, in which he quotes the assertions in it respecting the "government" and "the United States' Constitution"—the former as "the best government on earth;" and the latter, as the "most precious among the nations"—in evidence of the loyalty of President Young and the "Mormon" people. Colonel Kane had the letter

Again, in November, 1846, Elder John Taylor in a letter to the church in England, explaining the prospects for the saints in America obtaining lands in the Great Basin, to which they were removing, it will be seen that the probability of that land falling under the control of the United States was complacently anticipated, and the advantages to the saints considered as great as if it remained under the control of Mexico:

> "When we arrive in California, according to the provisions of the Mexican government, each family will be entitled to a large tract of land, amounting to several hundred acres; but as the Mexican and American nations are now at war, should California fall into the hands of the American nation—there has been a bill before congress, in relation to Oregon, which will undoubtedly pass, appropriating six hundred and forty acres of land to every male settler—should California fall into the hands of the American nation, this privilege will unquestionably extend to that land, for the encouragement of emigration; so that whether it is in the hands of the Americans or Mexicans, still we shall obtain a vast territory [area] of country for nothing, and become the legal proprietors of the soil without any outlay of money or other property—our presence alone gives it value."[4]

As early as the 20th of January, 1846, the high council at Nauvoo in a document which, according to the document itself, was unanimously agreed to by all the authorities of the church at Nauvoo, stated:

> "We also further declare, for the satisfaction of some who have concluded that our grievances have alienated us from our country, that our patriotism has not been overcome by fire—by sword—by daylight, nor by midnight assassinations, which we have endured; neither have they alienated us from the institutions of our country. Should hostilities arise between the government of the United States and any

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with him at the time, July 11th, 1851. He regretted that he had never been authorized to make use of it, but he sent a copy of it to President Fillmore, at the same time saying: "I regret that I have never been authorized to make use of the paper, a copy of which I enclose you, itself a copy of a letter to President Polk, written at a time of the severest trial. Its author, I believe, was the talented gentleman whose name was offered to you for the post of secretary of the territory, [Dr. Willard Richards]; but it was signed by Brigham Young, and I know expresses the genuine feelings of his heart. I want you to remark, sir, that this, their first communication with our government after their expulsion from their homes in Illinois, dates of August 9, 1846." (*Millennial Star*, vol. xiii, p. 344).

[4] *Millennial Star*, vol. viii, p. 115.

> other power, in relation to the right of possessing the territory of Oregon, we are on hand to sustain the claims of the United States government to that country. It is geographically ours; and of right, no foreign power should hold dominion there; and if our services are required to prevent it, those services will be cheerfully rendered according to our ability."[5]

MISREPRESENTATION OF THE ATTITUDE OF THE SAINTS TOWARDS THE GOVERNMENT

Such were the declared purposes of the leading authorities of the church respecting their relations with the United States. They are presented here at such length and from original documents, because the motives and intentions of the saints with reference to their removal to the west have been so grossly misrepresented that I deem it necessary that their purpose should be stated clearly, and placed upon such authority as to be henceforth incontestable. We shall also see in the sequence that their actions were in strict harmony with these early declared intentions. Before confirming that statement by proof, however, let the misrepresentation of their purposes be considered.

William A. Linn, in his *Story of the Mormons,* says:

> "We have seen that Joseph Smith's desire was, when he suggested a possible removal of the church to the far west, that they should have, not only an undisturbed place of residence, but a government of their own. This idea of political independence Young never lost sight of. Had Utah remained a distant province of the Mexican government, the Mormons might have been allowed to dwell there a long time, practically without governmental control. But when that region passed under the government of the United States by the proclamation of the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, on July 4, 1848, Brigham Young had to face a new situation. He then decided that what he wanted was an independent state government, not territorial rule under the federal authorities, and he planned accordingly."[6]

The unfairness of this representation of the desires of Joseph Smith and his people for "a government of their own," arises, first from the interpretation given to the phrase that such government is to be separate from the government

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5. *Times and Seasons,* vol. vi, p. 1096.
6. Linn's *Story of the Mormons,* p. 428.

of the United States; and, second, that a state government was only contemplated or desired after the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo was proclaimed, by which the Great Basin became United States territory. The latter notion is clearly contrary to the evidence in the case, as may be verified by reference to the quotations from original documents already given in preceding paragraphs of this chapter, where the hope is expressed that they could obtain in the Great Basin either a state or a territorial government, "under the Constitution of the United States," even before these Pioneers had left the Missouri for the mountains. And as to the first part of the misrepresentation, that "a government of their own" meant a government separate from that of the United States, that is contradicted from the quotations from the same documents in this chapter, where entire willingness is expressed to have such civil government as they contemplated in connection with and under the Constitution of the United States, which they esteemed as "the most precious among the nations."[7]

GUNNISON'S ERROR

Even Lieutenant Gunnison in his *History of the Mormons,* by mistake, puts the declaration of "their adherence to the great charter of liberty," the Constitution, to a time after their "adopted land had come under the jurisdiction of the stars and stripes."[8]

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[7] See excerpts from President Young's Letter to President Polk; and the whole letter in *Note* 5, end of chapter lxxiii. As it was in respect of civil government, so also was it in relation to lands. "The Mormons having been driven from what was then the United States," says Bancroft, "it was but natural, as indeed it seemed to be necessity, that they should take possession of such unoccupied lands in the region toward the Pacific as best suited them. But it was not necessary that they should hold possession of such lands in opposition to the government of the United States, as they *have been charged with doing."* (Bancroft's *History of Utah,* pp. 239-40).

[8] I charge this to a mistake so far as Lieutenant Gunnison is concerned, because throughout his valuable book, notwithstanding some misconception, I am sure his effort was to be entirely fair to the "Mormon" people, and it is a pleasure to make this acknowledgment. Following is the passage in full referred to in the text. "Though this people fled to a foreign country to enjoy the liberty that persecution denied them in the states, *as soon as they found their adopted land had*

On the 22nd of February, 1850, when the question of providing government for the country occupied by the Latter-day Saints was being considered in the national house of representatives, John Wentworth, a representative from Illinois, presented a petition from citizens of Lee county, in his state, asking congress to protect the rights of American citizens passing through the Salt Lake valley, and charging, on the "Mormon" leaders, among other things, "a desire for a kingly government."[9]

On the last day of December, 1849, Joseph R. Underwood, of Kentucky, presented in the house of representatives a memorial from William Smith, and Isaac Sheen, the former the brother of Joseph Smith, the Prophet, and twelve others, making the charge that fifteen hundred of the "Mormons" before leaving Illinois, had taken a treasonable oath to avenge the blood of Joseph Smith upon the nation of the United States; that they would so teach their children; and would forthwith begin to carry out hostilities against the nation, but "keep the same a profound secret now and forever."[10]

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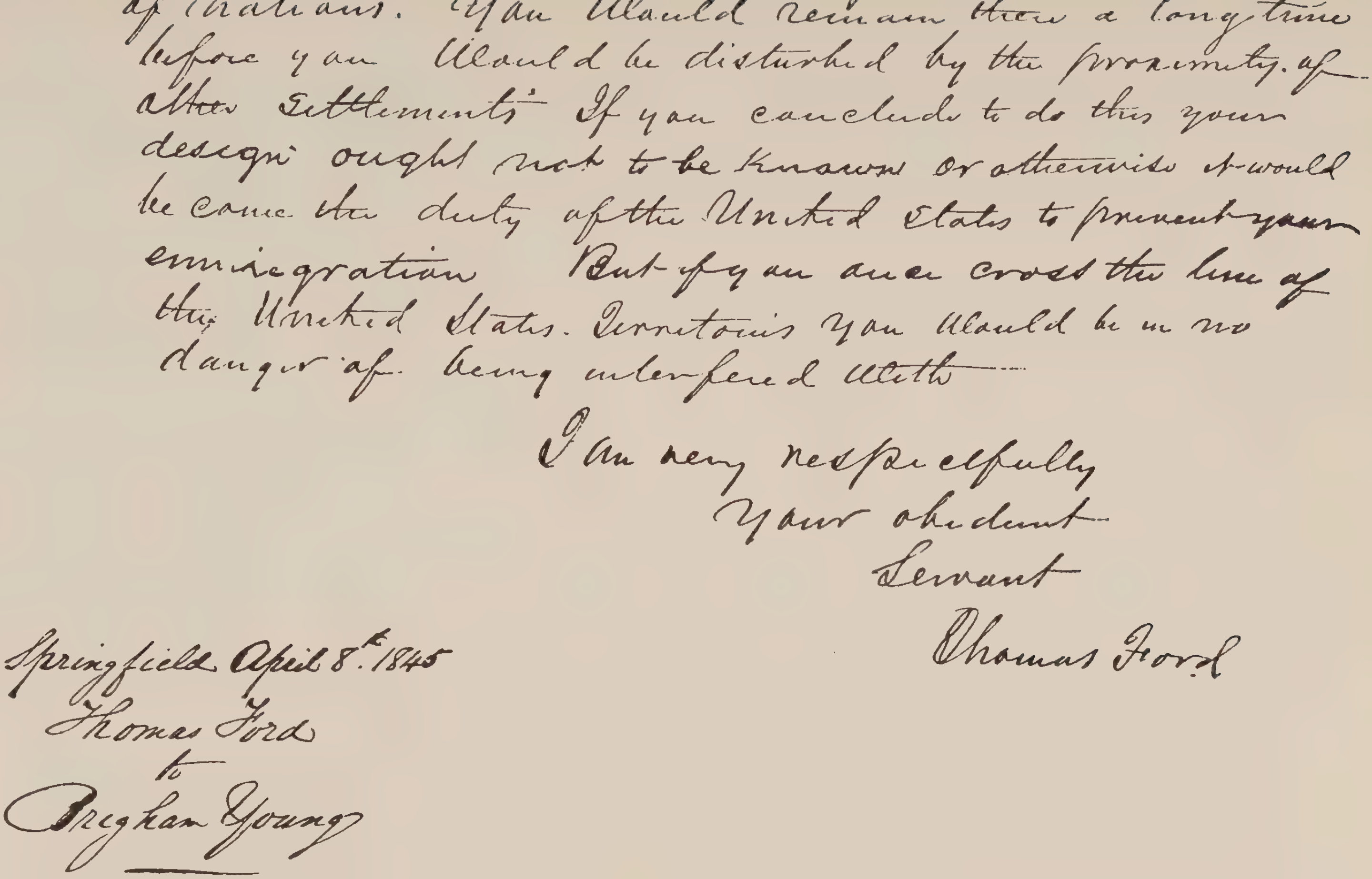
come under the jurisdiction of the stripes and stars—which their own valor had helped to win in the army of the Pacific against Mexico,—*they embraced the earliest opportunity of declaring their adherence to the great charter of liberty and national glory,* and announced to the world that it was given to our patriot fathers by divine inspiration, and that they will uphold and defend it, though all the original parties shall secede and trample it under foot. They will make no law forbidden by the sacred Constitution of the United States, and predict that the day is not far distant when they shall be solicited by patriotic American citizens, to descend from their rocky fastnesses, to enforce its sanctions upon those led astray by frantic, political delusion and anarchy." (*The History of the Mormons*, pp. 83, 84). Stenhouse, referring to the passing over of the Salt Lake country from Mexico to the United States, says: "*This was unforseen and undesirable to the Mormon leaders,* for they could have dictated terms to Mexico and have worked out better the theocratic problem with the relics of the Montezumas, than with the Anglo-Saxon descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers." This cannot be credited to mistake, because Mr. Stenhouse by his association with the leaders of the church during the years of his membership therein, and with his knowledge of "Mormon" history and literature, must have known better.

[9] Linn's *Story of the Mormons*, p. 431, *Congressional Globe*, vol. xxi, p. 413. A falsehood once launched into the literature of a subject, how hard it is to destroy it! As late as August 16th, 1909, the *Salt Lake Tribune*, editorially discussing the intentions of the "Chiefs of the Church," at the time of the exodus from Nauvoo said: "It is well known to be a fact that the idea of the chiefs of the church at the time was to get out from under the flag and establish in the west a kingdom of their own, in which they should reign in independence of the general government."

[10] *Congressional Globe*, 1849-50, vol. xxi, p. 92. Also quoted by Linn, *Story of the Mormons*, p. 430.

Smith last summer that he contemplated a removal West, and from what I learned from him and others at that time I think if he had lived he would have begun to move in the matter before this time. I would be willing to exert all my feeble abilities and influence to further your views in this respect if it was the wish of your people

I would suggest a matter in confidence. California now offers a field for the prettiest enterprise that has been undertaken in modern times. It is but sparsely inhabited and by none but the Indian or imbecile Mexican Spaniard. I have not enquired enough to know how strong it is in men and means. But this we know that if conquered from Mexico it is. that country is so physically weak and morally distracted that she could never send a force there to reconquer it. Why would it not be a pretty operation for your people to go out there take possession of an conquer a portion of



of nations. You would remain there a long time before you would be disturbed by the proximity of other settlements. If you conclude to do this your design ought not to be known or otherwise it would become the duty of the United States to prevent your emmigration But if you once cross the line of the United States. Territories you would be in no danger of being interfered with——

I am very respectfully
Your obedient
Servant
Thomas Ford

Springfield April 8th 1845
Thomas Ford
to
Brigham Young

Just how the hostility was to "begin forthwith," and at the same time be kept a profound secret, does not appear. This is not the place for a defense of the saints against this particular charge of Smith, Sheen, *et al,* it is mentioned here only as a passing reference to the charges of disloyalty made against the saints in those early years of Utah's history, 1849-1850. It will be enough to say now, and the evidence is before the reader in the first few paragraphs of this chapter, that no fact of history is more clearly established than the fact of the expectation and desire on the part of the Latter-day Saints to form a civil government in the midst of the Rocky Mountains under the sanctions of the Constitution of the United States; and that both the desire and expectation existed and was expressed before they arrived in the Salt Lake valley, and therefore before that section of Mexico passed under the jurisdiction of the United States.

ENCOURAGEMENT TO THE SAINTS TO UNDERTAKE A SEPARATE GOVERNMENT

If the Latter-day Saints did not aspire to establish civil government in the Salt Lake valley in opposition to, or independent of, the government of the United States, the fact that they did not was not owing to any lack of encouragement for them to do so. First there was Senator Stephen A. Douglas who, in April, 1844, on the occasion of Orson Hyde being in Washington to urge congress to pass an ordinance authorizing Joseph Smith to police the Intermountain and Pacific coast west with a volunteer force of 100,000 men, gave the Prophet's representative every encouragement to seize upon the then existing opportunities to settle the saints in Oregon. It should be remembered here that Joseph Smith was seeking authorization to police the west—including Oregon—*for the United States!* "Judge Douglas says," reports Elder Hyde, "he would equally as soon go to that country without an act of congress as with; 'and that in five years a noble state might be formed; and then if they would not receive us into the Union, we would have a government of our own.' He is decidedly of the opinion that congress will pass no act in favor of any particular man going there; but he says if any man will go and desires that privilege, and has confidence in his own ability to perform it, he already has the right, and the sooner he is off the better for his scheme."[11]

Under date of April 8th, 1845, Governor Ford of Illinois, urged upon the church authorities an invasion of Mexico and the establishment of an *independent state which Mexico would be too feeble to overthrow!* I copy the portion of the governor's letter relating to the proposed western movement of the church, the last paragraph of which, with Governor Ford's signature, being reproduced in *facsimile* in this chapter from a photograph of the original now in the Church Historian's office at Salt Lake City:

EXCERPT OF FORD'S LETTER

"I was informed by General Joseph Smith last summer that he contemplated a removal west and from what I learned from him and others at that time, I think, if he had lived he would have begun to move in the matter before this time. I would be willing to exert all my feeble abilities and influence to further your views, in this respect, if it was the wish of your people.

I would suggest a matter in confidence. California now offers a field for the prettiest enterprise that has been undertaken in modern times. It is but sparsely inhabited and by none but the Indian or imbecile Mexican Spaniard. I have not inquired enough to know how strong it is in men and means. But this we know that if conquered from Mexico, that country is so physically weak and morally distracted that she could never send a force to reconquer it. Why would it not be a pretty operation for your people to go out there and take possession of and conquer a portion of the vacant country and establish *an independent government of your own,* subject only to the laws of nations. You would remain then a long time before you would be disturbed by the proximity of other settlements. If you conclude to do this your design ought not to be known or otherwise it would become the duty of the United States to prevent your emigration. But if you once cross the line of the United States territories, you would be in no danger of being interfered with.

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[11] Letter of Orson Hyde from Washington to Joseph Smith at Nauvoo, bearing date of April 26th, 1844, *History of the Church,* Period I, vol. v, p. 374. Hyde sent two letters to the Prophet about this time, and both are important as dealing with this contemplated movement of the church to the west. (*Ibid,* pp. 369-376).

I am respectfully your obedient servant,

[Signed] "THOMAS FORD."

This suggestion, of course, was never acted upon by the church leaders. On the contrary, as we have already seen, they raised the stars and stripes in the Salt Lake valley while it was yet Mexican territory, at least ten months before the authority of the United States was extended over it,[12]—although *not* on Ensign Peak a few days after their arrival, as already set forth.[13] And what is more, the congress of the United States having not only failed, but actually refused to provide any kind of civil government for the territory—at least for that portion of it east of the Sierras[14]—ceded to the United States by Mexico, the colonists in the Great Basin themselves took steps to institute civil government; and on the first day of February, 1849, issued the following, signed by many citizens:

THE STATE OF DESERET[15]

Call for a Convention to Form Civil Government in the Great Basin.

"*Notice* is hereby given to all the citizens of that portion of Upper California lying east of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, that a convention will be held at the Great Salt Lake in said territory, on Monday, the fifth day of March next, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of organizing a territorial or state government.

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[12] *Ante*, chapter lxxxii, this *History*. The treaty which ceded the Mexican territory in the Great Basin to the United States was signed 2nd February, 1848. "This treaty was finally agreed to by both governments, and on the 4th of July following, President Polk proclaimed it." (Lossing's *History of the United States*, p. 496, edition of 1872). The United States flag was raised in Salt Lake valley at least as early as October, 1847. (See this *History*, chapter lxxxii).

[13] See this *History*, chapter lxxxii.

[14] This fact was well stated in the debates in the house of representatives by Mr. Brown of Mississippi, who said: "How, sir, in what manner have we governed these territories [New Mexico and Deseret]? We have steadily refused them all governments. The *aegis* of our protection has not been extended over them. We have sent them neither governors, secretaries, judges, or tax-gatherers. We have taken no cognizance of them, or of their condition. This state of things ought not so long to have existed. It was the solemn duty of congress to have taken these people under its care—to have extended over them the shield of the Constitution—to have given them laws and government. It was a reproach to congress that all this had been neglected or refused." (*Congressional Globe*, vol. xxii, p. 1415. See also *Note* 1, end of chapter).

[15] The word Deseret is a *Book of Mormon* word meaning "honey bee." It is, of course, the symbol of industry and frugality.

Dated at Great Salt Lake City, Great Basin, North America, this first day of February, 1849."[16]

In accordance with this call a "considerable number of the inhabitants of that portion of Upper California, lying east of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, met in convention in Great Salt Lake City, on Monday the 4th[17] and appointed Albert Carrington, Joseph L. Heywood, William W. Phelps, David Fullmer, John S. Fullmer, Charles C. Rich, John Taylor, Parley P. Pratt, John M. Bernhisel and Erastus Snow a committee to draft and report to the convention a constitution, under which the inhabitants of said territory might organize and govern themselves, *until the congress of the United States should otherwise provide by law*."[18]

The italics in the foregoing quotation are mine, and I employ them because of the efforts of anti-"Mormon" writers to distort this effort to establish a civil government in the Great Basin as something reprehensible, un-American in fact.[19] The last clause of the closing sentence, duly noted, certainly corrects such a false impression and proves that the proposed state was merely *a provisional government*, awaiting either the confirmation of the national congress to give permanent effect to its proceedings, or otherwise to provide for civil government in the territory concerned; in either event clearly recognizing the sovereignty of the national congress in the premises.

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[16] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, for 1849, entry 1st Feb., p. 3. "Monday, fifth day of March" in the text of the Notice is an error, should be the "fourth;" for Monday was the fourth of March that year, and that was the day the convention met.

[17] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1849, p. 26. The date on which the committee was appointed is given in the published reports of the ordinances passed by the "State of Deseret" as the 15th of March, and the date of their report as the 18th of March (See *Acts, Resolutions and Memorials of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah*, 1855, which authorized the publication of the Constitution and the ordinances passed by the "State of Deseret," pp. 44-109). All other original sources of information, however, are in harmony with the date of the text, while the date of the published report, though authorized by the territorial legislature, stands alone.

[18] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1849, p. 26.

[19] "Referring to the preamble of the Constitution, which was finally adopted, one anti-Mormon writer declares that the purpose was to establish a 'free and independent government,' that it was the intention for it to remain such 'until the new state thus constituted should be admitted into the Union.' In other words, they (i. e. the Mormons) intended through the machinery of this independent state to harass and annoy the government and the Gentiles until the 'saints' could force themselves into the union upon their own terms. * * * The formation of this government for the "State of Deseret" was the first effort to throw off the yoke of the federal government—an effort which has been persistently persevered in to the present time (i. e. 1866)." (*The Mormon Prophet*, or *An Authentic History of Brigham Young*, Waite, p. 13).

The convention assembled again on the 8th, 9th and 10th of March, when the committee appointed to draft a constitution, through its chairman, Albert Carrington, reported; and after such consideration as could be given the subject in the three days through which the convention met, a constitution was finally adopted. The preamble was as follows:

"*Whereas*, A large number of citizens of the United States, before and since the treaty of peace with the republic of Mexico, emigrated to and settled in that portion of the territory of the United States, lying west of the Rocky Mountains, and in the great interior basin of Upper California; and

Whereas, By reason of said treaty, all civil organization originating from the republic of Mexico became abrogated; and

Whereas, The congress of the United States has failed to provide a form of civil government for the territory so acquired, or any portion thereof; and

Whereas, Civil government and laws are necessary for the security, peace, and prosperity of society; and

Whereas, It is a fundamental principle in all republican governments that all political power is inherent in the people; and governments instituted for their protection, security, and benefit, should emanate from the same—

Therefore, Your committee beg leave to recommend the adoption of the following Constitution, until the congress of the United States shall otherwise provide for the government of the territory hereinafter named and described.

We, the people, grateful to the Supreme Being for the blessings hitherto enjoyed, and feeling our dependence on him for a continuation of those blessings, do ordain and establish a free and independent government, by the name of the 'State of Deseret;' including all the territory of the United States within the following boundaries, to wit: commencing at the 33rd degree of north latitude, where it crosses the 108th degree of longitude, west of Greenwich; thence running south and west to the northern boundary of Mexico; thence west to and down the main channel of the Gila river, on the northern line of Mexico, and on the northern boundary of Lower California to the Pacific Ocean;

thence along the coast northwesterly to 118 degrees, 30 minutes of west longitude; thence north to where said line intersects the dividing ridge of the Sierra Nevada Mountains; thence north along the summit of the Sierra Nevada Mountains to the dividing range of mountains that separates the waters flowing into the Columbia river, from the waters running into the Great Basin; thence easterly along the dividing range of mountains that separates said waters flowing into the Columbia river on the north, from the waters flowing into the Great Basin on the south, to the summit of the Wind river chain of mountains; thence southeast and south, by the dividing range of mountains that separate the waters flowing into the Gulf of Mexico, from the waters flowing into the Gulf of California; to the place of beginning, as set forth in a map drawn by Charles Preuss, and published by order of the senate of the United States in 1848."[20]

The Constitution of this provisional state government, in a general way, followed the lines of the older state constitutions; creating administrative, legislative, and judicial departments and describing and therefore prescribing the limits of each sphere of the government. The electorate of the state to vote upon the Constitution and at the first election was to consist of all white male residents of the state over the age of twenty-one years, exclusive of persons in the military, naval, or marine service of the United States.

The state officers were to be elected for a term of four years. The judicial power was to be vested in a supreme court, and such inferior courts as the general assembly "shall from time to time establish;" but the supreme court, by constitutional provision, was to consist of a chief justice and two associate justices elected by conjoint vote of both houses of the general assembly, their term of office to be for four years, and until their successors were elected and qualified.

The Constitution included a declaration of rights in which it was said that in republican governments all men should be born equally free and independent, and possess the right to enjoy and defend their rights of life and liberty; acquiring, possessing and defending property; seeking and obtaining their safety and happiness. All political power was declared to be inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded in their authority and instituted for their benefit; "therefore they have an inalienable and indefeasible right to institute government, and to alter, reform, and totally change the same when their safety, happiness, and the public good shall require it."[21]

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[20] *Millennial Star*, vol. xii, p. 19. The Constitution is there published *in extenso*, copied from the *New York Herald*. It will be observed that the boundaries proposed for the new state included an immense area of country. It gave the proposed state a bit of sea coast; the whole of the Great Basin; the Green, the Colorado, and the Gila river basins; and was truly an empire in extent. The great area to be included in the proposed state was one of the serious objections against the proposition to admit the state of Deseret into the Union.

A state militia was provided for, to consist of "all able bodied, white, male citizens, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years, except such as are or may be hereafter exempt by the laws of the United States, or this state; and shall be armed, equipped and trained as the general assembly may provide by law."

Religious Liberty Affirmed for the State of Deseret

Religious freedom within the state was emphatically affirmed in the following provision:

> "Section 3: All men shall have a natural and inalienable right to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience; and the general assembly shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or disturb any person in his religious worship or sentiments; provided he does not disturb the public peace, nor obstruct others in their religious worship; and all persons demeaning themselves peaceably, as good members of the state, shall be equally under the protection of the laws; and no subordination or preference of any one sect or denomination to another, shall ever be established by law; nor shall any religious test be ever required for any office of trust under this state."[22]

The first election was appointed for the first Monday in May, 1849, at the usual places of holding public meetings in the different districts and settlements; "at which time and place the qualified voters shall vote for or against the adoption of this Constitution; and if a majority of all the legal votes shall be in favor of its adoption, the same shall take effect from and after said election."

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[21] Article viii, *Constitution "State of Deseret,"* sec. 2.

[22] *Ibid,* sec. 3.

Salt Lake City was declared to be the seat of government, until otherwise provided by law.

While the Constitution designated the first Monday in May as the time for the first election, both for the adoption of the Constitution and the election of state officers, the first election was really held on the 12th of March at the "bowery" —the place of holding religious services—with the following result: The Constitution was adopted and state officers chosen:

For Governor: Brigham Young.
Secretary: Willard Richards.
Chief Justice: Heber C. Kimball.
Associate Justices: Newel K. Whitney and John Taylor.[23]
Marshal: Horace S. Eldredge.
Attorney General: Daniel H. Wells.
Assessor and Collector: Albert Carrington.
Treasurer: Newel K. Whitney.
Supervisor of Roads: Joseph L. Heywood.

The bishops of the nineteen wards that Salt Lake City was now divided into, together with the bishops of Weber river precinct; North Cottonwood precinct; North Mill canon; South [Little] Cottonwood, Big Cottonwood, and Mill Creek, were elected magistrates to serve in a civil capacity.[24]

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[23] The election of the chief and the associate justices indicates an irregularity, since the Constitution provided for the election of these judges by the conjoint vote of the two houses of the general assembly. The other irregularity of procedure consisted in changing the time of holding the election from the first Monday in May to the 12th of March.

[24] If the election of the bishops of the respective wards, referred to in the text, was intended to be the election of the "inferior judges" contemplated by the state Constitution, then their election marks another irregularity of procedure, as the Constitution declared that the election of the judiciary, except members of the supreme court, should be provided for by the legislature. But evidently there was such unanimity of feeling and action that the people were doing things on the basis of "unanimous consent." Making these bishops civil magistrates was evidently only a temporary arrangement; as also the first election of the supreme court judges since a few months later, after the new government had been more completely inaugurated, Messrs. Daniel H. Wells, Daniel Spencer, and Orson Spencer

The number of votes cast for the candidates is given as 674;[25] and as things were being done practically by unanimous consent, it is supposed that the votes for the Constitution and for all the state officers, were practically the same.

The constitutional convention which convened on the 4th of March, 1849, before adjournment, memorialized the national congress in behalf of their constituents and the approval of the Constitution they were about to submit for consideration.[26]

The Memorial called attention to the fact that congress had failed to provide, by law, a form of civil government for any part of the territory ceded to the United States by the republic of Mexico; that "strong fears have been, and still are entertained from the failure of congress to provide legal, civil authorities, that political aspirants may subject the government of the United States to the sacrifice of much blood and treasure in extending jurisdiction over that valuable country;" that in regard for their own security, *and for the preservation of the constitutional right of the United States to hold jurisdiction there,* the inhabitants of the "State of Deseret" had organized a provisional state government under which the civil policy of the nation is duly maintained; that there were a sufficient number of individuals residing within the "State of Deseret" to support a state government, thereby relieving the general government from the expense of a territorial government in the region marked off by the boundaries of the proposed state.

"Your memorialists therefore ask your honorable body," concluded this supplementary document to the Constitution,

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were nominated as judges of the supreme court; Andrew Perkins for county judge; with Messrs. William Crosby and James Hendrix associate judges; Messrs. Aaron Farr and Willard Snow magistrates. (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, for January, 1850, p. 3).

[25] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, pp. 38, 39, entry for the 12th of March, 1849.

[26] For date of memorial see *Millennial Star*, vol. xii, p. 23. It was afterwards adopted by the general assembly of the "State of Deseret," July of the same year, and forwarded to congress by the hand of the representative of the provisional state government, Almon W. Babbitt.

"to favorably consider their interests; and, if consistent with the Constitution and usages of the federal government, that the Constitution accompanying this memorial be ratified, and that the 'State of Deseret' be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with other states, *or such other form of civil government as your wisdom and magnanimity may award to the people of Deseret.* And, upon the adoption of any form of government here, that their delegates be received, and their interests properly and faithfully represented, in the congress of the United States. And your memorialists, as in duty bound, will ever pray."[27]

AN UNFORTUNATE ALTERNATIVE—"A TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT" PROPOSED

As if mistrustful of their application for a sovereign state government and admission into the Union being favorably received, a petition was circulated in April, of the same year, asking for a territorial form of government. Brigham Young records the fact that he signed this second memorial on the 30th of that month, and that it bore the signatures of 2,270 others.[28] The boundaries of the territory to be included within the jurisdiction of the civil government to be created, followed practically those of the "State of Deseret," though here and there extended to more definite lines.[29]

The justification for petitioning for so large an area of country is disclosed in this second memorial as being, to use the memorialists own words,—"we have done more by our arms and influence than any other equal number of citizens to obtain and secure this country to the government of the United States: therefore," they continue, "we respectfully petition your honorable body to charter for your memorialists a territorial government of the most liberal construction authorized by our excellent federal Constitution, with the least possible delay, to be known by the name of 'Deseret.' "

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[27] *Millennial Star,* vol. xii, p. 24. *Italics* are mine—author.

[28] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.,* 1849, pp. 70-71, entry for April 30.

[29] This more especially on the east and the north; the boundaries were to include all lands "lying between Oregon and Mexico, and between the Sierra Nevada and the 27th degree of west longitude" (i. e. from Washington). (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.,* 1849, p. 72).

Dr. John M. Bernhisel was given the mission of taking this second Memorial to Washington, there to make application for a territorial government; at the same time being instructed to call upon Colonel Thomas L. Kane and confer with him in the matter. A rather free hand was given to Colonel Kane in relation to the boundaries of the proposed territory; as he was authorized to extend, if consistent, the proposed northern boundary line to latitude 43 degrees north; to modify the eastern line, and the line extending to the Pacific coast as he might find it expedient or necessary.[30] Dr. Bernhisel was also given a letter of introduction to Senator Stephen A. Douglas, whose aid the Salt Lake colonists solicited, in the name of past friendship for the saints, and associations with the church leaders.[31] Dr. Bernhisel left on his mission for Washington on the 4th of May, 1849.

Surely in all this procedure to establish civil government the Salt Lake colonists were deferential enough to the general government. Their Constitution for the provisional state and their Memorial accompanying the same breathe no spirit of defiance; and give no evidence of a wish for political separation from the United States. Neither does their petition for a territorial form of government. On the contrary these documents represent the people in the Salt Lake valley as taking the initiative in the matter of establishing civil government only because the general government had failed to provide by law for civil government in any part of that extensive territory ceded to the United States by Mexico;[32] that, feeling secure in their ability to care for themselves, they instituted this provisional state government for the preservation of the constitutional rights of the United States to hold jurisdiction within its boundaries, and maintain the civil policy of the nation; that if this form of government they presented for a sovereign state in the Union was not consistent with the usages of the federal government, then a willingness is expressed to accept "such other form of civil government," as "the wisdom and magnanimity" of congress "may award to the people of 'Deseret';" only praying that upon the adoption of any form of government for the country they occupied, their "delegates be received and their interests properly and faithfully represented in the congress of the United States."

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[30] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1849, p. 73.

[31] *Ibid*, pp. 73, 74.

[32] See *Note* 1, end of chapter.

If the procedure in all this matter is open to criticism at any point, it would have to be an indictment against the colonists for too great complaisance towards the general government in expressing willingness to accept, practically, any form of government which the "wisdom or magnanimity" of the congress might "award to the people of 'Deseret'." The right of the people to local self-government is a more stalwart right than it is here represented to be by the several actions of the Salt Lake colonists. And while they may have been extravagant in the matter of the extensive boundaries they prescribed, both for the state and the territory they petitioned for, in the matter of asserting the right of self-government for their community, the colonists were over moderate.

So, too, evidently, thought their friend and political advisor, Colonel Thomas L. Kane, who, when the agent of the colonists, Dr. John M. Bernhisel, accompanied by Wilford Woodruff, called upon him in Philadelphia, strongly advised against presenting the petition for a territorial form of government, on the ground that they would be better off without any government than with a territorial government, unless they could at least obtain assurances that the officers would be appointed from residents of the territory. Following are Colonel Kane's remarks on this head as reported by Elder Wilford Woodruff:

"You are better off without any government from the hands of congress than with a territorial government. The political intrigues of government officers will be against you. You can govern yourselves better than they can govern you. I would prefer to see you withdraw the bill, rather than to have a territorial government, for if you are defeated in the state government, you can fall back upon it again at another session, if you have not a territorial government; but if you have, you cannot apply for a state government for a number of years. I insist upon it, you do not want corrupt political men from Washington strutting around you, with military epaulettes and dress, who will speculate out of you all they can. They will also control the Indian agency, and Land agency, and will conflict with your calculations in a great measure. You do not want two governments. You have a government now [alluding to the provisional state government of Deseret then in existence] which is firm and powerful, and you are under no obligations to the United States." * * * If you have a state government, men may come along and say, 'I am judge,' 'I am colonel,' 'I am governor,' you can whistle and ask no odds of them. But while you have a territorial government you cannot do it. And then there are always so many intrigues to make political parties among you, the first thing you know, a strong political party is rising up in your midst, selfish, and against your interests."[33]

That the violation of these principles and rights of "home rule"—"local self-government,"—discussed above by Colonel Kane, and dear to Anglo-Saxon people everywhere, but doubly dear to Americans, among whom their necessity and their value had been demonstrated in the colonial days of the United States—that the violation of these principles and rights, I say, were responsible for much, and very much, of the difficulties which subsequently arose between the people of Utah and the government of the United States, will be noted in the proper place.

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33. The above was reported by Elder Woodruff and is recorded in the *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1849, pp. 161-164. See also *Journal of Wilford Woodruff, Ms.*, entry for 26th of Nov., 1849, in Addenda near close of his *Journal* for 1849. It appears from this interview, reported by Woodruff, that Colonel Kane had presented even an earlier petition for territorial government for the Salt Lake colonists; and that this petition was tentatively presented in the closing months of President Polk's administration; and then withdrawn because Colonel Kane could not be sure that territorial officers from among the colonists would be appointed, but men from the east who would not be in sympathy with them; from which circumstance he foresaw great difficulties would arise—and they did afterwards arise—and hence he withdrew the petition he had presented. The incident is so important, and as it is one that has escaped our historians, I give the passage from Colonel Kane's remarks, as reported by Wilford Woodruff, at the close of this chapter. (See *Note* 2 end of chapter).

It is not of record that John M. Bernhisel took any steps to present to congress the petition for a territorial government, naturally the advice of Colonel Kane would deter him from taking such a step; but he became earnestly active in presenting the cause of the "State of Deseret" to the members of both the house and the senate of the national congress.[34]

Meantime the provisional state government of Deseret went into effect. On the 2nd of July, 1849, the general assembly met and on the 3rd the speaker of the house, Willard Snow, administered the oath of office to the state officers. On the 5th in conjoint session, Almon W. Babbitt was "elected delegate and representative to congress." The house of Deseret general assembly on the 6th, and the senate on the 9th, "adopted" the memorial to congress, passed by the constitutional convention on the 9th of March previous, praying for the admission of the " 'State of Deseret,' into the Union, on an equal footing with the other states;" or "such other form of civil government as congress in its wisdom and magnanimity" might "award to the people of Deseret." Two thousand copies of the Constitution and Memorial were ordered printed. Later certified copies of the Constitution and Memorial together with a synopsis of the proceedings of the general assembly were signed by the secretary of state, Willard Richards, and placed in the hands of the delegate-representative, Almon W. Babbitt, to be presented to congress.[35]

REJOICING AT KANESVILLE OVER DESERET'S PROSPECTS

En route to the east, Mr. Babbitt went *via* Kanesville, where, on the 9th of September a public celebration was given in which the saints in the Missouri river settlements participated in a day of rejoicing in anticipation of the admission of the "State of Deseret" into the Union. A long procession marched through the streets of Kanesville, headed by special officers of the day, and Pitt's martial band. Various banners were displayed along the line, prominent among which was one designed and painted for the occasion. The stars and stripes, constituted the background, but with a rising star represented in the center, also a Bee Hive, the emblem of the proposed state, and in the white stripes of the flag were the words:

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[34] The services of Doctor Bernhisel are worthy of special mention, and his own report of them as they are recorded in the *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, will be found in *Note* 3 at the end of the chapter.

[35] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1849, p. 104.

> *"The Constitution of the United States: May it Live Forever;"*
> *"Liberty and Truth Will Prevail."*

There was music, songs and speeches; a welcome to Mr. Babbitt as the representative to congress from the new state; a response by him, which was the principal speech of the occasion. A public dinner was served at which all partook of earth's bounties; many toasts were given and responded to; one of which was as follows:

> *"May the new star Deseret be as the star of Bethlehem, a Guide to the Nations."*

The whole celebration ended with a dancing party in the evening.[36]

Of course the reason for the rejoicing by the people in the Missouri settlements over the prospect of a state government in the Great Basin, grew out of their intention to migrate to the new state, and their community sympathy with the saints in the Salt Lake valley.

THE "STATE OF DESERET" BEFORE CONGRESS

Delegate Babbitt arrived in Washington in due time, but congress appeared to be in no mood to admit Deseret into the Union of states. Senator Douglas, notwithstanding Colonel Kane's disparaging remark as to his real friendship for the Salt Lake colonists, introduced the memorial of the general assembly of the provisional state, also the "Constitution," into the senate, describing it as an application for admission as a state, "with the alternative of admission as a territory, if congress should so direct;" and moved that the Memorial and the "Constitution" be printed and referred to the committee on territories. This on the 27th of December, 1849.[37] The same documents were introduced into the house by Mr. Linn Boyd of Kentucky, together with the credentials of the delegate, Mr. Babbitt, which were referred to the house committee on territories, but not until the 28th of January, 1850.[38]

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[36] The day's proceedings are given at length in the *Frontier Guardian* of Sept. 19, 1849. As an item of interest it may be added that in a letter from the first presidency to Orson Hyde they speak of having heard of Oliver Cowdery's return to the church, and that his feelings were right; and they express the wish that he might accompany Mr. Babbitt to Washington, and direct Elder Hyde to render brother Cowdery assistance to that end. But doubtless for the reason that Cowdery was absent in Missouri, he did not join Babbitt in this mission. (See *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1850, p. 105). The letter to Hyde bears date of July 20th, 1849. The presidency also wrote direct to Oliver Cowdery congratulating him on his return to the church, admonishing him to righteousness and informing him of their desire that he should accompany Mr. Babbitt to Washington and endeavor "to obtain the admission of the 'State of Deseret' into the union." (*Ibid*, pp. 106-7).

The question of admitting Almon W. Babbitt as a delegate from the "State of Deseret," was referred to the house committee on elections, which after some time unanimously reported to the house the following resolution:

> "That it is inexpedient to admit Almon W. Babbitt, Esq., to a seat in this body as a delegate from the alleged state of Deseret."

The resolution after long debates was finally adopted by a vote of 104 to 78.[39]

The reasons which prevailed against the admission of the delegate seemed to be (1) that the memorial he presented from the legislature of the provisional state, did not ask for representation in congress until that body had awarded the people of Deseret some form of government;[40] (2) that Mr.

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[37] *Congressional Globe*, vol. xxi, p. 86.

[38] *Ibid*, p. 229. On the 23rd of Jan., Mr. Boyd had previously asked unanimous consent to introduce the memorial, the Constitution, and the credentials of the delegate (*Ibid*, p. 213), but objection being made, the matter went over to the 28th.

[39] The matter was decided on the 20th of July, 1850. (*Congressional Globe*, vol. xxii, p. 1413).

[40] "When, therefore, Mr. Babbitt came here [i. e. to congress] and asked the house to admit him to a seat on this floor, he asked that which his legislative constituency who sent him have not asked. On the contrary, they asked that he

Babbitt came as the representative of a state, but of a state not in the Union; and, therefore, not entitled to representation in congress; (3) congress could not admit the delegate without at the same time recognizing a legal existence for the "state" from which he came as delegate; (4) the boundaries of the proposed state, as described in the preamble of the Constitution, included portions of both California and Oregon.[41]

Those who favored the admission of a delegate from Deseret opposed these technical, legal grounds for his rejection, with the broad American principle of the right of a community to representation in legislative bodies where their interests were to be determined; and the right of a community to be self-governing. The case of the delegate and people of "Deseret" was most effectively stated by Mr. McDonald, of Indiana, who said:

> "The people of that territory had provided a state government—a political organization. They were unquestionably citizens of the United States, and their interests should be promoted here by the admission of an accredited agent, capable of furnishing any information which might be required. * * * But the chairman of the committee on elections says, that because Deseret has adopted a state Constitution, therefore we must not admit her delegate, lest, thereby, we adopt her Constitution also. Does the gentleman believe that the house of representatives can admit a state into the Union?[42] Can

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should be received *after* a form of government should have been established [i. e. by congress] and not *before*." (Speech of Mr. Strong of Pennsylvania, chairman of the committee on territories). In support of which Mr. Strong quotes from the memorial—"and, upon the adoption of any form of government here, that their delegate be received, and their interests properly and faithfully represented in the congress of the United States."

[41] For the debates on this whole question see *Congressional Globe*, vol. xxii, *passim*, but more especially pp. 1413-1423. An effort was later made to secure Babbitt's admission on the same credentials after congress had passed the enabling act (Sept. 9th, 1850) creating the territory of Utah, and fixing its boundaries; but this, too, failed (*Ibid, pp.* 1811, 1850, 1868); though an appropriation was made by congress allowing him the same for mileage that was allowed the delegate from Oregon—$2,460. (*Congressional Globe*, vol. xxii, pp. 1779, 1949). Douglas, when presenting the same to the senate, at the request of the House Committee on Territories, named the amount given above, but said it was "for mileage *and* compensation" (*Congressional Globe*, vol. xxi, p. 822), to be paid out of the contingent fund of the house. The *Deseret News* of Nov., 1850, declares that the bill introduced into the house allowing $5 per day and $2000 traveling fees was negatived by the casting vote of the speaker. (vol. i, p. 164).

[42] Mr. McDonald had previously shown that it would require the cooperation of house, senate and executive to do that.

we, by a resolution of the house, admit a state into the confederacy? Surely not. We cannot, then, so recognize the political institutions which these people have formed as to give them more force or effect than attaches to them at this time. Nor do we, by the simple admission of a delegate here to represent the wishes of that people, adopt or recognize any political organization established by themselves. * * *

From the memorial of the legislature of Deseret, which has been read, and from the report of the committee on elections, it seems that these people have acted with great forbearance, prudence, and moderation. For purpose of self-protection, they formed a state government; and they call upon the congress of the United States, either to give them a state government, or to form such other organic law, or regulations as congress in its wisdom may think proper. It is true they did not expect their delegate to take his seat until some form of government had been furnished. But could they have believed that congress would have remained seven months in session and that the question of their organization, would not, during that long period, even have been approached? And may not this unprecedented delay on the part of congress in acting for the people of that territory, very justly have induced a departure from the strict line of instructions which Mr. Babbitt had received, so that he might ask to be admitted at once, to represent the rights and interests of the people who sent him here? * * * He is admitted merely that he may give information as to the people whom he represents—that he may present their petitions here and ask for them such legislation as may be suited to their peculiar wants and condition."[48]

THE GENERAL JOHN WILSON INCIDENT

Meantime another event had happened which promised for a time to brighten the prospects of Deseret in gaining admision into the Union. This was the arrival in Salt Lake valley of General John Wilson with a small military escort, on a mission to the Salt Lake colonists from President Zachary Taylor.

General Wilson arrived on the 20th of August, 1849. He had been appointed United States Indian Agent for California, by President Zachary Taylor, and was *en route* to the field of his labors. The private mission from President

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43. *Congressional Globe*, vol. xxii, pp. 1413, 1414. Mr. McDonald had proposed an amendment to the resolution of the committee on territories rejecting Mr. Babbitt, in the following language: "That Almon W. Babbitt be admitted to a seat in this house of representatives of the United States, as a delegate from the territory of Deseret, for the present congress." His remarks above were in support of this amendment.

Taylor in substance he stated as follows: Trouble was anticipated in the then approaching congress which would convene in December. Texas had been annexed and was a slave state. So extensive was her territory, that it was capable of being divided into several states, all of which, of course, would become slave states. The treaty which closed the war with Mexico had resulted in the United States obtaining an immense area of country, out of which new states and territories would be carved; and, of course, there was in prospect a terrible struggle between the pro-slavery and anti-slavery parties, the former seeking to establish slavery in, and the latter to exclude it from the states and territories to be created out of this new accession of territory. It was thought by the administration, that if a large state extending from the Pacific Ocean eastward to Salt Lake—including all the territory ceded by Mexico to the United States—was admitted as one state, leaving the question of slavery to be determined by the people of the state, it would remove the question from congress; and if the proposed state was voted free, as most likely it would be, it would offset the then late accession of Texas and thus calm the rising storm over that question.

General Wilson stated, that so eager was the president of the United States in regard to the subject, that if he (Wilson) found any difficulty in the way, his instructions were to appeal to the patriotism of the "Mormon" people.

Elder Taylor, Charles C. Rich, and Daniel Spencer were appointed to confer with General Wilson upon the subject of his mission. The result of those deliberations was a proposal by the people of Salt Lake valley, California agreeing therewith, to form a state unitedly, and continue in that condition two years; after which the eastern part of the state was to be formed into a state by itself.

The dissolution of the one state into two, however, at the beginning of 1851, was to be realized automatically by the fulfillment of terms agreed upon in the Constitution to be adopted, without any further action of congress. "We are to have a general Constitution for two states," writes Brigham Young to Amasa M. Lyman, then in California, "the boundaries of the one mentioned by us, before referred to, [the boundaries of the "State of Deseret" already described] is our state, the other boundaries to be defined by the people on the coast, to be agreed upon in a general convention; the two states to be consolidated in one and named as the convention shall think proper, but to be dissolved at the commencement of the year 1851, each one having its own Constitution, and each becoming a free, sovereign, independent state, without any further action of congress." And "in case of a consolidated state being formed," "the Constitution must, *bona fide,* remain unalterable during the consolidation.[44]

The Wilson Proposition Rejected by California

Elder Amasa M. Lyman was appointed a delegate to cooperate with General Wilson in representing Salt Lake valley colonists to the convention it was proposed to call in California to consider President Taylor's proposition. General Wilson, however, was delayed in his journey by snow storms and did not reach California until late in January, 1850. And by this time California had already held her constitutional convention, adopted her Constitution,[45] agreed upon the boundaries of the state, and its first legislature, on the arrival of General Wilson, was in session at San Jose, where it had convened on the 15th of December, previous. The proposals which Messrs. Wilson and Lyman were authorized to make on behalf of the people of Deseret to California's constitutional convention, were made by memorial to that state's legislature; but Governor P. H. Burnett reviewed the several proposals one by one in a message to the legislature, condemning them all. Among other things he held that the communities were too far apart to be united even temporarily, and that "Texas and Maine might as well be made one state as Deseret and California.[46] The legislature, whether in consequence of the governor's views, or for independent reasons, does not appear, refused consideration of the Memorial, and there the matter ended.

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[44] The letter to Lyman is given *in extenso* in *History of Brigham Young,* and is a strong document, cautious yet bold, and it gives a fine illustration of the statesmanlike foresight of Brigham Young. (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.,* September 6, 1849, pp. 124-131).

[45] When the national congress adjourned on the 4th of March, 1849, all that had been done in the way of providing civil government for the territory ceded to the United States by Mexico was to extend over it the revenue laws, and to make San Francisco a port of entry. Because congress had thus failed to provide civil government for the ceded territory (See Bancroft's *California,* vol. xi, ch. xii), the people of California proceeded to install a state government for themselves. The convention chosen by the people met on the first of September, at Monterey, and completed its work by the 13th of October (*Ibid*). This action on the part of the people of California was also irregular and without the authority of law, and was necessarily based upon the same facts and principles upon which the people of Deseret acted, *viz.,* the neglect and even refusal of the national congress to provide civil government, the right of the people to civil government, self-government at that in some form or other. There was strong opposition to the admission of California, chiefly from the southern states, primarily, no doubt, upon the questions of slavery involved in her admission; but also on

STATE *vs.* TERRITORIAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT FOR "DESERET"—CHANGE OF FRONT

It may not now be determined what produced the change

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the ground that her course in applying for admission was irregular, and her "Constitution had been formed without the authority of law." (*History of the United States*, Stephens, p. 513). She was admitted into the Union, however, as part of Senator Henry Clay's great compromise measure, on the 9th of September, 1850.

[46] Editorial in the *Frontier Guardian*, 29th May, 1850. Also *Deseret News* July 6th, 1850, p. 51. The effort on the part of President Zachary Taylor to establish governments in the territory ceded by Mexico to the United States, is the subject of his message, with accompanying documents, of the 21st of January, 1850. The message of the president was in response to a resolution of the house of representatives asking for information and official documents upon the subject of executive interference in the formation of state or territorial governments in New Mexico and California (see *Congressional Globe*, vol. xxi, p. 90). In his message nothing is said by the president of Deseret and the mission of General Wilson because the inquiry of the house resolution did not mention the Deseret colonies. The president admitted having appointed Hon. Thomas Buttler King, congressman from Georgia, as bearer of dispatches to California, *and the appointment of certain officers to California*, and New Mexico, whose duties were defined in department letters transmitted with his message. He then adds: "I did not hesitate to express to the people of these territories my desire that each territory should, if prepared to comply with the requisitions of the Constitution of the United States, form a plan of a state constitution, and submit the same to congress with a prayer for admission into the Union as a state; but I did not anticipate, suggest, or authorize the establishment of any such government without the assent of congress, nor did I authorize any government agent or officer to interfere with or exercise any influence or control over the election of delegates, or over any convention, in making or modifying their domestic institutions, or any of the provisions of their proposed Constitution." (*Message and Papers of the Presidents*, vol. v, pp. 26-30).

in the minds of leaders of the Salt Lake colonists in relation to a more earnest desire for a state rather than for a territorial government for Deseret. It may have been the incident of the visit of General Wilson, and the more careful consideration of the advantages of a state government as against a territorial government, necessarily involved in the proposition of a state government in temporary union with California. Or it may have been the views of Colonel Thomas L. Kane upon the subject, expressed to Messrs. Bernhisel and Woodruff and reported to Brigham Young, in which the colonel pointed out the undesirability of a territorial government for Deseret, and the necessity of a state government in order to procure the political peace and happiness of her people. His views have already been stated in this chapter. No matter which of these incidents produced the change—perhaps both were contributing causes—the change came, and that after they had received both the report of California's legislature refusing to consider the question of uniting the Salt Lake and Pacific coast communities into one state; and the views of Colonel Kane, that they had better remain as they were than to accept a territorial government. The general assembly of Deseret passed a series of resolutions to the effect that their agent, Dr. Bernhisel, and their delegate, Almon W. Babbitt, be instructed to withdraw all petitions, memorials, and applications to congress for a territorial government; that they use all proper means to procure an early admission of the "State of Deseret" under the Constitution presented; and representing that it would be far better for the people of Deseret to remain as they were, until congress should see proper to admit them as a state, than to accept a territorial government.[47]

A committee of three was appointed to draft a letter to accompany the resolutions;[48] and that communication very ably presented the case for a state government, as will be seen by a few excerpts from it:

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[47] *Deseret News* for Sept. 21, 1850. The resolutions are there given at length. The influence of Colonel Kane's suggestions are discernible throughout.

[48] D. H. Wells, Parley P. Pratt and Orson Spencer were the committee.

> "If congress has passed, at the present session, an act for the organization of a territory called 'Utah Territory,' which they design for us, regardless of all our feelings in the matter, then we have only to yield our quiet acquiescence therein, for the time being only urging the more strenuously, the early adjustment of our boundaries, and acceptances of our Constitution and admission. If, on the contrary, they have adjourned, and no action had upon the subject, you will only urge our claims for admission as a state. * * * Had congress given us a territorial organization in the first instance all would have been well: (This doubtless in reference to the application Colonel Kane was authorized to make, see *Note* 2, end of chapter) for then we could have tracked accordingly. But what else, we ask, during the tardy action of congress, could we have done, than what we have? Should we have lain dormant, and permitted our settlements to be overrun by the natives, and ourselves by the lawless and most blameable inaction and indifference, characterize our lack of interest for the welfare of our existence as an enlightened or civilized people? * * *
>
> Do they object to the name of our state? It is good enough for us, who have to wear it. Do they object to our numbers as being insufficient? Let them take the census! Do they object to our boundaries? Let them leave it to the inhabitants who dwell therein to decide, and if they choose to go into western California, or have a state of their own south of us so let it be. * * * We admit the boundary asked for is large, when we consider the area; but if land susceptible of cultivation, that will admit of a dense population, is taken into consideration, it is not so large; and we are not advised of a single dissenting voice within our proposed boundaries, that objects to being included therein. * * *
>
> What propriety or consistency is there in granting us a territorial, and California a state government? When our actual settlers outnumber them as five to three; and, moreover, those who have been expected to locate there, are at this moment flowing back upon us by hundreds and thousands? We admit the potency of gold; but should not a nation be willing, nay, seek to cherish those who are endeavoring to render her most sterile and barren domain productive; who are extending settlements, making improvements, and developing the national resources of hitherto unexplored regions, thereby adding to the national wealth? * * *
>
> Let congress give us a government, based as all republican governments should be, upon the authority of the people; let them decide our boundaries in accordance with the wishes of the actual settlers, or residents therein, upon the principle of common justice, according and guaranteeing unto us those rights and immunities only, which are the privilege of American citizens in like, or similar circumstances."[49]

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[49] *Deseret News* of Sept. 21st, 1850, where the letter is given at length.

A TERRITORY, NOT A STATE CREATED BY CONGRESS—UTAH NOT "DESERET"

The effort to obtain a state rather than a territorial government, came too late, however, even if it could, in any event, have influenced the action of the national congress. The resolutions of the state's general assembly were passed on the 11th of September; the act creating a territorial government for Utah, became a law on the 9th day of the same month and year. The act creating the territory very greatly reduced the area that had been proposed for the boundaries of the state; or for the territory of Deseret. The boundaries were as follows: "All that part of the territory of the United States included within the following limits *to wit*: bounded on the west by the state of California [which then extended on the east to the 120th degree of west longitude]; on the north by the territory of Oregon [to the 42nd degree of north latitude; on the east by the summit of the Rocky Mountains, and on the south by the 37th parallel of north latitude."[50] Congress altogether ignored the wishes of the people with reference to the name of the state or territory to be formed by an act of congress. The territory of Utah was created; the boon of statehood was withheld for a half century, less four years.

NOTES

1. REFUSAL OF THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT TO PROVIDE CIVIL GOVERNMENT IN THE GREAT BASIN

The statement in the text of this *History*, that the United States not only failed to provide civil government in the Great Basin, but refused to do it for some time, is quite right and provable. President Zachary Taylor in a special message to congress under date of January 23rd, 1850, transmitting certain documents and information respecting the founding of government in the ceded territory, says:

"On coming into office, I found the military commandant of the Department of California exercising the functions of civil governor in that territory; and left, as I was, under the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, without the aid of any legislative provision establishing a government in that territory, I thought it best not to disturb that arrangement, made under my predecessor, until congress should take some action on that subject. I therefore did not interfere with the powers of the military commandant, who continued to exercise the functions of civil governor as before, but I made no such appointment, conferred no such authority, and have allowed no increased compensation to the commandant for his service."

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[50] *Organic Act Creating Territory of Utah,* sec. i.

This represents the conditions existing as to civil government in the ceded territory up to Jan. 23rd, 1850.

Later, in the same message, after discussing the matter of California's application for admission as a state, and referring to the part of the ceded territory "uninhabited, except in a settlement of our countrymen in the vicinity of Salt Lake," President Taylor remarked:

"No material inconvenience will result from the want, for a short period, of a government established by congress over that part of the territory which lies eastward of the new state of California."[51]

On the 11th of December, 1848, there had been referred to the house committee on territories, a resolution instructing that committee to "inquire into the expediency of so dividing the territory of Upper California as to organize and extend a district territorial government over that portion of said territory which includes the white settlement in the vicinity of the Salt Lake." Early in January Mr. Rockwell of Massachusetts, made an adverse report on the matter, and the report was laid on the table. So that congress, I say, not only failed to provide civil government for the Great Basin territory, but refused to do so, at least from the acquisition of the ceded territory in February, 1848, to January, 1850, a period of about two years. And since the general government would not take the initiative in establishing civil government, were not the people justified in doing so?

The statement of President Taylor in the above to the effect that no material inconvenience would result from a further delay in the establishment of government by congress in the territory east of California, reveals a lack of information on the part of the president of the actual conditions prevailing in the Salt Lake valley; for in addition to the considerable "Mormon" population in the valley—by this time, 1850, numbering 11,380, there was the annual migration through their settlements of thousands of gold seekers who arrived in the valley with many differences and claims to be settled, and naturally expected in such a community as they found on the shores of the Great Salt Lake and in adjacent valleys, civil government established and courts of law to which they might appeal for a settlement of personal grievances and property rights. And while, if the "Mormon" colonies had been entirely isolated, and had remained exclusively "Mormon," they would have found the organization of their church, and submission to the rulings of its ecclesiastical courts adequate for the maintenance of substantial justice and the good order of society, still a population of mixed faiths, and conflicting interests such as the colonies in the Great Basin were rapidly becoming, could not be expected to be satisfied with the rule of a church in civil affairs; so that there was very great need for the establishment of civil government in the Salt Lake valley, and very material inconvenience and serious complications were likely to arise by the government continuing to delay, even for a short period longer, the establishment of government by congress over the territory in the Great Basin, President Taylor to the contrary notwithstanding.

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[51] *Message and Papers of the Presidents,* vol. v, pp. 26-30).

2. THE VIEWS OF COLONEL KANE ON THE DESIRABILITY OF A STATE RATHER THAN OF A TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT FOR THE SALT LAKE COLONISTS

Colonel Kane said: "You must not commit yourselves to any party, but keep a close mouth with all parties, and the most discreet and wise course must be pursued in order to do anything at all. I will do what I can with the Free Soil party, my father and Mr. Dallas with the Democrats. It will be the most critical congress ever held.

I applied, according to the wish of President Young, for a territorial government. I had my last sad, and painful interview with President Polk. I found he did not feel disposed to favor your people, and he had his men of his own stamp picked out to serve as governor and other officers, who would have oppressed you or injured you in any way to fill their own pockets. He would not appoint men from among yourselves, and I saw it absolutely necessary that you should have officers of your own people, to govern you, or you were better without any government. I had to use my own discretion, and I withdrew the petition. I am fully decided upon that point—that you must have officers of yourselves, and not military politicians strutting around in your midst, and usurping authority over you. It will not do for you to take up the slavery question, or anti-slavery, or any other side, but be neutral.

Atchison of Missouri, with the Mormon opposing party, will still be your enemies. Thomas Benton has been an inveterate enemy, and still may be. And all the parties, with the whole congress, are a mass of corruption and abomination. They are all governed by party management, without any regard to principle, and if we do anything upon this subject we shall have to enter into wise management. We have to favor the south some, though they are your enemies, and I hate to do it. Parties are all breaking up and new ones are forming, and no man can tell what a day will bring forth. Thomas Benton was the head of your being driven from Winter Quarters, in the Indian country, and Polk favored it, and I could not turn them from their purpose. I told Mr. Polk we should not present any petition while he dictated matters. Benton is still your enemy at heart. Douglas is going down with a certain class connected with him. The time was when he could have done your people much good by merely bearing his testimony of your good character while he was judge in Illinois, and he would not do it."[52]

Notwithstanding this opinion respecting Douglas' course, that senator, as will be seen from the text of this *History*, continued for some time, at least, to assist the agents of the Salt Lake colonists in getting their several measures before the senate.

3. DR. BERNHISEL'S ACTIVITIES IN WASHINGTON FOR THE ADMISSION OF THE "STATE OF DESERET"

The doctor arrived at Washington on November 30, 1849, and took temporary lodgings at the National Hotel which he described as "the center of politics, fashions, and folly." "I met General Cass," he remarks, in a letter to President Young, "at his invitation, in the senate chamber on the first day of the session, and was introduced to the vice-president, Millard Fillmore, Mr. John C. Calhoun and a number of other senators. The vice-president kindly granted me the privilege of the floor of the senate during my sojourn in Washington. On the same day I was also admitted to the privileged seats on the floor of the house of representatives. I merely mention these things to show that the prophecy which you delivered in the council in regard to my reception at Washington has been literally fulfilled.

Since my arrival here I have been quite busy among the grave senators, the impulsive representatives of the people, and other functionaries. I took ground and did not experience any difficulty in making the acquaintance of all the leading men in both houses of congress, and that of a host of other members, though not particularly distinguished, yet highly respectable and influential. I conversed freely with all of them, explained matters to them, and answered objections.

In the early part of the session I called on the editors of all the leading journals in this city, and furnished each of them with a copy of the Memorial and Constitution of Deseret. I also handed copies of them to members of congress, as well as to heads of departments whenever an opportunity presented itself, and I presume that all have not seen them. I also sent a copy to the editor of the *New York Herald*, which he published. The Constitution is highly approved by the south, because it contains no clause inhibiting the introduction of slavery, but the free soilers and many other northern members object to it on that ground."

The Doctor gave an account of the presentation December 27th, 1849, of the Memorial and Constitution of "Deseret" to the senate by Judge Douglas, who asked for the admission of Deseret into the Union as a state or for a territorial government, leaving the alternative with congress; and of the presentation of the same to the house by Hon. Lynn Boyd, Jan. 3rd; at which time objection being made they were laid over till the 28th, when they were referred to the committee on territories and ordered to be printed.

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[52] *Woodruff's Journal*, entry for 26th Nov., 1849. The statement is in his Addenda notes near the close of his *Journal* for that year, under the caption, "Views of Colonel Thomas L. Kane on a Government for Deseret." The pages of that part of the *Journal* are not numbered.

About the same time Senator Underwood presented a memorial from William Smith [this the Prophet Joseph's brother] and Isaac Sheen. A similar document was presented to the house by Mr. Stanton. The wholesale calumny contained in Smith and Sheen's memorial created quite a sensation in both wings of the capitol, and it was referred to the committee on territories and ordered to be printed.

The doctor, feeling it his special duty and privilege to disabuse the minds of members of congress, called upon them in relation to the memorial and thereby had many opportunities of setting before them the history and belief of the saints. In his interviews with Senator Underwood he refuted the charges of Smith and Sheen as to the disloyalty of our people, their refusal to obey the laws of the United States, etc.

In conclusion the senator [Underwood] remarked to Dr. Bernhisel, that our people had performed a great deal of work in the valley,—that it was wonderful that they had been able to make a settlement in that remote region and gather so many people there. The Doctor replied, that considering the circumstances under which the settlement was made, and in so short a time, it was certainly wonderful; and added, that whatever else our enemies denied us, they could not deny us enterprise and industry. The senator agreed with this view. The Doctor then asked if it were possible for a body of so depraved, vicious and abominable wretches, as we were represented to be, to perform such wonders as we had performed and maintain a spirit of peace, concord and harmony? The senator replied, "That it was not."[53]

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[53] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1850, pp. 39, 40, 41, 42.

CHAPTER XC

THE STATE OF DESERET FUNCTIONING

NOTWITHSTANDING the national congress did not admit the "State of Deseret" into the American Union, but organized instead therefor a territorial government, the "State of Deseret" continued to be the government of the people in the Great Salt Lake region until the arrival and installation of the territorial officers late in the summer of 1851.

FIRST LEGISLATIVE ACT OF DESERET

The general assembly of the "State of Deseret," on the 28th of March, 1851, took notice of the act of congress for "the organization of the territory of Utah," the mail having but recently been received, that conveyed information of that fact. In joint session the general assembly unanimously resolved that they cheerfully and cordially accept the legislation of congress in the act to establish a territorial government for Utah, welcomed the extension of the United States Constitution over the territory, and advised that all provisional state officers be requested to furnish their territorial successors every facility in their power by turning over public documents, etc. Also they granted "Union Square," in Great Salt Lake City, for the use of public buildings of said territory.[1] They appointed Governor Young to be their agent to make drafts upon the treasury of the United States for the amount appropriated ($20,000) for said buildings, and directed that measures be taken for their immediate erection, and appointed an architect and superintendent of construction for said buildings. Also resolved that "the provisional 'State of Deseret' finally dissolve on the 5th day of April following, 1851."[2] As already stated, however, the state government continued to function until the installation of the territorial officers some months later.

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[1] It is block 102 in the original plat, two blocks north and two west of temple square, and is now occupied by Salt Lake city's high school buildings.

THE ENACTMENTS AND ADMINISTRATION OF "DESERET"

During its existence of more than two eventful years the "State of Deseret" was a good government, and gave peace, security, and good order to the community, and a fair administration of justice, as we shall presently see. Its general assembly prescribed the boundaries and organized seven counties. These were Salt Lake, Weber, Davis, Tooele, Utah, San Pete, and Iron counties;[3] also passed ordinances granting charters for five cities; Great Salt Lake, approved January 19th, 1851; Ogden, Provo, Manti, and Parowan, all chartered on the same date, viz, the 6th of February, 1851; also a charter for the University of Deseret, approved February 28th, 1850; an ordinance incorporating the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, approved February 8th, 1851; one incorporating the Perpetual Emigration Fund Company, September, 1850;[4] another regulating the manufacture and vending of spirituous liquors;

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[2] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, entry for March 28, 1851, pp. 14, 15. Doubtless some of these acts were in excess of the provisional state's authority, but they show in what spirit the government ordained by the national congress was received by the general assembly of "Deseret." The time of the final dissolution of the state, as understood by its founders, is perhaps best fixed by the Memorial passed by the territorial legislature—most of the members of the latter body having been members also of the general assembly of the state—asking congress to appropriate a sufficient sum to meet the expenses of the provisional government "from 1849, to September, 1851." The sum asked for was $27,735.35. (*Laws of Utah*, 1852, first session of the legislature, pp. 223-4). Bancroft says that "for many years the shadow of a state government was preserved, the members of the ideal state assembly, after each session, reenacting and sanctioning by vote and in due form the laws which they had previously passed as a territorial legislature." (Bancroft's *History of Utah*, p. 445; also Stenhouse, *Rocky Mountain Saints*, p. 276).

[3] See *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, bks. for 1849, 1850, 1851, *passim*). The enactments of the general assembly creating these counties seem to be lost, as they are not to be found in our Utah annals. The collection of the acts of the general assembly of "Deseret" published by the territorial legislature of 1855 is but a fragment of the legislation of the older state. They publish but twenty-two ordinances in all, whereas, in the *History of Brigham Young, Ms.* (April, 1851, pp. 16, 17), he gives a list of thirty-two enactments approved by him in the single session of 1850-51. (See *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1851, pp. 16, 17).

[4] The act was approved 7th of Sept., 1850, see *Liverpool Route*, ch. iii. This is one of the acts not listed in the 1855 collection.

several ordinances granting the control of timber lands together with canons leading to them, and mill sites to certain individuals; creating the necessary officers for the state and county governments, and prescribing the manner of their appointment or election. In a word the acts of the general assembly extended to all the rightful subjects of legislation, and were quite comprehensive. The last enactment but one was a resolution approved February 12th, 1851, authorizing and requesting the governor of "Deseret" to procure a block of marble from the best specimens of stone that he could find in the state, for a contribution to the Washington Monument, then in progress of erection in Washington, D. C.; and cause the same to be suitably sculptured and forwarded to the Washington Monument committee, as soon as practicable, all expense incurred to be defrayed out of the public treasury.[5]

THE JUDICIARY OF "DESERET"

The judiciary of the "State of Deseret" no less than the legislature was useful to the colonists, to the great procession of emigrants that passed through the state, and the non-"Mormons," who, for the time being, made their abode in Latter-day Saint communities. But chiefly was it a convenience and a necessity to the non-"Mormon" emigrants and residents because principally appealed to by them for the settlement of controversies. Appeals to the courts by church members were discouraged by the church leaders, the saints being counseled to settle their controversies by appeals to the ecclesiastical courts and their methods of procedure.[6] This ecclesiastical procedure, in the main, was satisfactory to the

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5. *Ordinances, etc., of Deseret, Laws of Utah,* 1855, p. 109. The state legislation of "Deseret" has been quite generally censured for the grants made of special privileges to prominent church leaders of timber lands, mill sites, etc.; but the requirements in opening and maintaining roads into the timber belts, and the construction of mills upon the sites granted, resulted in public benefits that offset the special privileges acquired in these instances.

6. These methods of procedure and all that pertains to the church ecclesiastical judiciary system are treated at length in this *History,* chapter lxii.

saints; but not, of course, to the non-members of the church, though in some cases there was voluntary submission by choice to the church tribunals[7] even by the Gentiles.[8]

Happily there are Gentile witnesses who had ample opportunity for observation and personal contact with the "Mormon" communities, who testify to the substantial fairness of the "Deseret" courts, officered by leading elders of the Church of Latter-day Saints. Among these were Captain Howard Stansbury and Lieutenant J. W. Gunnison, of the United States topographical engineers, who came to "Deseret" in the fall of 1849, for the purpose of exploring and surveying for the government the Great Salt Lake.[9] The work occupied them one year, and during that time these United States officers were often in contact with the leading officials of the church and the Latter-day Saint communities, making them competent witnesses of the status of the community in which they thus lived. On the one hand they were removed even from the suspicion of religious sympathy with the saints, because not favorably impressed with their faith or their church; and on the other hand, they were men of such standing and character that they could not be suspected of falsely coloring their reports, neither indeed did there exist any incentive to prompt such coloring.

Of the administration of justice by the courts of "Deseret," Captain Stansbury reports:

"Their courts were constantly appealed to by companies of passing emigrants, who, having fallen out by the way, could not agree upon the division of their property. The decisions were remarkable for fairness and impartiality, and if not submitted to, were sternly enforced by the whole power of the community. Appeals for protection from oppression, by those passing through their midst, were not made in vain; and I know of at least one instance in which the marshal of the state was dispatched, with an adequate force, nearly two hundred miles into the western desert, in pursuit of some miscreants who had stolen off with nearly the whole outfit of a party of emigrants. He pursued and brought them back to the city, and the plundered property was restored to its rightful owner."[10]

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[7] See Biography of Daniel Spencer, in *L. D. S. Biographical Encyclopedia*, Jenson, pp. 286-9, where instances are cited as occurring in the high council of the church at Salt Lake City, over which Daniel Spencer presided, where Gentiles preferred a hearing before the church rather than the civil courts.

[8] The term "Gentile," I shall use, and perhaps quite frequently from now on, instead of non-"Mormons," as being a more euphonious term and the one used both in "Mormon" and anti-"Mormon" literature to designate those not of the "Mormon" faith, from those who were members of the church; but it is used in no other sense than this, certainly not as a term of reproach.

[9] Stansbury and his party of surveyors arrived on the 28th of August, 1849. There was some misunderstanding with reference to the object of the Captain's mission, to which he himself refers in a passage too extended to be used in a footnote, but too important to be omitted from this *History*, the reader will therefore find the passage in *Note* end of the chapter.

After noting that a large portion of the great emigration overland to California passed through the "Mormon" settlements, Lieutenant Gunnison, the associate and chief lieutenant of Captain Stansbury, writes:

"Of the parties organized in the states to cross the plains, there was hardly one that did not break into several fragments, and the division of property caused a great deal of difficulty. Many of these litigants applied to the courts of 'Deseret' for redress of grievances, and there was every appearance of impartiality and strict justice done to all parties. Of course, there would be dissatisfaction when the right was declared to belong to one side alone; and the losers circulated letters far and near, of the oppression of the Mormons. These would sometimes rebel against the equity decisions, and they were made to feel the full majesty of the civil power. For contempt of court they were most severely fined, and in the end found it a losing game to indulge in vituperation of the court, or make remarks derogatory to the high functionaries.

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[10] *Stansbury's Report to the Government on the Survey of Great Salt Lake*, pp. 130-1, *Executive Document* No. 3, special session, March, 1851. After making the above statement relative to the substantial fairness of the courts of "Deseret," he notes what was inevitable under the circumstances, and which he himself admits to be inevitable, *viz.*, the close union of the temporal state government with the ecclesiastical authority. On this head his report said:

"While, however, there are all the extrior evidences of a govrnment strictly temporal, it cannot be concealed that it is so intimately blended with the spiritual administration of the church, that it would be impossible to separate the one from the other. The first civil governor under the Constitution of the new state, elected by the people, was the president of the church, Brigham Young; the lieutenant governor was his first ecclesiastical counselor, and the secretary of state his second counselor; these three individuals forming together the "presidency" of the church. The bishops of the several wards, who, by virtue of their office in the church, had exercised not only a spiritual but temporal authority over the several districts assigned to their charge, were appointed, under the civil organization, to be justices of the peace, and were supported in the discharge of their duties, not only by the civil power, but by the whole spiritual authority of the church also. This intimate connection of church and state seems to pervade everything that is done. The supreme power in both being lodged in the hands of the same individuals, it is difficult to separate their two official characters, and to determine whether in any one instance they act as spiritual or merely temporal officers.

The establishment of a civil government at all, seems to me to have been altogether the result of a foreseen necessity, which it was impossible to avoid. As the community grew in numbers and importance, it was not to be expected, as has been before remarked, that the whole population would always consist solely of members of the church, looking up to the presidency, not only as its spiritual head, but as the divinely commissioned and inspired source of law in temporal matters and policy also. tI became necessary, therefore, to provide for the government of the whole, by establishing some authority which could not be disputed by any, and would exercise a control over them as citizens, whether they were members of the church or not; and which, being acknowledged and recognized by the government of the United States, would be supported by its laws and upheld by its authority." (*Stansbury's Report*, pp. 131-132).

Again, the fields in the valley are imperfectly fenced, and the emigrants' cattle often trespassed upon the crops. For this, a good remuneration was demanded, and the value being so enormously greater than in the states, it looked to the stranger as an imposition and injustice to ask so large a price. A protest would usually be made, the case then taken before the bishop and the costs be added to the original demand. Such as these were the instances of terrible oppression that have been industriously circulated as unjust acts of *'heartless Mormons,'* upon the gold emigration."[11]

TAXES

Next to the judiciary system of the "State of Deseret," the thing which attracted both large attention and unfavorable comment was the tax that was levied upon goods brought into the state, reports concerning which not only reached "the states," but congress. The charge was made in the senate in connection with a Memorial, before referred to, signed by William Smith—brother of the Prophet Joseph Smith—Isaac Sheen, *et al,* and introduced by Senator Joseph R. Underwood of Kentucky, who when introducing the above named Memorial also read an article from a newspaper charging that two Indian agents had been seized and subjected to trial by the "Mormons" upon a charge of having been instrumental in driving the saints from the state of Missouri, and were only cleared in consequence of being able to prove that they had not participated in that act.[12] "It also charged the Mormons with having imposed duties upon all goods imported into Salt Lake region from the United States."[13] Senator Douglas, who had made inquiries of Mr. Babbitt, the delegate from "Deseret," was able to make answer to Senator Underwood upon the item of imposing taxes upon goods by the Salt Lake community, to the effect that these people had found it necessary, when they had established their government, to provide the means of raising revenue for its support. "The course adopted," Senator Douglas proceeded to say, "was to impose duties on all goods brought in and sold within the city of Salt Lake, whether by Mormons or anti-Mormons, residents or non-residents, all being placed upon an equality." Mr. Douglas also assured the senate on the authority of Mr. Babbitt, that this duty was only levied upon goods to be sold in the city, not upon goods *in transit*, nor sold outside the limits of the "Mormon" settlements; and the taxation "was merely for the purpose of providing revenue for the support of the government they had established until congress should provide one for them."[14] In passing judgment, or drawing inferences upon such remarks as this, it should be remembered that the permanent communities of the "State of Deseret" were nearly exclusively of one religious faith; that conditions were very primitive and community life very simple; that almost absolute unity prevailed, there being perfect accord between the initiative of the leaders and the acquiescence of the people; that things were being done practically by unanimous consent; hence whether acting through the agency of the church or that of the state, the common welfare of the community being the end in view, it mattered little to the people which agency was used, as they were both state and church; and therefore it is not to be marveled at if the nice distinctions between the funds of the church and state, and even the spheres of church and state, were not as nicely observed as would be expected in the midst of a more complex community life, where men were of variant religious faiths, and opposing political parties.

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[11] *The Mormons,* Gunnison, p. 65. Gunnison also notes what under the circumstances was the inevitable mingling of church and state affairs: "We found them in 1849, organized into a state with all the order of legislative, judicial, and executive offices regularly filled, under a Constitution eminently republican in sentiment, and tolerant in religion; and though the authority of congress has not yet sanctioned this form of government, presented and petitioned for, they proceed quietly with all the routine of an organized self-governing people, under the title of a territory [should be 'State of Deseret,' for that was the title of the civil government]. * * * While professing a complete divorce of church and state, their political character and administration is made subservient to the theocratical or religious element. They delight to call their system of government a 'Theo-Democracy;' and that, in civil capacity, they stand as the Israelites of old under Moses." (*The Mormons,* p. 23).

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[12] The only incident I find in our annals which could be the foundation of this story is one in relation to a Mr. Pomeroy, who arrived in Salt Lake valley in the summer of 1849. He was a merchant from St. Louis, and brought with him a stock of goods to the value of about $50,000. (See letter of John Taylor to the *Frontier Guardian* of January 9th, 1850); Taylor refers to "Messrs. Pomeroy," as "merchants from Missouri," hence more than one of that name. The Pomeroys were of the number of merchants who found it impracticable to go further than the Salt Lake valley with their loads of merchandise, and hence decided to sell their goods at auction in Salt Lake City, Brigham Young in his *History, Ms.*, under entry of the 12th of August, records the following:

> "A strong prejudice having arisen against Mr. Pomeroy, a merchant, founded on rumors of his being connected with the Missouri mobs in the expatriation of the saints from that state, his case was considered and testimony was heard upon it in a public meeting of the people, Elder John Taylor presiding. The investigation resulted in a unanimous vote in favor of the innocence of Mr. Pomeroy." (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, Aug. 12, 1849, p. 121).

[13] This in the Proceedings of the United States Senate on the 31st of December, 1849. (*Congressional Globe*, vol. xxi, p. 92).

[14] *Congressional Globe*, vol. xxi, p. 92. It is evident that the tax was more in the nature of a municipal license than a state tax.

Fortunately upon this subject also Captain Stansbury has an enlightening passage. After describing the tithing system of the church, and saying that "the treasures of the church" were "freely devoted when necessary, to the promotion of the temporal prosperity of the body politic," he then adds:[15]

> "A tax is also laid upon property as with us, which is levied upon all, both 'saint' and 'gentile,' and which constitutes the revenue of the civil government. All goods brought into the city, pay as the price of a license, a duty of one per cent, except spirituous liquors, for which one-half of the price at which they are sold is demanded: the object of this last impost being avowedly to discourage the introduction of that article among them. It has, indeed, operated to a great extent as a prohibition, the importer, to save himself from loss, having to double the price at which he could otherwise have afforded to sell. The result of this policy was, when we were there, to bring up the price of brandy, to twelve dollars per gallon, of which the authorities took six; and of whisky to eight dollars, of which they collected four dollars."[15]

From the first there was manifested a strong determina-

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15. *Stansbury's Report*, pp. 132-3.

tion on the part of the colonists to suppress traffic in liquor;[16] and when from apparent force of circumstances it had to be tolerated, then the policy was to severely regulate the disposition of it.

MILITIA: PERPETUATION OF THE NAUVOO LEGION

A military organization was early effected, even before the "State of Deseret" existed, namely, on the 3rd of March, 1849. A direction was given to have "all able bodied men over fourteen and under seventy-five years of age in the valley to constitute the military force of the people, under the name of the Nauvoo Legion." But after the provisional state legislature came into existence a reorganization of this "legion" was effected in harmony with a report made by the legislative assembly's committee on military affairs, *viz,* Charles C. Rich and Daniel H. Wells; in which it was provided that the legion should consist of two cohorts of four regiments in each cohort; two battalions in a regiment; five companies in a battalion. The legion itself to be commanded by a major general. The first cohort was to consist of mounted men, commanded by a brigadier general; and the second cohort to consist of footmen also commanded by a brigadier general.[17] This foreshadowed a rather extensive military organization, and later the outlines of it were filled out; but during the existence of the "State of Deseret," eleven companies comprised its utmost strength; six horse companies, and five foot companies. Daniel H. Wells was elected major general of the legion; Jedediah M. Grant, brigadier general of the first cohort; and Horace S. Eldredge, brigadier general of the second cohort.[18]

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[16] The following incident is offered in proof: "On the 2nd [Feb., 1849] being informed that Wm. Tubbs was coming into the city with whiskey for sale, I gave an order to Elder C. C. Rich to apprehend him, take the liquor into custody and await a hearing. The next day Tubbs was tried before Bishop Tarlton Lewis and cut off for evil speaking against the first presidency." (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, p. 4, Feb. 2, 1849). So throughout the moral law, and trespasses upon decency were promptly punished in the Salt Lake colony even before the state government went into commission.

[17] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, entry for March, 1849, p. 25.

"DESERET'S" INDIAN POLICY AND WARS

The "State of Deseret" also had its Indian troubles and carried on successful expeditions against hostile tribes. As noted in a previous chapter the Salt Lake region was occupied by two hostile tribes of Indians at the advent of the "Mormon" Pioneers—the "Utahs," or "Utes," and the "Shoshones" (or Snake Diggers), intermittently at war with each other.[19] It so happened that the settlement of the saints in Salt Lake valley was on the border line between these tribes, the Shoshones extending north and westward, and the Utahs to the south, and westward to California. From the views entertained by the Latter-day Saints respecting the Indians—knowing their origin, as given in the *Book of Mormon,* and entertaining high hopes for the future of the race, because of what the *Book of Mormon* prophecies have declared concerning their ultimate redemption—it could not be otherwise than that the attitude of the Latter-day Saint colonists would be sympathetic towards their red brethren. Still it was no part of the policy of Brigham Young and the church leaders to be unduly familiar or treat as equals these degraded tribes of the Salt Lake region.[20] President Young was too deeply read in human nature generally, and in Indian nature in particular, to think that the Indians could be helped by the whites condescending to approach in any degree their level of life and manners, or by receiving them on terms of equality. "I am opposed to James Emmett's method of converting Indians," said President Young. When Emmett and Bishop Miller on the outward journey from the Missouri had come in contact with the Pawnee Indians about Loupe Fork, and thence went to the Running Water on the Missouri to winter with the Indians, in 1846-7, "Emmett and his company never washed hands or faces for months, and in other things conformed to the Indian manner of life, a course which they supposed would win them favor with the Indians."[21]

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[18] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.,* entry for May, 1849. The names of all the subordinate officers of the respective companies, etc., are given in detail in the above *History,* pp. 78-82.

[19] This *History,* ch. lxxxiii. See also *Liverpool Route,* pp. 104-5.

[20] Stansbury in his *Report,* 1852, *Executive Document,* No. 3, of these tribes says: "The native tribes with whom we came in contact in the valley were the most degraded and the lowest in the scale of being of any I had ever seen. They consisted of the 'root-diggers,' a class of Indians which seemed to be composed of outcasts from their respective tribes, subsisting chiefly upon roots dug from the ground, and the seeds of various plants indigenous to the soil, which they grind into a kind of flour between two flat stones. Lizards and crickets also form a portion of their food. At certain seasons of the year they obtain, from the tributaries of both the Salt Lake and lake Utah, a considerable quantity of fish, which they take in weirs or traps, constructed of willow-bushes. Those that we saw were branches from the Shoshones or Snakes, and from the large and war-like tribe of Utahs, which latter inhabit a large tract of country to the southward. They are known among the traders by the designation of 'Snake-diggers,' and 'Utes;' those of the latter tribe, which inhabit the vicinity of the lakes and streams and live chiefly on fish, being distinguished by the name of 'Pah-Utahs,' or 'Pah-Utes,'—the word Pah, in their language ,signifying water." (p. 148).

Again, in a letter to Isaac Higbee under date of October 18, 1849, in reply to a communication detailing certain peace overtures just completed with the Indians in Utah valley, yet complaining of Indian thefts and intrusions, President Young, after cautioning the colonists at Fort Utah to make every provision against treacherous surprise, gave the colonists this instruction and reproof, which indicates his whole policy with respect to whites and Indians:

> "Stockade your fort and attend to your own affairs, and let the Indians take care of theirs. Let your women and children stay in the fort, and the Indians stay out; but, while you mix with them promiscuously, you must continue to receive such treatment from them which they please to give. This is what we have told you continually, and you will find it true.
>
> Let any man, or company of men, be familiar with Indians, and they will be more familiar; and the more familiar, you will find the less influence you will have with them. If you would have dominion over them, for their good, which is the duty of the elders, you must not treat them as your equals. You cannot exalt them by this process. If they [consider that they] are your equals, you cannot raise them up to you.
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> You have been too familiar with them, your children have mixed promiscuously with them, they have been free in your houses, and some of the brethren have spent too much time in smoking and chatting with them; and instead of teaching them to labor, such a course has

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[21] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, May, 1849, pp. 76, 77.

> encouraged them in idleness and ignorance, the effects of which you begin to feel.
>
> You must now rid yourselves of these evils the best way you can, by righting up everything and doing your first works, or probably what you would have done at first, if multiplied cares had not rested upon you, as is common in all new settlements.
>
> A steady and upright and persevering course may yet restore or gain the confidence of the Indians, and you be safe."[22]

Brigham Young had no illusions respecting the Indians, and what might be expected of them from the "Mormon" point of view. "As for the old Indians now alive entering into the new and everlasting covenant," he remarked on one occasion, "they will not do it. * * * How long does it take to train a white man? We have been training eighteen years; and how much longer an Indian? They will not be converted in many years."[23]

Naturally this aloofness from the Indians—in such marked contrast to the course of the "trappers" and "pathfinders" with whom the natives had come in contact, while ultimately to result in the best good both of the white settlers and the red man, led at first to estrangement of the Indians, thence to depredations on their part against those whom they doubtless regarded as intruders, and so the early Indian wars.

First Expedition Against the Indians

The expeditions against the Indians under the authority of the "State of Deseret" were three in number. The first in February and March, 1849. Late in February of that year, when a report reached the principal colony that Indians from Utah valley had run off fourteen head of horses from Tooele valley, some twenty miles west of Salt Lake City; and it was also reported that they had been stealing and killing cattle at other places. Whereupon Captain John Scott and forty men of the state militia started in pursuit.

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[22] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1849, p. 155.

[23] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1849, pp. 76, 77.

The small predatory band was located with the aid of a friendly Indian, the son of "Little Chief," a Ute, on a small stream where it emerges from the base of the Wasatch Mountains. The militia company divided into four parties and surrounded the Indian encampment during the night.

The fight next morning took place in the presence of chief "Stick-on-the-Head" and his band of Timpany Utes, who from a table land overlooking the scene of conflict shouted encouragement to the Indians, and themselves giving evidence of willingness to fight. Fortunately, however, this band did not attempt to assist the other Indians further than shouting encouragement and bidding them to come in their direction in their flight. Four of the Indian men of the thieving party were killed and their women and children, fourteen in all, were sent to their relatives among the Snake Indians.[24] The stream on which this incident took place was, from the foregoing circumstance, called "Battle Creek." The thriving town of Pleasant Grove, just west of the table land, now utilizes the stream for irrigation purposes.

CHIEF WALKER

In the summer of 1849, between the first and second Indian disturbance of this year, Walker, the Utah Indian chief, and twelve of his tribe held a notable interview with Brigham Young and other high church authorities at Salt Lake City. The interview was preceded with the Indian ceremony of smoking the "Peace Pipe," and the interesting fact was very clearly established that these mountain tribes, as well as many other native American tribes, were "sun worshippers;" following is the evidence as related by President Young: "When Walker had filled his pipe [preceding the interview], he offered the Lord the first smoke, pointing the pipe and stepping towards the sun. Walker then smoked it and passed it round the ring [the smokers are always seated in a circle] by the right hand to Heber C. Kimball, who smoked. It was then passed by the left to me and the rest of the company, ending with the Indians. Huntington, the interpreter, also explained at this time that the Indians 'have more idea of God than I was aware of. Their tradition is that God cut a man in two—the upper part remained the man, the lower part was made into woman'."[25] As further evidence of the Indians being sun worshippers is the incident of the first company of settlers that went to found a settlement on Provo river (March, 1849) being met about three miles from "Old Fort Utah," built by Ashley—1824-25,[26] by a band of Timpanogos Indians who were greatly alarmed at so large a company of white settlers—they numbered about one hundred and fifty souls, men, women and children—moving into their country. The settlers were halted about three miles from the "Old Fort Utah" and required to enter into a treaty that they would not "drive the Indians from their lands nor deprive them of their rights." In token of this covenant, Dimick B. Huntington, the Indian interpreter, with the settlers, "was required to raise his right hand and swear by the sun."[27]

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[24] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, entry for February, 1849, pp. 24, 25. Others say the number of Indians killed was five, (Whitney, *History of Utah*, vol. i, p. 423); he also says that Captain Scott's course was not approved. (*Ibid*). Tullidge's account of this is so defective that he says "none were killed on either side," (*History of Salt Lake City*, 1886, p. 69).

The purpose of Chief Walker's visit was to encourage more of his "Mormon" brethren to settle on what he called "his lands," further to the south, in San Pitch (San Pete) valley. Walker desired his white friends to settle Sevier valley, and in the region of "Little Salt Lake," a shallow sheet of salt water, about seven by one mile in width, some sixty miles south of Sevier Lake, and near the present towns of Parowan and Paragoonah. President Young promised the chief that he would send settlers among them in "six moons." President

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[25] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, June, 1849, p. 90.

[26] Bancroft's *History of Utah*, p. 21, cf, also this *History*, chapter lxxxi.

[27] History of Provo, in Tullidge's *Quarterly Magazine*, for July, 1884, vol iii, p. 234.

Young also told Walker that he had an understanding with "Goship" and "Wanship,"—Indian chiefs ranging in the mountains eastward of Salt Lake valley—"about this place," that is, about the settlement in Salt Lake valley. The talk was all for peace. "It is not good to fight the Indians;" said President Young. "Tell your Indians not to steal," he added, "We want to be friendly with you. We are poor now, but in a few years we shall be rich. We will trade cattle with you." To which Walker replied, "that's good."

The interview was quite protracted, ranging over the subject of the Indians changing from depending on the uncertainty of the chase to the raising of cattle and sheep for their subsistence, the weaving of blankets from wool by the Indian women, schooling of Indian children, to fixing the terms of barter in articles between the red men and white, thence back to peace talk, during which Walker said: "It is not good to fight. It makes women and children cry. But let the women and children play together. I told the Pieds [a sub-tribe] a great while ago to stop fighting, and stealing, but they have no ears."[28]

Dimick B. Huntington was the interpreter in the above interview, though it is said of Chief Walker that in addition to several of the native dialects, he could converse fluently in Spanish and make himself understood in English.[29] He was now in the prime of life, having been born, as nearly as the time can be ascertained, in 1808, and therefore about forty-one years of age at the time of the foregoing interview. His birthplace was on Spanish Fork river, in Utah valley—"Pequi-nary-no-quint," was the Indian name of the stream, meaning "Stinking Creek;" the odor which the name suggests is occasioned by streams from warm sulphur springs flowing into the mountain brook in one of the canons through which it passes. Dimick B. Huntington, the interpreter in the above interview, is the authority for these and many other facts recounted of Walker's life, including an alleged vision of the chief's following a serious illness, about two years before the advent of the "Mormon" Pioneers, in which alleged vision he saw God who warned him of the coming of "white friends," and gave him a new name—"Pannacarra-Quinker," meaning "Iron twister."[30]

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[28] This interview took place on the 14th of June, 1849. (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1849, pp. 89-92).

[29] See also Bancroft's *History of Utah*, p. 473.

"Long before the advent of the Mormons," writes Bancroft, "Walker," "anglicized from Walkara" (Whitney) and to which the whites also prefixed the English name "Joseph" —hence "Joseph Walker"—"made frequent raids into the Mexican states where he laid the people under contribution and took captive persons of rank and condition whom he held for ransom." On these expeditions he went forth decked out in a strange mixture of whitemen's modern clothing and the tawdry trappings of the savage.[31] Fremont met this Ute chief in Sevier valley in May, 1844, when the former was returning from California during his second expedition. Walker and his band of warriors, well armed and well mounted; "were journeying slowly towards the Spanish trail, to levy their usual tribute upon the great Californian caravan. They were robbers of a higher sort than those of the desert. They conducted their depredations with form, and under the color of trade and toll for passing through their country. Instead of attacking and killing, they effect to purchase—taking the horses they liked and giving something nominal in return. The chief was quite civil to me. He was personally acquainted with his namesake, our guide, (Joseph Walker) who made my name known to him. He knew of my expedition of 1842; and, as tokens of friendship, and proof that we had met, proposed an interchange of presents. We had no great store to choose out of;

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[30] *Liverpool Route,* 1855, pp. 104-5.

[31] Bancroft's *History of Utah,* p. 313, note; also pp. 473-4.

so he gave me a Mexican blanket, and I gave him a very fine one which I had obtained at Vancouver."[32]

Walker was baptized a member of the church on the 13th of March, 1850. His brother Arapeen was also baptized, and later these two chiefs together with Sowiette, and Unhoquitch were ordained elders in the church, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards and Elijah Ward —the last named acting as interpreter—being present. The presidency would, of course, ordain the chiefs.[33] Brother Morely [Isaac] had baptized Walker, the Utah chief, on the 13th (March, 1850). The settlers, notwithstanding their limited supply of provisions could not refrain from administering to the Indians, who would sometimes cry of hunger. The winter of 1849-50, in San Pete valley, had been very severe, the settlers only being able to preserve the lives of their stock in some cases by shoveling the snow from the grass; and even then the little colony in San Pete lost 71 oxen; 38 cows; 3 horses and 14 head of young stock. As stated, the facts of Walker's life are given through the interpreter, Dimick B. Huntington, who received them from the chief himself, and on the whole his report of the chief is sympathetic and favorable; that is, as Indian character is to be judged— and it should be remembered that Indians may not be judged by the white man's standards. Other accounts (see Tullidge and Whitney) represent Walker, though I know not on what authority, as cowardly, and disposed to be unfriendly and treacherously disposed toward the white settlers from the first;[34] though it has to be admitted that the chief made a good end at his death, which took place on the 29th of January, 1855, at Meadow Creek, near Fillmore, (then the capital of the territory, with the legislature in session at the time). He died of a cold which had settled on his lungs.

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[32] *Fremont's Report*, 1842-1844, p. 272.

[33] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, March, 1850, p. 25; also for the account of the ordination see *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 9th of June, 1850, p. 50.

[34] Tullidge's *Quarterly Magazine*, vol. iii, July, 1884, p. 241.

"He died," says Huntington's account, "with a good spirit, and spoke affectionately of President Young."[35] "Walker, prior to his death," says Whitney, "became convinced that the 'Mormons' were his friends, and among his final words was an injunction to his tribe to live at peace with the settlers and not molest them."[36] At his death, in accordance with Indian custom when a chief dies, "the Utahs killed 2 squaws, 2 Piede children, and about 15 of his best horses. * * * He was buried with all his presents and trinkets, and a letter which he had received the previous day from President Young." He was succeeded as chief by his brother, Arapeen, two years his junior, also a more daring leader than his brother, more passionate, and ungovernable."[37]

JAMES BRIDGER'S SUSPECTED CONNECTION WITH EARLY INDIAN TROUBLES

President Young strongly suspected James Bridger of being connected with the early Indian troubles. In May, 1849, he received a letter from Louis Vasquez, a western trader and sometime merchant in Salt Lake City, giving information of the killing of an Indian on Black's Fork of Green river, supposedly by white men from Salt Lake valley, and the prospect of an attack on Salt Lake settlements by the Bannock tribe in revenge.

The day following the reception of the letter, in a public meeting, the president said—in describing the meeting: "I expressed my conviction that Bridger and the other mountaineers were the real cause of the Indians being incensed against us if they were so."[38]

THE SECOND EXPEDITION AGAINST THE UTAH INDIANS

I wish I might let all the cause of the Indian wars under the authority of "Deseret" rest upon the general grounds of jealousy against the whites and resentment of their trespassing into the Indian country, as mentioned in a previous paragraph; but this may not be, with the evidence which lies before me. As one of the contributing causes to the outbreak of the Indians at Fort Utah in the winter of 1850, was the cowardly murder of a somewhat noted Indian called "Old Bishop," so-called, it is said, on account of his resemblance in looks and gestures to Bishop N. K. Whitney. Three men from Fort Utah met "Old Bishop" some distance from the fort wearing a shirt which one of the men claimed to be his, and he demanded it. The Indian refused to give it up saying he had bought it. Whereupon a struggle ensued between the white men and the Indian for possession of the shirt, and the latter to defend himself in the unequal struggle of three against one, drew his bow, when one of the white men shot him to death and his body was disemboweled, the cavity filled with stones, sown up and then thrown into the Provo river. The Indians on missing the somewhat noted character, became suspicious, instituted a search and found the body, rolling down the shallow river, and then began the depredations which led to the "Indian War" of the winter of 1850. While this murder seems to have been a matter of some talk among the colonists of Fort Utah, it did not come to the knowledge of President Young until June 12, 1854, when the facts were stated to him by James Bean, who, however, was not of the party of the three guilty of the crime. Following the recital of the killing as given above, President Young comments: "These facts which were kept hid at the time, explain to me why my feelings were opposed to going to war with the Indians, [i. e. then winter of 1850] to which I never consented until Brother Higbee [president at the time at Fort Utah] reported that all the settlers in Utah were of one mind in relation to it."[39]

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[35] *Liverpool Route*, p. 105.
[36] Whitney's *History of Utah*, vol. i, p. 539.
[37] *Liverpool Route*, p. 105.
[38] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, May 13th, 1849, pp. 76, 77.

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[39] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, Addenda, note in Feb., entry for 1850, pp. 17, 18.

On the last day of January, Isaac Higbee in person reported to the governor of the "State of Deseret," that the Indians in Utah valley and killed and stolen between fifty and sixty head of cattle and horses; that they were impudent and threatened to kill more cattle and get more Indians to join them and help to kill the settlers in Utah valley. They taunted the colonists with cowardice because they would not fight. Higbee represented that the brethren at "Fort Utah" were agreed in asking the privilege of defending themselves and chastising the Indians.[40]

On this subject of making war upon the Indians on this occasion, President Young manifested much reluctance, the psychological reasons for which although unknown to him at the time, are given in the narrative of "Old Bishop's" murder. The chief had been murdered early in January, 1850, and the bad conduct of the Indians in the latter part of the month seeking to bring about hostilities was doubtless in consonance with their traditions bearing upon the duty of revenge.

A council was called to consider the matter, to which Captain Howard Stansbury and Lieutenant Gunnison, were invited. These United States officers and their corps of engineers had been engaged during the late fall in surveying Utah Lake, and had suffered much annoyance from the petty thieving of these same Indians. Following is the captain's own account of these annoyances:

> "While engaged in the survey of the Utah valley, we were no little annoyed by numbers of the latter tribe, who hung around the camp, crowding around the cook-fires, more like hungry dogs than human beings, eagerly watching for the least scrap that might be thrown away, which they devoured with avidity and without the least preparation. The herdsmen also complained that their cattle were frequently scattered and that notwithstanding their utmost vigilance, several of them had unaccountably disappeared and were lost. One morning, a fine fat ox came into camp with an arrow buried in his side, which perfectly accounted for the disappearance of the others.
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> After the party left Lake Utah for winter quarters in Salt Lake City, the Indians became more insolent, boasting of what they had

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[40] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.,* 31st January, 1850, p. 17.

> done—driving off the stock of the inhabitants in the southern settlements, resisting all attempts to recover them, and finally firing upon the people themselves, as they issued from their little stockade to attend to their ordinary occupations. Under these circumstances the settlers in Utah valley applied to the supreme government, at Salt Lake City, for counsel as to the proper course of action."[41]

Gunnison reports on the same subject: "In the winter of 1849 they (the Indians) became insolent in Utah valley, killed cattle and boasted of it, entered homes and frightened women and children, took provisions forcibly, and compelled those on the farms to retire within the fort. Complaints of these things were sent to headquarters, and after all peaceable overtures were disregarded, the 'Utah War' [Indian] was resolved upon."[42]

Speaking of this council to which he was invited Captain Stansbury writes:

> "The president [Young] was at first extremely averse to the adoption of harsh measures; but, after several conciliatory overtures had been resorted to in vain, he very properly determined to put a stop, by force, to further aggressions, which, if not resisted, could only end in the total destruction of the colony. Before going to this decision, the authorities called upon me to consult as to the policy of the measure, and to request the expression of my opinion as to what view the government of the United States might be expected to take of it. Knowing, as I did, most of the circumstances, and feeling convinced that some action of the kind would ultimately have to be resorted to, as the forbearance already shown had been only attributed to weakness and cowardice, and had served but to encourage further and bolder outrages, I did not hesitate to say to them that, in my judgment, the contemplated expedition against these savage marauders was a measure not only of good policy, but one of absolute necessity and self-preservation. I knew the leader of the Indians (Old Elk) to be a crafty and blood-thirsty savage, who had been already guilty of several murders, and had openly threatened that he would kill every white man that he found alone upon the prairies. In addition to this, I was convinced that the completion of the yet unfinished survey of the Utah valley, the coming season, must otherwise be attended with serious difficulty, if not actual hazard, and would involve the necessity of a largely increased and armed escort for its protection. Such being the circumstances, the course proposed could not but meet my entire approval.

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[41] *Stansbury's Report*, pp. 148-9.

[42] Gunnison's, *The Mormons*, p. 146.

> A force of one hundred men was accordingly organized, and, upon the application of President Young, leave was given to Lieutenant Howland, of the mounted rifles, then on duty with my command, to accompany the expedition as its adjutant: such assistance also was furnished as it was in my power to afford, consisting of arms, tents, camp-equipage, and ammunition."[43]

The force to undertake this service was made up of volunteers; the first companies raised marching for Utah valley under command of Captain George D. Grant, but overtaken by the rest of the force under Major Andrew Lytle before arriving at Fort Utah. The united forces from Salt Lake and at Fort Utah, engaged the Indians on the Provo river near the fort, where they had constructed some rude breast works in the river bottom from trees they had felled, and they also occupied a settler's recently abandoned, double log house near their breast works. The Indians were led by "Old Elk,"[44] whom, as we have seen from *Stansbury's Report,* had declared his murderous intentions towards the whites; and by chief "Opecarry"—also known as "Stick-on-the-Head."[45] The natives engaged—most of their women and children being concealed in the ravines and nearby canons—nearly equaled the whites in numbers, and offered a stubborn and brave resistance. On the second day of the fighting, the log house the Indians had occupied, greatly to the annoyance and danger of the assailants, was carried by a cavalry charge, highly commended by Lieutenant Howland. The Indians then dividing into several parties sought safety in flight to the canons on the east and around the south end of Utah Lake. Of the state militia, one was killed, Joseph Higbee, the son of Isaac Higbee, the president of the settlements in Utah valley; several more were wounded and a number of horses were killed and wounded in the charge upon the log house, to which reference has already been made. The Indians left eight of their dead in their redoubt, but took their wounded with them in their retreat. "Old Elk" was found dead on the trail up Rock canon, directly east of the scene of the engagement, and where a day or two later, among a few sick survivors, were found eight or ten more who had died of wounds, exhaustion and measels, which disease was then prevalent among the natives.

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[43] *Stansbury's Report,* pp. 149-150. See also Gunnison quoted in note 42.

[44] Gunnison also refers to this old chief as "the terror of the mountains." "He had long boasted that no single person or trapper could live with him in the valley, and numbers are supposed to have fallen under his rifle." (Gunnison *The Mormons,* p. 146).

[45] He is called Stick-on-the-Head. (Whitney's *Utah,* vol. i, p. 427); I follow the *Ms. History of Brigham Young,* where the orthography is as in the text above. He is also said to have desired, in this instance, peace, and had come out of the Indian redoubt to confer with the interpreter, Huntington, to that end, when the Indians began firing, and the battle was on." (Whitney, *Ibid*).

On the 10th of February, Daniel H. Wells, the commander-in-chief of the state's military forces, arrived on the scene and took command. Sending a small force to follow the refugees up Rock canon—what they found has already been stated—he moved with his main force to Spanish Fork river where it was reported there was an encampment of the hostiles. Not finding the Indians on the Spanish Fork, General Wells moved round the south end of Utah Lake, and at Promontory Point—sometimes called "Table Mountain"—on the 14th, he overtook a large party of the hostiles, and nearly all—"except the women and children, all of whom were spared"[46]—were killed, including a number who in their flight ran out upon the ice which then nearly covered the lake. About forty of the natives, in all had been killed, and the women and children of the fallen, according to the custom of the natives, followed the victors and were distributed among the settlers at Salt Lake, where an attempt was made to wean them from their savage ways of life, and bring them up "in the habits of civilized and Christian life." The experiment did not succeed, most of the prisoners escaping upon the very first opportunity.[47]

The horses taken from the defeated Utahs, by unanimous vote of the volunteers in the service, were given to the band of Indians at Salt Lake; and Daniel H. Wells made a verbal report of the expedition to the general legislative assembly then in session.[48] Some years later, 1868, to be exact, General Wells reported in a special meeting of the brethren of the church, that twenty-seven Indians were killed at "Table Mountain."[49]

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[46] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, entry for Feb., 1850, p. 22.

[47] *Stansbury's Report*, p. 149.

Peace followed this vigorous treatment of the natives, of course; but doubtless, if the true cause of the Indians' anger, distrust of the settlers, and the real provocation for hostilities had been known by Brigham Young and his brethren, this sad page in the history of the "State of Deseret" would not, perforce, have been written.

THE THIRD EXPEDITION AGAINST THE INDIANS—THE SHOSHONES

The third expedition against Indians under the authority of the "State of Deseret" was to the northward, the Shoshones or Snakes being the cause of the alarm. The trouble arose in the month of September, 1850. As reported in the *Deseret News*, the treatment of the Indians by the emigrants of 1849, and later the killing of two Shoshone women by travelers, "as we are creditably informed, from Illinois," says the *Deseret News* article, had wrought a very marked change in the disposition of the northern Indians towards the white settlers in the Salt Lake region, than was at first manifested. They had become predatory in their action, and in the northern settlements on the Weber and Ogden rivers, had taken to pasturing their horses in the grain fields, stealing corn and melons, running off cattle, stealing horses, etc., etc., until their actions had become insufferable. In one of the Indian night raids upon the gardens in Brownsville [i. e. Ogden], a settler of the name of Urban Van Stewart, fired upon them and killed an Indian, said to be a petty chief. The next day the Indians in retaliation killed a man of the name of Campbell, some distance from the settlement on the north bank of Ogden river, and threatened to massacre the inhabitants of Brownsville, and burn the place. The matter was reported at Salt Lake and a detachment of the state militia was dispatched under command of Horace S. Eldredge, with instructions to "stand on the defensive." Upon this show of force and promptness of action the Shoshones moved northward, taking with them some horses and cattle belonging to the settlement. A band of Ute Indians from the south were near Brownsville and to make sure of their non-interference if a battle took place, a number of them, without resistance were taken prisoners and held as hostages for the good behavior of the band who were ordered to move south to their own lands, and have nothing further to do with the future movements of the Shoshones—orders which they obeyed. The predatory band of Shoshones moved so far northward that fear of further hostilities no longer existed, and after about a week's absence from Salt Lake, the militia under Eldridge returned.

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[48] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, entry for Feb., 1850, pp. 22, 23.

[49] See Addenda note in *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, entry for Feb., 1850, p. 22.

And this is the sum of the Indian uprisings and troubles under the authority of the "State of Deseret."

NOTE

THE MISAPPREHENSION RESPECTING THE MISSION OF CAPTAIN HOWARD STANSBURY AND HIS COMPANY OF TOPOGRAPHICAL ENGINEERS

"Before reaching Great Salt Lake City, I had heard from various sources that much uneasiness was felt by the Mormon community at my anticipated coming among them. I was told that they would never permit my survey of their country to be made; while it was darkly hinted that if I persevered in attempting to carry it on, my life would scarce be safe. Utterly disregarding, indeed giving not the least credence to these insinuations, I at once called upon Brigham Young, the president of the Mormon church and the governor of the commonwealth, stated to him what I had heard, explained to him the views of the government in directing an exploration and survey of the lake, assuring him that these were the sole objects of the expedition. He replied that he did not hesitate to say that both he and the people over whom he presided had been very much disturbed and surprised that the government should send out a party into their country so soon after they had made their settlement; that he had heard of the expedition from time to time, since its outset from Fort Leavenworth; and that the whole community was extremely anxious as to what could be the design of the government in such a movement. It appeared, too, that their alarm had been increased by the indiscreet and totally unauthorized boasting of an *attache* of General Wilson, the newly-appointed Indian agent for California, whose train on its way thither had reached the city a few days before I myself arrived. This person, as I understood, had declared openly that General Wilson had come clothed with the authority from the president of the United States to expel the Mormons from the lands which they occupied, and that he would do so if he thought proper. The Mormons very naturally supposed from such a declaration that there must be some understanding or connection between General Wilson and myself; and that the arrival of the two parties so nearly together was the result of a concerted and combined movement for the ulterior purpose of breaking up and destroying their colony. The impression was that a survey was to be made of their country in the same manner that other public lands are surveyed, for the purpose of dividing it into townships and sections, and of thus establishing and recording the claims of the government to it, and thereby anticipating any claim the Mormons might set up from their previous occupation. However unreasonable such a suspicion may be considered, yet it must be remembered that these people are exasperated and rendered almost desperate by the wrongs and persecutions they had previously suffered in Illinois and Missouri; that they had left the confines of civilization and fled to these far distant wilds, that they might enjoy undisturbed the religious liberty which had been practically denied them; and that now they supposed themselves to be followed up by the general government with the view of driving them out from even this solitary spot, where they had hoped they should at length be permitted to set up their habitation in peace.

Upon all these points I undeceived Governor Young to his entire satisfaction. I was induced to pursue this conciliatory course, not only in justice to the government, but also because I knew, from the peculiar organization of this singular community, that, unless the 'president' was fully satisfied that no evil was intended to his people, it would be useless for me to attempt to carry out my instructions. He was not only civil governor, but the president of the whole Church of Latter-day Saints upon the earth, their prophet and their priest, receiving, as they all firmly believed, direct revelation of the Divine will, which, according to their creed, forms the law of the church. He is, consequently, profoundly revered by all, and possesses unbounded influence and almost unlimited power. I did not anticipate open resistance, but I was fully aware that if the president continued to view the expedition with distrust, nothing could be more natural than that every possible obstruction should be thrown in our way by a 'masterly inactivity'."[50]

Upon this circumstance related by Captain Stansbury, Linn, in his *Story of the Mormons*, comments: "The choice between abject conciliation or open conflict was that which Brigham Young extended to nearly every federal officer who entered Utah during his reign" (p. 438). If the course followed by Captain Stansbury is relied upon to establish an instance of "abject conciliation," I think the comment very unjust, believing that the captain's conduct was more nearly allied to straightforward manliness, and common sense, than "abject conciliation."

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50. *Stansbury's Report*, pp. 84-86.

CHAPTER XCI

THE "STATE OF DESERET"—COLONIZING ACHIEVEMENTS—AN INSTRUCTIVE EXPERIMENT IN SELF-GOVERNMENT

THE extension of settlements under the "State of Deseret's" *regime* was remarkable. The first settlements after Salt Lake City—the first of many daughters to the queen city of America's "Dead Sea"—were immediately northward in what is now the south end of Davis county on what was afterwards called "Deuel Creek," and "North Mill Creek," the former about eleven and the latter about nine miles from Salt Lake City, on the sites of the present towns of Centerville and Bountiful respectively.

THE FOUNDING OF NORTHERN SETTLEMENTS

Thomas Grover, in the fall of 1847, settled with his family on Deuel Creek, to care for stock through the winter; and where, early in the spring following, he was joined by other families, including the Deuel brothers, Osmond M. and William, and a permanent settlement was formed, notwithstanding it seemed to be the winter rendezvous of several bands of Indians. The settlers on this creek, however, were not organized into a ward and given a bishop until 1852, though Sanford Porter had acted as presiding elder from 1850, and became the settlement's first bishop, with Ozias Kilbourn and Simon H. Dalton as his counselors.[1]

About the time that Thomas Grover settled on Deuel Creek, Perrigrine Sessions settled on East Mill Creek. In fact it is claimed that Sessions was the first Latter-day Saint who is known to have made "wagon tracks" north of the "Hot Springs." He was accompanied by Samuel Brown, afterwards killed by Indians. Like Grover these men took charge of large herds of cattle through the winter of 1847-8. The following spring Sessions removed his family to the site where he and Brown had wintered in their wagon. He was soon joined by other families and "Sessions' Settlement" began its existence, rapidly expanding into a thriving farming village,[2] which a year later, spring 1849, was organized into an ecclesiastical ward, with Orvil S. Cox as bishop, and Anson Call as his counselor.[3]

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[1] History of Centerville in History of Davis Stake of Zion, Jenson's Compilation, *History of the Stakes.*

In the fall of 1847 Hector C. Haight with one of his sons wintered and herded cattle on the present site of Farmington. In the spring of 1848 he removed from the site of his winter encampment on "North Cottowood Creek" (now "Big Creek"), and settled with his family on another stream about three miles to the northwest, which was called "Haight's Creek." Farmington rose in a few years on the site of Haight's winter camp on "Big Creek," and subsequently became the county seat of Davis county. The town of Kaysville was founded a few miles to the northeast of Haight's encampment, on what was called at first, "Sandy Creek," but later "Kay's Creek," after William Kay, who in company with Edward Philips and John H. Green, settled there in the spring of 1850. In September following the settlers were organized into an ecclesiastical ward, with William Kay as the bishop, and the settlement took its name, Kaysville, from its first bishop.

The Founding of Ogden

In the early spring of 1848 the Goodyear claim to a tract of land at the mouth of Weber canon, said to be twenty miles square, was purchased by Captain James Brown, of Mormon Battalion fame—and recently returned from California, where he had been to collect the pay of the Pueblo detachments of the battalion. The sum of $1,950 was paid for the tract, "cash down." Captain Brown made the purchase "by advice of the council," says John Smith, president of the Salt Lake high council in a letter to Brigham Young under date of March 6th, 1848.[4] The tract is specifically described as commencing at the mouth of Weber canon, thence following the base of the Wasatch Mountains north to the hot springs; thence westward to the shores of the Salt Lake; along the shore southward to a point opposite Weber canon; thence eastward to the point of beginning.[5] Goodyear was supposed to have held this tract of land on which Ogden City now stands, by virtue of a Mexican grant. This, however, it was subsequently discovered, was not the case. Goodyear's title amounted to no more than a squatter's claim, as there were evidently no Mexican grants of land in the eastern and northern parts of the territory ceded to the United States by Mexico that rested upon any clearly valid evidence of title from Mexico; and the government of the United States, in subsequent years, refused to recognize the validity of the so-called Mexican grant of Goodyear's, and insisted that title inhered in the government of the United States alone, and that by virtue of the cession of the territory to the United States.[6]

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[2] The settlement was known by various names during the first years of its existence—"Sessions Settlement," "Call's Fort," after Anson Call, one of the early settlers; but when organized into an ecclesiastical subdivision of the church, and given a bishop, it was called "North Canon Ward;" but finally, in 1855, was officially named "Bountiful," a *Book of Mormon* name for one of the old Nephite cities, and "lands," supposed to be near "the narrow neck of land" that separates some of the larger divisions of the extended continent. (*Book of Mormon, passim*).

[3] Cox only acted as bishop about six or eight months, being called in the fall of 1849 to assist in settling San Pete valley, and Anson Call was appointed bishop of "North Canyon Ward," with Aaron B. Cherry as his first, and Osmond M. Deuel as his second counselor.

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[4] In the price paid for the Goodyear claim, I follow the statement of this letter, in *Brigham Young's History, Ms.*, March 6th, 1848, p. 16. The same for the statement that Brown made the purchase by "advice of the council," (*Ibid*). Others place the price at $3,000.00 (Whitney's *History of Utah*, vol. i, p. 375. Bancroft's *History of Utah*, p. 307, note 4). There is some confusion as to the time of the purchase; June 6th, 1848, is the time fixed upon by Jenson's *Chronology*, 1848, p. 35. Whitney following Brown's family tradition places the purchase late in December, 1847, or early in January, 1848, and the return of Captain Brown from California in December, 1847; whereas President Young places the date of the captain's return "about the middle of November," 1847; that he brought with him "about five thousand dollars, mostly in gold: (others say $10,000 in Mexican doubloons). He was gone three months and seven days (i. e. from early in August to the middle of November). (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, March 6th, 1849, p. 16).

[5] Bancroft's *Utah*, p. 307, note 3; he cites Stanford's *Ogden City, Ms.*, p. 1, and *F. D. Richards' Narrative, Ms.* Both are very reliable sources of information.

As a squatter's claim, Goodyear's boundaries were ridiculous because of their extent; but whatever his rights were, they were purchased, as detailed above, and James Brown and his family, with a brother Chilton Brown, Mr. Myers, Mr. Therlkill—of the Mississippi company of saints,—and their families, moved to the Goodyear purchase. It was the Mormon Battalion money that was paid to Mr. Brown in California that enabled the colonists, under instruction from the council of the twelve, to make this important purchase.

Ogden City, taking its name from the river of the same name, after Salt Lake City, soon became one of the largest and most prosperous colonies of the Latter-day Saints. Before the end of the first year of its existence as a settlement, a substantial log structure was completed for combined use as a school house and meeting house, and a place for social community functions. The site for the present city between the Weber and Ogden rivers was chosen by Brigham Young on the 3rd of September, 1849.[7] Soon afterwards the colony began the building of a wall about their town, as a protection against the Indians,[8] and by 1851, the settlement had so increased in numbers that it was divided into two ecclesiastical wards, and organized into a stake of Zion, with Lorin Farr as president and R. Dana, and David B. Dillie as his counselors.[9] On the 6th of February following the city was incorporated by act of the legislature of "Deseret."

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[6] President Young had a similar experience in purchasing, through Lewis Robinson, a tract of land thirty miles square of James Bridger, in 1853, on which Fort Bridger stood. The price agreed upon was $8,000. (See Bancroft's *History of Wyoming*, p. 684 and note. Bancroft cites *History of Fort Bridger*, by Chambers, *Ms.*; also *Trans. Wyom, Acad. Sciences*, pp. 81-2, and *Utah Hand Book of Reference*, p. 73). He thinks the statement about the purchase was a "mistake," "as there were no Spanish (i. e. Mexican) grants in that region." (*Ibid*).

[7] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1849, p. 124.

[8] It required three years to complete it; its cost, when finished was $40,000, raised by taxation. (Stanford's *Ogden City, Ms.*, p. 4).

[9] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1851, p. 4. The organization was effected on the 20th of January. Isaac Clark and Erastus Bingham were made the bishops of the first and second wards, respectively.

In 1851 a settlement was formed on Box Elder Creek, about fourteen miles north of Ogden, by Simeon A. Carter. A number of Welsh and Scandinavian emigrants joined him, and near this settlement a town site was surveyed that became "Brigham City." This gathering on Box Elder Creek marked the most northerly settlement founded during the existence of the "State of Deseret."

THE SETTLEMENTS FORMED IN THE SOUTH—PROVO

On the 17th of March, 1849, a company of thirty men organized for the purpose of settling in Utah valley. John S. Higbee was chosen president; and Isaac Higbee, his brother, and Dimick B. Huntington were chosen counselors.[10] The whole company numbered about one hundred and fifty souls. This was the company of settlers referred to in the chapter preceding this one, as being stopped by the Timpanogos Indians about three miles north of Provo river and required to enter into formal covenant that they "would not drive the Indians from their lands, nor deprive them of their rights." In April they were reported to be settled in Utah valley on the Provo river, about two miles northwest of the present site of the city of Provo, where in the months of April and May, under instructions from President Young, they built a fort, mounted cannon, and were watchful of the Indians who gathered in large numbers about the settlements, but appeared friendly, though from Fort Bridger came warnings of threatened uprisings.[11]

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[10] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, March, 1849; p. 40. John S. Higbee retained the presidency of these settlers only about 2 months, being released at his own request, on account of his family remaining in Salt Lake City. He was succeeded by his brother, Isaac Higbee, in May, (*Ibid*, pp. 83-4).

[11] Speaking of these reported threats of Indian uprisings President Young said: "I forwarded the above information to John S. Higbee and the brethren settled on the Provo river, advising them to speedily complete their fort, to keep near the settlement, to place their cannon on the top of the fort, to gather a sufficient quantity of round stones, for grape shot, to secure and guard their horses and cattle, to keep a vigilant guard at night, to look out for the Indians, not to make presents to them, but if they would be friendly to teach them to raise grain and to order them to quit stealing." (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, April, 1849, pp. 67, 68).

About the middle of September Fort Utah was visited by the first presidency of the church and other leading elders. A site for a city was selected, "about two miles southeast of Fort Utah—the present site of Provo.[12] The city was incorporated on the 6th of February, 1851. In March of the same year it was organized as a stake of Zion.[13]

At the conclusion of the Indian difficulties, already detailed, settlements sprang up very rapidly in Utah valley, and before the "State of Deseret" ceased to exist, the settlements of Battle Creek, since known as Pleasant Grove; American Fork; Evansville, afterwards called Lehi; Springville, and Payson were all founded.[14]

Nephi on "Salt Creek"

Twenty miles south of the last named settlement, in a neighboring valley, on a stream called "Salt Creek," because in part fed by salt springs in a canon through which it ran, a settlement was formed in 1851, which developed into the county seat of Juab county and was called "Nephi," the *Book of Mormon* name for an ancient American city. The modern "Nephi" was on the southern route to California. Joseph L. Heywood was the leading spirit in founding the settlement. A town was regularly laid out into lots, and before the close of the year 1851, twenty-three cabins were built, chiefly of willows and mud. Brigham Young had directed the founders to begin the settlement by building a fort, but this was neglected.[15]

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[12] "It was decided to build a city a mile square," is President Young's account, "in blocks of four acres each, divided into lots of one-half acre each, reserving the center block of four acres for the site of a chapel and for school houses, the streets to be five rods wide." (*History of Brigham Young, Ms., Sept.* 14, 1849, p. 133).

[13] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.,* March 19, 1851, p. 12, Isaac Higbee was made president, Elias H. Blackburn was ordained the bishop of Provo.

[14] See *History of Brigham Young, Ms.,* for years 1849-1851, *passim;* and *Church Chronology,* Jenson, for 1850, 1851, *passim.*

[15] Bancroft's *History of Utah,* p. 313, *History of Brigham Young, Ms.,* 1851, p. 138.

SETTLEMENTS OF SAN PETE—MANTI

In October, 1849, a company of brethren under the leadership of Isaac Morley left the Salt Lake colony to settle in San Pete valley, sometimes called San Pitch valley—variations of the same name borne by a Utah Indian chief in that region (sometimes written Sanpete). The sending of this colony to San Pete was in fulfillment of the promise made to Walker, the Utah chief, that settlers would be sent into his country in "six moons" or "maybe sooner," from the time of the peace smoke in June, to teach his people the white man's way of living.[16] The place of location was about one hundred miles south of Salt Lake City, and certainly was a bold step in colonization, since it was so far removed from the main colonly, and in the very heart of the Indian country, and among the most war-like bands of the Utahs.[17] The settlement was visited by President Young in August, 1850, when the site for a city was selected and surveyed by William Lemon. The plat shows 110 blocks, each 26 rods square, the streets six rods wide.[18] The town thus laid out was named Manti, a *Book of Mormon* name for an ancient Nephite city.[19] The city was given a charter of incorporation on the 6th of February, 1851, by act of the legislature of "Deseret."[20] Other prosperous settlements soon sprang up in other parts of the San Pete valley.

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[16] See Interview with Walker, *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, June 14, 1849, pp. 89-92.

[17] Morley's company numbered 224 souls, and they arrived at their place of settlement the 22nd of November, 1849. At first the settlers were not very well pleased with the location; but as they became acquainted with the timber, water, and grazing resources they became better satisfied. (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, November, 1849, p. 161). In President Young's first mention of Morley's company of settlers for San Pete valley, he mentions it as consisting of "about thirty brethren," (*Ibid*, p. 159). The company was afterwards enlarged, and in the company of 224, women and children were counted as well as men. Bancroft twice states that Morley settled San Pete county in 1848, (*History of Utah*, p. 303 and 313), which is beyond question a mistake.

[18] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, August, 1850; p. 62.. Bancroft says the town of Manti was laid out in November, 1850, and that it was surveyed by Jesse W. Fox. His authorities are *Utah's Early Records, Ms.*, and Maiben, in *Utah Sketches, Ms.* I follow President Young as the more reliable authority.

[19] See *Book of Alma*, in *Book of Mormon*,—*passim*.

[20] See Acts of "Deseret" in *Utah Legislature Proceedings*, 1855, pp. 81-83.

SETTLEMENTS OF "LITTLE SALT LAKE" VALLEY—PAROWAN

In December, 1850, a company which numbered 118 men, in which there were thirty families, with 101 wagons, left the Salt Lake colony for "Little Salt Lake valley," to make a settlement. The "valley" takes its name from a small body of saline water on the east side of what is now Iron county, and just east of the Escalante wide, desert valley. This undertaking was in further fulfillment of the promise made to Walker, the Utah chief, that settlers would be sent to his country. The party was under the leadership of George A. Smith, cousin of the Prophet Joseph Smith, and a very practical, sturdy character, henceforth active and prominent in nearly all the colonizing movements in southern Utah.[21]

The company of settlers arrived in Little Salt Lake valley, over 200 miles south of Salt Lake City, on the 13th of January, 1851, and settled on a mountain stream "about three yards wide, one foot deep, with rapid current, and gravel bottom and banks;" afterwards called "Center Creek." The first site of the settlement, after thorough exploration of the surrounding country, was made permanent, and named Parowan, after a Utah Indian chief of the vicinity. The settlers were welcomed by Chief Peteeneet and his people, a miserable tribe known as "Piedes,"[22] who expressed themselves as pleased that the brethren were settling in their valley. Peteeneet said his tribes owned the country—a declaration afterwards confirmed by Chief Walker. The pipe of peace was smoked by the Indians and whites.

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[21] George Albert Smith was the son of John Smith, a younger brother of the Prophet's father. His mother was Clarissa Lyman Smith. He was born June 26th, 1817, in Potsdam, St. Lawrence county, and reared in the faith of the Congregational church, but was early converted to the divine mission of his cousin Joseph, the Prophet, and gave his energies to the promulgation of the New Dispensation of the gospel. He was in his 34th year when he took the leadership of this colony bound for Little Salt Lake valley. Later, from 1868 to 1875, he was counselor to Brigham Young in the first presidency, and church historian and recorder from 1854 to the time of his death, September 1st, 1875.

[22] "They possessed scarcely a horse, and were compelled to travel on foot. Their houses consisted of a few boughs of sagebrush or stunted greasewood, laid up in a manner to break the force of the wind, and were seldom over five feet high. In storms they would sometimes go for shelter among the cedars. They built very small fires, being too lazy to get much fuel. They were armed with short bows. Some of their arrow points were made of greasewood, others of flint. The chiefs' were of iron, and not more than an inch and a quarter long. Not having weapons appropriate for killing the few deer in the mountains, the Piedes lived principally on rabbits, snakes, lizards, mice, etc., and even this kind of game appeared scarce." (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, January, 1851, pp. 2, 3).

Canarrah, another Piede chief, having first sent in one of his braves to ascertain if it would be safe for him to venture into the settlers' camp, paid them a visit. "His apparel consisted of a pair of moccasins, short leggings, and a kind of small cloak made of rabbit-skins. He was tall and stately in appearance, though apparently suffering from hunger. His followers were not as well dressed, being really specimens of humanity in its most degraded form."[23]

In March Chiefs Walker and Peteeneet and about seventy braves visited the settlement and smoked the peace pipe with President George A. Smith. Walker was very friendly and expressed the desire to build a house and teach his children to work. He represented that he had visited all the Indian bands in the surrounding country and advised them to be friendly with the colonists, and not disturb even a brute belonging to them. The object of his visit was to exchange horses for cattle as his people were in need of beef. Walker made known his intention of making a raid into California, but President George A. Smith persuaded him not to go, warning him of the likelihood of coming in contact with United States troops.[24]

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[23] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, Jan., 1851, p. 2.

[24] Walker had "previously sent a party of about thirteen warriors, led by San Pete, to California, to steal animals. The party succeeded in taking about 800 or 1000 horses, but the Mexicans pursued them for two or three days and overtook them. A battle ensued, in which one of Lugos' peons was killed, but his companions recovered all except 120 of the animals. Walker felt poor, as he had expected to get one thousand horses, having been accustomed to do so in such forays. He thought that if he had gone himself, he would have done better, and intimated that San Pete was not a good general. Walker talked of going on another expedition, but Geo. A. Smith persuaded him not to go, as the United States soldiers in that country would be likely to scalp him. San Pete and his party stated that in California they met Mr. Williams, of Williams' rancho, who gave them beef and agreed to keep their presence in the country a secret, provided they would not run off his stock. San Pete's party rested several days at Williams' and then went to Lugos' corral, and stole his animals." (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, March, 1851, pp. 10, 11).

In the first year the settlers built a fort, at Parowan, inclosing a stockade for their cattle and horses, and on the bastions of the fort placed their cannon in such manner as to command two sides of the fort.[25] Later other settlements sprang up in Little Salt Lake valley,[26] but Parowan marked the southern limits of the settlements founded during the actual existence of the "State of Deseret."

In May, 1851, the settlement was visited by Brigham Young and a party of church leaders. They were met some distance from the Center Creek settlement by a large company of horsemen and escorted into the fort, amid the salute of cannons and the rejoicing of the people. Public meetings were held through three successive days—11th, 12th and 13th of May. The counsel of President Young to these settlers was of unusual interest, and is thus recorded by himself:

> "I spoke upon the importance of the Iron county mission and the advantages of the brethren fulfilling it. I advised them to buy up the Lamanite children as fast as they could, and educate them, and teach them the gospel, so that not many generations would pass ere they would become a white and delightsome people, and said that the Lord could not have devised a better plan than to have put us where we were, in order to accomplish that thing. I knew the Indians would dwindle away, but let a remnant of the seed of Joseph be saved. I told the brethren to have the logs or pickets of their fort so close that the Indians could not shoot arrows through. I recommended the adoption of the Indian name Parowan for the city."[27]

Parowan became one of the five incorporated cities under charters enacted by the general assembly of the "State of Deseret," February 6th, 1851.

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[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 3-8.

[26] "Little Salt Lake" lying some several miles northwesterly from Parowan, the Indians, called "Paragcona"—i. e. "stinking water," (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1851, p. 3). James G. Bleak in his *History of Utah's Dixie*, (p. 14), gives a slightly different version; he says that the Indian name for the "Little Salt Lake" was "Pah-o-ou."

[27] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1851, p. 46. President Young also mentions as an item of interest the following: "While I was at Parowan, brothers Bringhurst and Frost welded an axle-tree which was the first blacksmith work done with stone coal in the territory. The coal was considered of very good quality."

WESTWARD SETTLEMENT—TOOELE

The most westerly settlement founded during the existence of the "State of Deseret" was Tooele City, in the valley immediately west of the valley of the "Utah Outlet," about twenty-five miles southwesterly from Salt Lake City, and reached from the latter place *via* the southern shore of the Great Salt Lake, there turning the point of the mountain range into the valley of "tule," or bulrushes, from which the settlement took its name; but the word "tule," being misspelled by President Young's secretary, Thomas Bullock, it is written "Tooele," in our annals and maps, and has passed into common acceptance. It was first settled by John Rowberry and Cyrus Tolman in the autumn of 1849.

EARLY EXPLORATIONS—SOUTHWARD—THE RIO VIRGIN

It has already been noted that seven counties had been organized in the state, extending from Weber in the north to Iron county in the south. Explorations of the country, however, had extended far beyond this organized territory. As early as the summer of 1847 Cache valley had been explored and reported upon as an available stock range; well watered and of rich soil.[28] In November, 1849, a southern exploring company of about fifty persons was commissioned by the governor and legislative assembly of "Deseret" and organized with Parley P. Pratt as leader, to explore the southern country. The purpose of the expedition was to pass over the southern "rim of the Great Basin," to become acquainted with the character of the country beyond, and ascertain its availability as a place for settlement.[29] The explorers reached Manti early in December, thence followed up the Sevier river to the point where it issued through an impassable canon; from which point the party explored a road through the mountains westerly to Little Salt Lake valley. The task occupied five days. Here the company divided, part remaining in Little Salt Lake valley to recruit the worn out oxen and make local explorations in the region, while the other division with the horses and mules continued southward. Thirty remained in the Little Salt Lake region, under the leadership of David Fullmer, while Elder Pratt with nineteen others continued the southern journey. Three hundred and eleven miles from Salt Lake they passed over the "rim of the basin;" and by a rapid descent reached the Rio Virgin. "Southwardly for about eighty miles" they had come through "a wide expanse of chaotic matter; huge hills, high sandy deserts, grassless, waterless plains, perpendicular rocks, loose, barren clay and dissolving beds of sandstone; in short, through a country in ruins, dissolved by the pelting storms of ages, or turned inside out, or upside down by terrible convulsion."[30]

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[28] *Ante* this *History*, ch. lxxxiii.

[29] Parley P. Pratt was president, and W. W. Phelps and David Fullmer his counselors. They adhered to the old organization of the plains "fifties," "tens," etc., though men, not wagons, in this instance, were the units of the divisions. Elder John Brown was captain of the 50: Isaac C. Haight, Joseph Matthews, Joseph Horne, Ephraim Green, and Josiah Arnold, captains of tens; W. W. Phelps was topographical engineer, and Robert L. Campbell, clerk and historian. The company had 12 wagons, 1 carriage; 24 yoke of cattle, 38 horses and mules, an odometer to measure distances, one brass field piece, small arms, 7 beeves, also 150 lbs. flour to each man, besides crackers, bread and meat. (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, Nov., 1849, pp. 160-1).

The company traveled down the Rio Virgin, whose bottoms expanded to about a mile in width, the soil being loose, sandy, fertile, and easily irrigated, to the mouth of Rio Santa Clara. At this point, though in the midwinter (January), the climate was like that of early spring, the buds of the trees were swelling and new grass springing fresh to life, the days were warm with occasional showers.

The exploring party began its return from this point, passing up the Santa Clara stream, followed by shy bands of Indians, prompted apparently by idle curiosity concerning their strange visitors; and who, as fear gave way before assurances of friendship, invited the white men to come and settle among them. Passing over the "rim of the basin" on the return journey, the explorers came upon Captain Hunt's

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[30] Pratt's Report, *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1850, pp. 7-8.

California road, then passed through the valley subsequently known as "Mountain Meadows"—of sad and painful memory—and rejoined the other division of the exploring expedition in Little Salt Lake valley.[31] The reunited party started upon the return journey to Salt Lake valley, where, after experiencing great suffering from the severity of the cold and the snow storms encountered, they arrived in scattering groups during February and March.[32]

Thus from the angle of territory formed by the juncture of the Rio Virgin,—flowing southwesterly—with Rio Santa Clara—flowing south and southeasterly—the present site of St. George, in the extreme southwesterly part of the state of Utah, to Bear river in the north, a distance of 350 miles in extent, was the intermountain country explored under the authority of the "State of Deseret."[33]

SUMMARY OF ACHIEVEMENTS UNDER THE "STATE OF DESERET"

The line of settlements described in this chapter, extending almost due north and south for an extent of two hundred and fifty miles, had a population, when the "State of Deseret" went out of existence, of about 15,000;[34] and if all the circumstances of the planting of these colonies be taken into account—the length of the initial journey from Winter Quarters to Salt Lake valley, which all had to make—the poverty of the people—the distance of some of the settlements from the principal colony—the precarious bases of supplies—the uncertain temper of the Indian tribes—the multiplied burdens of irrigated farming—all these combine to make the planting of these mountain colonies within the

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[31] Fullmer's division had explored Little Salt Lake and found what Walker calls "God's Own House," in a canon of perpendicular rocks, penetrated by a branch of Little Salt Lake, and covered with hieroglyphics or strange figures cut on the rocks. Further west they found some good land and a small lake, separated from Little Salt Lake by a low mountain range; they had also explored the valley of the "Muddy," and found iron ore; in the canons they found abundance of pine timber, also quarries of free stone, plaster paris, and lime stone. (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1850, p. 10).

[32] Pratt's Report, in *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1850, pp. 4-17. Also *Pratt's Autobiography*, ch. xlvi.

[33] "I now (November, 1849) received a commission," writes Parley P. Pratt in his *Autobiography*, "from the governor and legislative assembly of the 'State of Deseret' to raise fifty men with the necessary teams and outfit, and go at their head on an exploring tour to the southward," (p. 408), then follows his narrative of the journey of the text above.

[34] The number of inhabitants can only be approximately stated because of the confusion in our *data*. Brigham Young in writing to Amasa M. Lyman in California anent the proposed state to be formed by the union of "Deseret" and California, places the number then in the Salt Lake valley, Sept. 6th, 1849, and *en route* westward from the South Pass, "at 15,000." (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, Sept., 1849, p. 129). According to Captain Burton a Mr. Kelley, in 1849, estimated the "Mormons" to be about 5,000 inhabitants in the town, and 7,000 more in the settlements. (Burton's *City of the Saints*, p. 294). "In 1850 the seventh official census of the United States numbered the inhabitants of Utah territory at 11,354 free + 26 slaves = 11,380 souls." (*Ibid*). The estimate of 15,000 for 1849 I think too large, but with the government's enumeration, at between eleven

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and twelve thousand in 1850, by the fall of 1851 there is little doubt but the number would be 15,000 as stated in the text. While on this subject of early population of Utah and of the church, the following compilation from Burton is of interest and of value: "In 1853 the saints were reckoned at 25,000 by the Gentiles, and 30,000 to 35,000 by Mr. Orson Pratt, in the *Seer.*" In 1854, Dr. S. W. Richards estimated the number at "probably from 40,000 to 50,000 in the United States, and in Great Britain at 29,797." In 1856 the "Mormon" census gave 76,335 souls. I subjoin a synopsis of the official papers:

"The following is a condensed report of the enumeration of the inhabitants of Utah territory, taken February, 1856:

Counties.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Great Salt Lake County	12,730	13,074	25,804
Utah "	6,951	7,614	14,565
Davis "	4,765	4,575	9,340
Weber "	3,486	3,585	7,071
Iron "	2,474	2,943	5,417
Tooele "	1,315	1,673	2,988
San Pete "	1,110	1,133	2,243
Juab "	807	1,034	1,841
Box Elder "	822	717	1,539
Washington "	742	778	1,520
Millard "	544	512	1,056
Green River "	394	345	739
Cedar "	312	369	681
Malad "	259	208	467
Cache "	240	223	463
Beaver "	118	126	244
Shambip "	83	64	147
Salt Lake Islands "	125	85	210
	37,277	39,058	76,335

Great Salt Lake City, March 1st, 1856.

I do hereby certify that the above is a correct enumeration of the white inhabitants of Utah territory, according to the reports furnished by my assistants, and which are now on file in my office.

[Signed] "Leonard W. Hardy, Census Agent."

"Great Salt Lake City, September 13th, 1860.

The above is a correct transcript from the originals on file in the Historians' Office.

"Thomas Bullock, Clerk."

In 1858 the peace commissioners sent to Utah territory reported that the saints did not exceed 40,000 to 50,000 souls, half of them foreigners, and that they could bring 7,000 men, of whom 1,000 were valuable for cavalry, into the field. In 1859, M. Remy made out the number of saints in Utah territory—not including Nevada to be 80,000 souls, and the total in the world 186,000. By far too large an estimate.

first four years from the arrival of Brigham Young in Salt Lake valley, the most remarkable colonizing achievement of modern times. Doubtless one of the greatest contributing causes of that success was the "State of Deseret." It represented the organized forces of the people. It gave confidence and strength and stability to all these colonizing movements. Its strength was apparent through the military legion it had organized, and the promptness and effectiveness of its movements in giving protection to the settlers. Wisdom was manifested through its legislation; notes of statesmanship were struck by the regular and occasional messages of the governor to the state's general legislative assembly; in proof of which, let the following excerpts from the message of Governor Young of December 2nd, 1850, bear witness.

After reviewing the very satisfactory conditions obtaining in the state generally; announcing the fact that the United States congress had passed an enabling act for a territorial government; rejoicing in the freedom of the state from debt, —largely due to the fact that her legislators and state officers had served the state free of cost and urging economy in public funds, expenditures, and the avoidance of bonded indebtedness by urging rather the assessment of a tax "at once" sufficient to meet all "the necessary expenditures of government, than permit an accumulation of indebtedness to harass every department, and the consequent necessity of forced and temporary loans." Then, regarding the things necessary for the development of the state, he said:

GOVERNOR YOUNG'S MESSAGE TO THE "STATE OF DESERET'S" LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, 1850

Of Manufactures:

"It is highly desirable that the capitalists of this state should introduce machinery for the manufacturing of all kinds of machinery, that will hereafter be wanted for factories, etc.; also stoves, and other articles of heavy exportation should be manufactured by our own enterprise and industry. Incalculable benefits would result to this community, if they would engage in almost every kind of manufacture, not only of iron, but paper, books, woolen cloth, leather, crockery, stone-ware, and sugar. Upon this last named article I will submit a single estimate for your consideration. Not more than twenty thousand persons would use 456,250 pounds, allowing only one ounce a day to each person; the expense of the transportation alone, at the low rate of ten cents a pound, would amount to $45,625; a sum adequate to construct the most extensive sugar manufactory; and when considered in connection with the superior quality of the beet, and facility with which it can be raised in these valleys, renders it almost a suicidal policy for us to be dependent upon other than our own resources for that article."

Of Guarded State Assistance to Struggling Industries:

"There is no doubt but that the demand and price consequent upon the distance of any successful competition, will prove sufficient inducement for the capitalists to invest their means, in whatever will necessarily prove a safe investment and insure an abundant return; any and all kinds of encouragement, by throwing around them an energetic and efficient government, should unquestionably be given. *It is wisdom to let capital be associated in infant settlements, because there is a necessity for it, for a time; but to lay the foundation for monied capitalists to monopolize against labor, is no part of my policy, politics or religion. To encourage enterprise in constructing works of magnitude, it may be well to grant privileges; but they should be so guarded, as to be made amenable to the power granting them at all times for the abuse of the powers granted, or diverting them to any other object than the one designed.*"

Of Iron Manufactures and Railroads:

"In the neighborhood of what has usually been termed 'Little Salt Lake,' (now Iron county) our exploring party of last winter, discovered inexhaustible beds of the very best of iron ore. A settlement is now being made at that point. * * * From this city [Salt Lake] a railroad will most probably be constructed to Iron county, as also continuously to Southern California, terminating at San Diego. Whatever encouragement you may find it in your power to extend to an object so full of interest to our citizens, I shall most readily acquiesce therein, being within the range of my constitutional duties."

The Policy in Founding Colonies:

"In extending, and making new settlements, one uniform course has been recommended; that of building and settling in forts, in the first instance, and farming in one enclosure. This course has proven highly successful."

Education:

"Under the fostering care of the government, ['State of Deseret' of course] the subject of education is fast assuming an importance that will reflect great credit upon our exertions. The board of chancellors and regents of the university have already established schools in various parts of the state, mostly, however, without incurring any expense to the institution. The enlightened course pursued by that board, will unquestionably redound to the benefit of the institution, as well as to a general system of education, throughout the state; and must certainly meet with your cordial approval and warmest encouragement. The situation, [location] selected for educational purposes upon the eastern side of the city, will probably be enclosed the ensuing winter; and suitable buildings erected as soon as the necessary funds can be obtained for that purpose."[35]

Pride in Economic Government:

"We have the proud satisfaction of having sustained a quiet, yet energetic government, under all the vicissitudes incident to new and untried localities; and when the general government shall have assumed to pay the expenditures consequent upon the Indian expeditions—of being comparatively free from debt.

Unlike the golden browed neighbors of our sister state, [California] no agent of ours is hawking about our state bonds, to obtain the necessary means to defray the sixteen dollars *per diem* allowance of the members of the legislature! In this state, no expense has been incurred by any of the departments of government, for services rendered. The auditor's report will show, the amounts paid out, being almost exclusively for public improvements, or articles purchased for public use."[36]

Approaching the conclusion of his message he said:

" 'Deseret' is not yet three years old, and yet such has been the rapidity of her growth, the extent of her improvements, and the development of her resources, as to command the admiration, and the respect of all whose lot has been cast within her bounds, and those afar off, hearing the glad tidings, are stretching forth their itching palms, towards another of those free states where the oppressed go free, and the poor, through ordinary industry, find ample provision.

Forgive a single allusion to the past. The oppressed became the oppressor, [alluding to the early intolerant Americans of New England] and the oppressed again go forth to form new communities, new settlements, and new governments. Hence are we here, amid these vast mountains and solitary plains; hence are we here, assembled in solemn council to frame laws for the organization and rule of communities; and, what gives zest to the picture, devise such laws, and regulations as shall perpetuate, guarantee, and sustain in time to come, our free and glorious institutions to the latest generation."

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[35] Captain Stansbury bears witness to the interest manifested by the "State of Deseret" in the matter of education. He says: "While all these exertions are making for the physical development of a new empire among the mountains, the mental elevation of the people by education has been by no means lost sight of. Liberal appropriations of land and money have been made for the establishment of an university, the grounds for which are laid out and enclosed, being situated on one of the terraces of the mountain overlooking the city. A normal school, designed for the education of those who desire to become teachers, is already in successful operation. School houses have been built in most of the districts, both in the city and country, which are attended by old as well as young, and every effort is made to advance the mental improvement of the people." (*Stansbury's Report*, p. 143).

[36] The message is published in full in the *Deseret News* of Jan. 11th, 1851.

Pride in their state government, when these things could be truthfully said of it, may be pardoned in the early settlers of the Salt Lake valley; but while there is evidence of strong attachment for the "State of Deseret," the local pride and loyalty did not diminish their larger pride and loyalty to the greater republic, the American Union of States. "Deseret" was a loyal and patriotic state of the Union. From the first and always her people recognized her as destined to be a member of that Union, whatever action congress might now take upon "Deseret's" petition for admission into the sisterhood of states. Her people knew she could have no political life apart from the national political life; the proof of which lies, first, in the fact of their persistence in seeking admission into the Union; and, second, in the state's willing and cheerful self-effacement in order to give place to the territorial form of government determined upon by the national congress.

LOYALTY OF THE LATTER-DAY SAINTS TO THE UNITED STATES

Under the *regime* of the "State of Deseret" the people were wont to give expression to their loyalty, and voice their patriotic sentiments in song and speech and public festivities. Naturally, to these early Utah colonists, the greatest thing within their experience was their deliverance from what had been to them intolerance, oppression, and a sense of bondage; and their safe arrival in the Great Basin of the Rocky Mountains. And this event, as the anniversaries of it recurred, they celebrated; but in those celebrations, unconsciously, as I judge to be the case, they went beyond themselves and voiced the larger loyalty and patriotism that was in them, by bringing into a merely local event the celebration of the greater events, which resulted in the founding of the United States. In evidence of this view I introduce in part the account of their celebration of the second anniversary of the advent of the Pioneers under Brigham Young's leadership into Salt Lake valley. The account of this celebration was published in the *Frontier Guardian* of September 19th, 1849.

CELEBRATION OF THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF ENTRANCE INTO SALT LAKE VALLEY JULY 24TH, 1849

"July 24th being the anniversary of the arrival of Presidents Young and Kimball, with the Pioneers in the valley, the inhabitants were awoke by the firing of cannon, accompanied by music; the brass band, playing martial airs, were then carried through the city in two carriages, returning to the bowery by seven o'clock. The bowery is a building 100 feet long by 60 wide, built on 104 posts, and covered with boards; but, for the services of this day, a canopy or awning was extended about 100 feet from each side of the bowery, to accommodate the vast multitude at dinner.

At half past seven the large national flag,[37] measuring sixty-five feet in length, was unfurled at the top of the liberty pole, which is 104 feet high, and was saluted with the firing of six guns, the ringing of the Nauvoo bell, and spirit-stirring airs from the band.

At eight o'clock [a. m. of July 24th] the multitude were called together by the firing of guns and music, the bishops of the several wards arranging themselves in the sides of the aisle, with the banners of their wards unfurled, each bearing some appropriate inscription.

At a quarter past eight, the presidency of the stake, twelve, and bands went to prepare the escort in the following order, at the house of President Brigham Young, under the direction of Lorenzo Snow, J. M. Grant, and F. D. Richards:

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[37] The night before, President Young's own flag, that formerly used to fly from the Nauvoo temple was raised on the east side of the bowery; and since this fact will set at rest the question as to whether or not the saints brought with them an American flag in their flight from Nauvoo, I give President Young's historical journal entry: "*July 23rd*, [1849]. Many of the brethren with their respective bishops met at the bowery, and put up dinner tables and seats, erected a liberty pole and prepared cannon for the celebration of the next day. Some emigrants from California furnished 75 lbs. of powder for firing salutes: * * * *In the evening my flag, that used to fly from the Nauvoo temple was hoisted at the east side of the bowery.*" (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, July, 1849, pp. 107-8). It still might be a question, however, if this was a United States flag. The evidence that it was is beyond question. Colonel Kane in his description of the enrollment of the Mormon Battalion declares that "an American flag brought out from the storehouse of things rescued," was "hoisted to a tree mast," and under it the enrollment took place. (Kane's *The Mormons*, p. 80). Subsequently, when writing to President Fillmore in defense of President Young's loyalty, Colonel Kane declares that it was Brigham Young's "*American flag*" that was thus used; (Kane's letter to President Fillmore, Philadelphia, Jan. 11th, 1851, *Millennial Star*, vol. xiii, pp. 343-4.) and undoubtedly this was the same flag that President Young refers to so lovingly as "*My flag*," that waved on the "east side of the bowery," at Salt Lake City that evening of the 23rd of July, 1849.

Procession

Horace S. Eldredge, marshal, on horseback, in military uniform.
Brass band.
Twelve bishops, bearing banners of their wards.

Twenty-four young men, dressed in white, with white scarfs on their right shoulders, and coronets on their heads, each carrying in his hands the Declaration of Independence and Constitution of the United States, and swords sheathed in their left hands; one of them carrying a beautiful banner, inscribed on it—

The Zion of the Lord.

Twenty-four young ladies, dressed in white, with white scarfs on their right shoulders, and a wreath of white roses on their heads, each carrying the *Bible* and *Book of Mormon;* and one bearing a very neat banner,—

Hail to our Chieftain.

Newel K. Whitney, Bishop. Thomas Bullock, Clerk.
John Smith, Patriarch.

Brigham Young, Parley P. Pratt, Charles C. Rich, Daniel Spencer, Willard Richards, Heber C. Kimball, John Taylor, Erastus Snow, D. Fullmer, Willard Snow.

Twelve bishops, carrying flags of their wards.

Twenty-four silver greys, led by Isaac Morley, patriarch, each having a staff, painted red on the upper part, and a branch of white ribbon fastened at the top, one of them carrying the flag with the stars and stripes, and the inscription—

Liberty and Truth.

The procession started from the house at nine o'clock. The young men and young ladies in passing through the streets, sang a hymn—the cannons kept up one continual roar—the musketry rolled—the Nauvoo bell pealed forth its silvery notes—and the air was filled by the sweet strains of the brass band playing a slow march. On arriving at the bowery, the escort was received with loud shouts of 'Hosannah to God and the Lamb,' which made the air reverberate. While Presidents Young, Kimball, and Richards, John Smith, Newel K. Whitney, and Thomas Bullock were proceeding down the aisle, cheers were given, and 'Hail to the Governor of Deseret.' On being seated by the committee on the stand, the escort passed round the assembly singing a hymn of praise, when they also marched down the aisle, and were seated in double rows on each side. The vast multitude were called to order by Mr. J. M. Grant, and when they were seated Mr. Erastus Snow offered a prayer of thanksgiving to our heavenly Father.

Richard Ballantyne, one of the twenty-four young men, then came forward to the stand, his coronet glittering as if with rubies, and in a neat speech presented the *Declaration of Independence and Constitution of the United States,* in a respectful manner, to shouts, led on by President Young, of:—

'May it Live Forever and Ever!'

The Declaration of Independence was then read by Mr. Erastus Snow, after which the band struck up a lively air.

Mr. Bullock arose and read the poem, The Mountain Standard, composed by P. P. Pratt.[38]

At the conclusion of the reading, the multitude rose and shouted three times: 'Hosannah, Hosannah, Hosannah, to God and the Lamb, forever and ever, Amen;' President Young leading, while the banners were waved by the bishops.

This was followed by the band playing a lively air, after which Mr. Bullock arose and read the following:

ODE TO LIBERTY.[39]

Fairest spirit of the skies,
Fairest child of Paradise,
Now Columbia's lawful prize,
Glorious Liberty.

'Twas for thee our Fathers sought,
For thy sake our heroes fought,
Thee our bleeding patriots bought,
Precious Liberty.

Never, never cease to wave,
O'er the ashes of the brave,
Shield, oh! shield the patriot's grave,
Flag of Liberty.

While thy banner waves abroad,
All may freely worship God,
Fearless of the tyrant's rod,
Sacred Liberty.

Should oppression ever dare,
From thy brow, the wreath to tear,
Righteous vengeance shall not spare
Thy foes, oh, Liberty.

Sooner than to bondage yield,
Boldly in the battle field,
Let the sons of freedom wield,
The sword of Liberty."

The foregoing Ode was then sung by the twenty-four silver greys, to the tune of Bruce's Address to His Army.

This was followed by speeches, the principal one by President Young, in the course of which he said:

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[38] See this *History*, ch. lxxxii, where the poem is published.

[39] The ode was written by Eliza R. Snow Smith, and when sung to the tune of Scots Who Nae Wi Wallace Bled, deserves to become a national hymn.

PRESIDENT YOUNG'S SPEECH

"Why do we not celebrate the 4th of July? The Declaration of Independence is just as precious to me today as it was twenty days ago! Has it not the same validity that it had in 1776? Is it not as good today as it was twenty days ago? We chose this day that we might have a little bread to set on our tables; today we can see the bread, cucumbers, and beets, that we could not have seen twenty days ago. Inasmuch as there are some strangers in our midst, I want you to give them their dinner, for they rejoice to see us happy, and I say they are welcome, heartily welcome."

After the public speaking a procession was formed and marched to the waiting and feast-laden tables, when—

"Several thousand of the saints dined sumptuously on the fruits of the earth, produced by their own hands, who invited several hundreds of the emigrants [to eat with them] even all who were in the valley. A company who came in during the dinner were stopped, dismounted, placed at one of the tables, and were astonished by the warmth of their reception. Two or three score of Indians also partook of the repast; indeed such a feast of the body, coupled with a feast of the soul, has not been experienced on this continent for a length of time.

At a quarter past three p. m., the band, the bishops with their banners, the young men and young ladies, and the silver greys were formed into the line of escort, and again promenaded round the vast assemblage, singing the songs of Zion, while the Nauvoo bell continued pealing, musketry rolling, and the cannon roaring. President Young declared he had never seen such a dinner in his life. Mr. Rich said that it was almost a marvelous thing that everybody was satisfied, and many greyheaded veterans from different countries in the old world, united in declaring they had often sat down to the festive board in the United States, England, Scotland, France, Germany, Norway and Denmark, but had never enjoyed such a day as this. Not an oath was uttered—not a man intoxicated—not a jar or disturbance occurred to mar the union, peace, and harmony of the day."

After the feast a second public meeting was held at which there was a great variety of toasts given, some after careful preparation, and others extemporaneously expressed. Among these, national patriotic sentiment was frequently voiced, as witness the following:

"*The Constitution of the United States*: The Mercury of American Liberty:—Patriotism, virtue, and honesty raise it to the summer heat of happiness and prosperity; but corruption, vice, and treachery sink it below the zero of misery and wretchedness.

> *The President of the United, and the Governors of the several States*:—Wise stewards make virtue exalt a nation, and sin a reproach to the people.
>
> *Our God, our Country, and our Rights*:—May we fear and love *Him*, honor and serve *That*, and merit and enjoy *These*.
>
> *The Goddess of Liberty*.—We welcome her safe arrival to the valleys of the mountains. May she never have cause to repent her emigrating hither, or hide her radiant smiles from the children of 'Deseret.' "

A like celebration to this was held again in 1850, when Willard Richards was the chief orator of the occasion;[40] and again in 1851, amid the closing weeks of "Deseret's" expiring authority, for by this time the federal appointees to the territory, who resided outside of Utah, had arrived.[41] Elder W. W. Phelps, regent of the university and Daniel H. Wells were the speakers of the occasion. The oration of Squire Wells has become historical, since it gave offense to the newly arrived United States territorial officers on the one hand (of which more in another chapter), and proclaimed the loyalty of the saints on the other, and in a manner worthy of perpetuation; these paragraphs of the speech—offensive parts omitted—were as follows:[42]

HISTORIC SPEECH OF DANIEL H. WELLS—LOYALTY OF THE SAINTS

> "It has been thought by some, that this people—abused, maltreated, insulted, robbed, plundered, murdered, and finally disfranchised and expatriated—would naturally feel reluctant to again unite their destiny with the American republic. * * * No wonder that it was thought by some that we would not again submit ourselves (even while we were yet scorned and ridiculed) to return to our allegiance to our native country. Remember, that it was by the act of our country, not ours, that we were expatriated; and then consider the opportunity we had of forming other ties. Let this pass while we lift the veil and show the policy which dictates us. That country, that Constitution, those institutions, were all ours; they are still ours. Our fathers were heroes of the Revolution. Under the master spirits of an Adams, a Jefferson, and a Washington, they declared and maintained their independence and under the guidance of the spirit of truth they fulfilled their mission whereunto they were sent from the presence of the Father. Because

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[40] *Millennial Star*, vol. xii, pp. 337-344.

[41] See *Deseret News*, June 14, 1851, p. 276, *Ibid*, July 24, p. 300. Bancroft's *Utah*, pp. 455-6.

[42] The speech is published in full in *Deseret News* of Aug. 19, 1851, pp. 305-6.

demagogues have arisen and seized the reins of power, should we relinquish our interest in that country made dear to us by every tie of association and con-sanguinity? * * * Those who have indulged such sentiments concerning us, have not read 'Mormonism' aright; for never will we be found arrayed by the side of her enemies, although she herself may cherish them in her own bosom. Although she may launch forth the thunder bolts of war, which may return and spend their fury upon her own head, never, no never, will we permit the weakness of human nature to triumph over our love of country, our devotion to her institutions, handed down to us by our honored sires, made dear by a thousand tender recollections."

REFLECTIONS UPON THE "STATE OF DESERET"

The "State of Deseret" continued her existence about two and a half years, then passed into history. She was but a provisional state, and her authority could have no sanctions except in the voluntary submission of the people to her ordinances, and the judicial and administrative acts of her officers. Not until the legislative assembly and the governor of the territory of Utah, by enactment, declared that such of her laws as were not in conflict with the organic act of the territory of Utah, were approved and should remain until superceded by other enactments, was legal sanction given to the proceeding of the "State of Deseret." But notwithstanding these facts, the "State of Deseret," her rise and rule until displaced by a territorial government is an instructive chapter in the history of civil government in our country. Her creation and triumphant and peaceful reign for more than two years over the intermountain colonies, proclaim with singular force the ability of her people for self-government. And if the instructor in the science of civil government seeks an illustration of the evolution of civil government from society —from its early beginnings to the free development of a highly complex, political organization, competent to deal with many and varied conditions; with large and diversified interests; and at the same time prove itself efficient in conserving the liberty of the individual, and in giving peace and security to community life—then he may not do better than to use the "State of Deseret" as an object lesson.

CHAPTER XCII

THE TERRITORY OF UTAH AND THE CHURCH—GENERAL CHARACTER OF FEDERAL APPOINTEES TO OFFICE IN UTAH

THE history of the Church of the Latter-day Saints is inseparably associated with the history of the territory of Utah. Hence the history of the one must largely include the history of the other. In the treatment of the incidents that go to the making of that dual history certain principles, that deserve to be regarded as essentially American, must be presented and held constantly in view, else there will be no right understanding had of those things that are to be considered.

THE RIGHT OF LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

Among the things thus to be held in consciousness is the American principle of the right of local self-government. This right is inherent in the doctrine that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. The declaration of the ability of people for self-government, holds within it the implied right of local self-government, which one may say, so largely enters into the American system. Hence the delegation of part of the sovereign power of the people to the national government and to the state governments respectively; with the residue of power granted neither to the nation nor to the states, but reserved to the people. The powers granted to the nation are exercised in affairs purely national; the powers granted to the states, respectively, are employed in affairs pertaining to a state—a concession to the right of local self-government. And in order that government in its practical administration may be exercised as nearly as possible by the people of a vicinage, municipal and county governments obtain. Not that sovereignty belongs to municipal or county governments; for over the county and township governments the state exercises a general supervision; "indeed it clothes them with their authority."[1] Government that exists by the consent of the governed and bears directly upon the citizen, to be of first rate value to him, must be local government, as surely as trial by jury, to be of real value in the preservation of liberty, must be a jury of one's peers and of the vicinage; so that, in the latter case, one accused of crime may rest assured that he will be tried by men who will view the facts which go to the making up of his alleged crime in harmony with the conceptions and ideals that obtain in the community where the accused lives, and in which the alleged offense was committed: so, also, the value and purpose of local self-government is that its administration may be in harmony with local conceptions of rights and duties; and also that government may be administered by a system "under which the greatest number of minds knowing the most, and having the fullest opportunities of knowing it, about the special matter in hand, and having the greatest interest in its well-working, have the management of it or control over it."[2]

As it was the violations of the right of local self-government which went so far in making up the long list of grievances of the American colonies against the imperial government of Great Britain,[3] so, for well-nigh half a century, did violations of the right of local self-government in the case of Utah constitute the chief source of the trouble between the people of the territory and the government of the United States.

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[1] *Civil Government in the United States*, Fiske, pp. 191-2.

[2] Toulmin Smith's *Local Self-Government and Centralization*, London, 1851, p. 12. Quoted with approval by Fiske, as a definition of "local self-government." (See *Civil Government in the United States*, pp. 302-303). Fiske also quotes our author's definition of "centralization," as follows: "Centralization is that system of government under which the smallest number of minds, and those knowing the least, and bearing the fewest opportunities of knowing about the special matter in hand, and having the smallest interest in its well-working, have the management of it, or control over it."

[3] To prove which, let the facts, condensed from the Declaration of Independence, be submitted:

The king of Great Britain has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless they would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records.

THE CREATION OF THE TERRITORY OF UTAH

Of the alternative propositions presented by the Salt Lake colonists to congress, the ratification of the provisional state government formed by them, or the creation of a territorial government, congress acted upon the second. The organic act which created the territory was approved on the 9th of September, 1850. A full set of territorial officers was shortly afterwards[4] appointed by President Fillmore, with the advice and consent of the senate of which the following is the list:

Governor, Brigham Young, of Utah; *Secretary,* Broughton D. Harris, of Vermont; *Chief Justice,* Joseph Buffington, of Pennsylvania; *Associate Justices,* Perry E. Brocchus, of Alabama; Zerubbabel Snow, of Ohio, a "Mormon;" *United States Attorney,* Seth M. Blair, of Utah; *United States Marshal,* Joseph L. Heywood, of Utah.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly. He has refused for a long time to cause others to be elected.

He has obstructed the administration of justice by refusing to give his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their office.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass the people.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies without the consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the military independent of and superior to the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our Constitution.

He has imposed taxes upon them without their consent.

He deprived them, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury.

He transported them beyond seas to be tried for pretended offenses.

He suspended their own legislatures and declared the British parliament invested with power to legislate for the colonies in all cases whatsoever.

[4] The date of the appointments is given as the 20th of September by Bancroft in *History of Utah,* p. 456. As the 28th of September, in *Rocky Mountain Saints,* Stenhouse, p. 274. Bernhisel under date of Oct. 3rd, 1850, in a letter to Erastus Snow, announces an accompanying list of territorial officers, hence the appointment was made previous to that date. (*Millennial Star,* vol xii, p. 330).

Brigham Young was also appointed Indian agent for the territory, and Stephen B. Rose and Henry R. Day sub-Indian agents; the subagents were not residents of Utah, nor "Mormons." The four officers in the above list whose residence is given as Utah and Ohio, were members of the Church of the Latter-day Saints; the other three were non-"Mormons." Joseph Buffington, however, refused to serve, and Lemuel H. Brandebury, of Pennsylvania, was appointed chief justice in his place. The news of these appointments reached Salt Lake City on the 27th of January, 1850; and on the 3rd of February following, Brigham Young qualified by taking the oath of office as governor of Utah, before Daniel H. Wells, chief justice of the "State of Deseret."[5] The list of the appointments was contained in the *New York Tribune* of the 11th of October, which reached Salt Lake on the above date; and it was upon that information that Governor Young proceeded. Joseph L. Heywood, appointed to be United States marshal, was the first to receive his commission, which came in April, and he at once filed his bond with the secretary of the "State of Deseret," ready to be delivered to the secretary of the territory, when the latter officer should arrive, and immediately entered upon the duties of his office.[6]

THE ARRIVAL OF TERRITORIAL OFFICERS

The other officers were absent from the territory, but arrived on the following dates: Chief Justice Brandebury, on the 7th of June; Judge Snow, Secretary Broughton D. Harris, Stephen B. Rose, and Henry R. Day, the last two the sub-Indian agents for the territory, on the 19th of July, 1851;[7] and Judge Brocchus on the 17th of August.[8] With the officers who arrived on the 19th of July came also Almon W. Babbitt, who had been entrusted with $20,000 appropriated by congress for the erection of suitable public buildings at the seat of the territorial government; and Dr. Bernhisel, who had been appointed by President Fillmore to purchase a library for Utah, for which purpose congress had appropriated $5,000. Secretary Harris also brought with him the $24,000 congress had appropriated for the expenses of the legislature.

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[5] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, January and February entries, for 1851, pp. 6-7.

[6] *Deseret News*, for 19th April, 1851, p. 244.

[7] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, entry for July, 1851, pp. 55. The party which included Dr. J. M. Bernhisel and Almon W. Babbitt, were detained by high water at the Elkhorn. (*Ibid*).

[8] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1851, p. 59. See also *Congressional Globe*, first Session of 32nd Congress, Appendix, new series, vol. xxv, p. 84, *et seq.*

THE TERRITORIAL CENSUS

The organic act creating the territory required that the governor should "cause a census or enumeration of the inhabitants of the several counties and districts of the territory to be taken," and the first election to be "held at such time and places, and be conducted in such manner, as the governor shall appoint and direct." Governor Young learning from the eastern mail in November, 1850, that he had been appointed to take a "census of 'Deseret'," [9] notwithstanding the non-arrival of special instructions and blanks, proceeded to do so, directing his "assistants to make out two sets of returns, one for the United States as census agent for 'Deseret,' and one for Utah." [10] This work in the governor's judgment was sufficiently advanced early in July to warrant his issuing a proclamation apportioning the representation of the several counties in the territorial legislative assembly, and fixing upon the first Monday in August as the time of the election.[11]

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[9] "At which time also Willard Richards had been appointed postmaster, Salt Lake City," (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1850, p. 117; and *Deseret News* of Nov. 30, 1850).

[10] See Report of Governor Young to President Fillmore, *Congressional Globe*, first Session of 32nd Congress, new series, vol. xxv, p. 91. The organic act did not require a full census, but only "an enumeration of the inhabitants." (*Ibid*). The non-arrival of instructions and blanks, etc., the governor attributes to a "total miscarriage" of them. (*Ibid*). Later we shall see that the United States officials of the territory who left their posts in Utah reported that there had been no satisfactory census of the territory taken up to the time of their arrival; upon which point Brigham Young in March, 1852, records the following in his *Ms. History*: "Mr. Kennedy, superintendent of the 7th census, having on two different occasions expressed himself much pleased with the manner and accuracy with which I had taken the census of our territory, and the returned officers having denied in their report that the census was taken at all, Mr. Kennedy wrote to our delegate a very satisfactory letter upon the subject." (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, entry for March, 1852, p. 32).

PREMATURE ACTION OF GOVERNOR YOUNG IN ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURE

All this was done before the arrival of the secretary of the territory, and, therefore, without his seal and signature to any of the documents of the several acts of procedure, and technically not strictly in legal order. Governor Young's justification for proceeding in these preliminary steps in the inauguration of the territorial *regime* was that the election of a delegate to congress might be held in time to admit of his departure for Washington "before the lateness of the season would render the long and arduous journey dangerous, if not impracticable."[12] He also calls attention to the fact that although the secretary, with the other territorial officers had been appointed in the fall of 1850, they did not make their appearance in Utah until nearly one year afterwards;[13] and when it is remembered that the colonists of "Deseret" had been without any recognized government since their arrival in Salt Lake valley, four years before, it is not matter for wonderment if they manifested some impatience for the inauguration of the government now authorized by congress and the administration of their civil affairs through it.

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[11] The Proclamation is published in full in *Deseret News* of July 12th, 1851. The election was to be conducted "in accordance with the existing laws of the provisional government of the 'State of Deseret' regulating elections," passed by the general assembly of that state in 1849. There were to be 13 councilors and 26 representatives apportioned as follows: Salt Lake county, 6 councilors and 13 representatives; Weber county, 2 councilors and 3 representatives; Davis county, 1 councilor, 3 representatives; Tooele county, 1 representative; Utah county, 2 councilors and 3 representatives; Sanpete county, 1 councilor and 2 representatives; Iron county, 1 councilor and 2 representatives. At the same time and place the delegate to congress was to be chosen. The day of the election was appointed on the same day that county and precinct officers were to be elected under the law of the "State of Deseret," and the people were urged to elect these officers as usual. (*Deseret News* for July 12th, 1851).

[12] "Hence my anxiety," he adds, "to proceed with as little delay as possible in obtaining the enumeration of the inhabitants, preparatory to apportioning the members of the council and house of representatives to be elected from each." (Report of Governor Young to President Fillmore, *Congressional Globe*, new series, vol, xxv, p. 91).

[13] *Ibid.*

INDIAN AGENCIES AND AGENTS

On the arrival of the sub-Indian agents Governor Young by proclamation divided the territory into three agencies: the first to be known as the "Parvan Agency," to include all the territory "west of the Shoshone [Indian] nation, and north of the Parvan valley;"[14] the second to be known as the "Uintah Agency," to include all the Snake or Shoshones, the Uintah Yampa, and other tribes south within said territory, and east of the eastern rim of the Great Basin;[15] the third to be known as the "Parowan Agency," to include all the country lying west of the eastern rim of the Great Basin, and south of the south line of the Parvan valley to the western bounds of the territory.[16] The two subagents having arrived on the 19th of July, the above divisions of the territory into agencies was announced by proclamation of Governor Young on the 21st. Henry R. Day was apopinted to the Parvan Agency; and Stephen B. Rose to the Uintah Agency.[17]

JUDICIAL DISTRICTS MARKED OFF AND PROCLAIMED

With nearly equal promptness Governor Young announced the judicial districts of the territory. Chief Justice Brandebury had been in Salt Lake City since early in June. The arrival of Judge Snow on the 19th of July made a majority of the judiciary present in the territory, and on the 8th of August Governor Young issued a proclamation dividing the territory into three judicial districts, and appointing the judges as follows: The first district comprised Salt Lake and Tooele counties and the adjacent territory east and west to the boundaries of the territory including Bridger precinct; this district was assigned to Judge Brandebury.

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[14] This would include the present counties of Millard, the western part, at least, of Juab, Tooele, and Box Elder; and much of the territory of the present state of Nevada.

[15] This was practically the eastern half of the territory which then included the western half of the present state of Colorado.

[16] This would include the southwest portion of the present state of Utah and much of the southern part of the present state of Nevada.

[17] *Deseret News* of July 26, 1851, where the Proclamation will be found in *extenso.*

The second district comprised Weber and Davis counties and the adjacent territory east and west, and north to the boundary of the territory, to which Judge Snow was assigned. The third district comprised Utah, Sanpete, and Iron counties, and the adjacent territory east and west, and south to the boundary of the territory, to which Judge Brocchus was assigned.[18] To the proclamation creating these districts and making these appointments the signature of the secretary of the territory was attached.[19]

THE ELECTION OF THE LEGISLATURE AND THE DELEGATE TO CONGRESS

The election of the members to the legislature, the delegate to congress, and the county and precinct officers, took place on the first Monday in August, and it would seem that the whole setting for the peaceful inauguration of the territorial government was completed. It was at this juncture, however, that the evil effects of violating the right of local self-government became apparent. In the very beginning of territorial government the clash came between the people of Utah and the officers not of the vicinage, men in no way in sympathy with the people among whom they had come to administer the law; but, on the contrary, utterly opposed to them in sentiment, in habits of thought, and in customs. Inasmuch as this first clash between the people of Utah and such United States officers contains all the elements that enter into many other subsequent conflicts, extending through nearly half a century, I think this an appropriate place to consider those elements, and it will obviate the necessity of referring to them later.

THE MENTAL ATTITUDE OF THE SAINTS TOWARDS THE UNITED STATES

The Latter-day Saints themselves were a people of many grievances, and had many just causes of complaint,—as we have abundantly seen in previous chapters of this work—against the local communities in which they had lived, as also against the state governments of Missouri and Illinois; which governments had not only refused them the protection guaranteed by the Constitutions and laws of those states, but the chief executives of both states, with other high state officials in each, had sided with the tormentors of the saints, made common cause with the mobs against them, and became factors in effecting their expulsion from the states named, and of their final expatriation from the republic. To all this, and because of the frequent appeals and petitions for redress of grievances made to it, the general government was a witness, but took no steps to rescue the saints from the manifest injustice of mob violence, nor to interfere with the course of the state governments, either when those states withheld the protection of constitutional provisions and the state laws, or gave their official sanctions to the procedure of mobs, on the sufficient plea of constitutional limitations to federal authority.

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[18] For Proclamation, see *Deseret News*, Aug. 19th, 1851.
[19] *Ibid.*

In nursing remembrance of these grievances, made vivid by the toils, and sufferings, and deaths incident to their exodus from the United States, and their subsequent settlement in the Great Basin, it is not to be marveled at if the Latter-day Saints sometimes spoke bitterly, even the wisest and best of them; and that they did not always, and perhaps not at all, make nice distinctions as to where responsibility began and ended for the injustice heaped upon them. The general government, seemingly, to them, was clothed with great and even sufficient power to prevent injustice in a state; or, failing in that, possessed of power to redress the injured of their grievances: then to remain inactive, and even refuse to exert its supposed authority when appealed to, was in the view of the saints equivalent to giving sanction to, and becoming responsible for, the crimes committed in the state, and especially for those committed or sanctioned by the state officials. And such was often the argument when charging responsibility for their sufferings to the general government. Such was the argument made by President Young on the 7th of September, in the presence of the recently arrived United States territorial officials.[20] Such in effect was his argument when answering Judge Brocchus, when the judge in a public meeting had taken exception to these remarks, and to the speech of D. H. Wells to the same effect on the 24th of July previous. Governor Young in the latter instance said: "It is well known to every man in this community, and has become a matter of history throughout the enlightened world, that the government of the United States looked on the scenes of robbing, driving, and murdering of this people and said nothing about the matter, but by silence gave sanction to the lawless proceedings. Hundreds of women and children have been laid in the tomb prematurely in consequence thereof, and their blood cries to the Father for vengeance against those who have caused or consented to their death." Stansbury makes a true and temperate statement of the case, balancing against the necessary notice of the error of the saints, a declaration of their loyalty:

> "That a deep and abiding resentment of injuries received and wrongs endured in Missouri and Illinois pervades the whole Mormon community, is perfectly true; and that among many of the less informed, and, I regret to add, some even whose intelligence and education ought to have enabled them to form more correct opinions, this exasperation has extended itself to the general government, because of its refusal to interpose for their protection at the time of these difficulties, is also true; but, from all that I saw and heard, I deem it but simple justice to say, that notwithstanding these causes of irritation, a more loyal and patriotic people cannot be found within the limits of the Union."[21]

The saints were also a people with a mission—a mission to proclaim a New Dispensation of the gospel and its righteousness—to the world, and to give warnings of judgments against wickedness.[22] This led them to take advanced ground with reference to the law of righteousness; and whoever yet heard of a people so commissioned, and conscious of it, that under all circumstances were temperate in delivering their message, and wisely discriminating in denouncing judgments against iniquity?

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[20] *Woodruff's Journal, Ms.*, date of 7th Sept., 1851.

[21] *Stansbury's Report*, p. 144; see also *Journal of Discourses, passim.*

[22] See *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. i. Also the other revelations of the same book, *passim.*

"A Territorial Government of Our Own"

The church leaders had repeatedly expressed their willingness to accept a territorial government; and, as we have seen, in their petition for the admission of the "State of Deseret" into the Union, they had suggested the alternative of a territorial form of government, which was now granted to them, and with which, it may be argued, they ought to have been contented. But the territorial government they contemplated was always a *"territorial government of our own,"*[23] that is, officered by men from their own community. They appear not to have been aware of the likelihood of "strangers" being appointed from other communities to administer the law among them, and perhaps harass them by their assumed self-importance and political intrigues. Not until their friend and political advisor, Colonel Kane, warned them of this danger did they seem to sense it.[24] Then, as we have seen, they hastened to withdraw all petitions for a territorial government, and concentrated their efforts upon obtaining a state government;[25] but meantime the territory of Utah had been created. When the creation of the territory became an accomplished fact the agent of the colonists, Dr. John M. Bernhisel, and their political friends in Washington, did what they could to secure the appointment of men resident in the territory. On September the 15th Dr. Bernhisel submitted to President Fillmore "as the choice of the people of Utah territory for the officers in the gift of the national executive, the following named gentlemen: *Governor,* Brigham Young; *Secretary,* Willard Richards; *Chief Justice,* Zerubbabel Snow; *Associate Justices,* Heber C. Kimball, Newel K. Whitney; *Attorney,* Seth M. Blair; *Marshal,* Joseph L. Heywood."

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[23] "We would esteem *a territorial government of our own*, as one of the richest boons of earth." (*Letter of the Council*, signed by Brigham Young, *to President Polk*, Aug. 9th, 1846. See *Note* 5, end of chapter lxxiii).

[24] See chapter lxxxix, especially *Note* 2 at the end of the chapter. It will be remembered that Colonel Kane withdrew the first application for a territorial government when he found the Washington authorities disposed to appoint officers for the proposed territory from others than the local community.

[25] The facts are stated in this *History, ante*, chapter lxxxix.

After recommending, individually, these gentlemen, the doctor concluded his letter to President Fillmore as follows:

> "The people of Utah cannot but consider it their right, as American citizens, to be governed by men of their own choice, entitled to their confidence, and united with them in opinion and feeling; but the undersigned will add that for especial and important reasons which grow out of the peculiar circumstances of the community of 'Deseret,' and its government, the people are prepared to esteem as a high favor the nomination by the president of the entire list of officers above submitted, as it stands, and will not fail to evince that they remember it with gratitude."[26]

Part of the "peculiar circumstances" which Dr. Bernhisel had in mind are admirably stated by Captain Stansbury in his approving comment upon the appointment of Brigham Young as governor of Utah. He said:

> "With all due deference, then, I feel constrained to say, that in my opinion the appointment of the president of the Mormon church, and head of the Mormon community, in preference to any other person to the high office of governor of the territory, independent of its political bearings—with which I have nothing to do—was a measure dictated alike by justice and by sound policy. * * * No other man could have so entirely secured the confidence of the people; and this selection by the executive of the man of their choice, besides being highly gratifying to them, is recognized as an assurance that they shall hereafter receive at the hands of the general government that justice and consideration to which they are entitled. Their confident hope now is that, no longer fugitives and outlaws, but dwelling beneath the broad

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[26] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.,* 1850, pp. 127-130. In the letter which informed Governor Young of the failure of the appointment of the above list of territorial officers, Dr. Bernhisel said: "I greatly regret that all the officers were not appointed from among our number. At my first interview with the president in relation to the appointees he promised he would not appoint any man who was not friendly disposed toward our people. * * * I am gratified to be able to inform you that the president has evinced the most liberal and friendly feelings toward our people." (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.,* 1850, pp. 127-130). Nevertheless, as already noted, he mixed the appointments for Utah, four from the local community, five—counting the subagents in the Indian service—from the east.

> shadow of the national *aegis,* they will be subject no more to the violence and outrage which drove them to seek habitation in this far, distant wilderness. * * * From all I saw and heard, I am firmly of opinion that the appointment of any other man to the office of governor would have been regarded by the whole people, not only as a sanction, but as in some sort of a renewal, on the part of the general government, of that series of persecutions to which they had already been subjected, and would have operated to create distrust and suspicion in minds prepared to hail with joy the admission of the new territory to the protection of the supreme government."[27]

Stansbury's associate, Lieutenant Gunnison, also makes an important comment on the right of the Salt-Lake colonists to "local self-government," and truly represents the views of the colonists upon the subject:

> "The Mormons regard themselves as placed in the position of our colonial fathers; with this difference, that the latter felt the burden of taxation without representation; the Mormons an injustice in enforcing law upon them by *foreigners.* They have formed everything on the model of a republican state; adopted a constitution, liberal, free, and tolerant of conscience in religion; and have a criminal code which applies to their peculiar situation and feelings. It is not to be presumed that lawyers, though eminent at home, fresh from crowded cities, and long drilled municipal laws suited to old societies, can have a just appreciation of the statutes of this wild country, which have a peculiar religious sanction from the dependence of the civil code on revelation. Nor will the community place the same confidence in such judges, as in those whose acquaintance with their views and opinions is a matter of experience; and whose interests and sympathies are bound up together. And, too, we must remember, that it is a matter of conscience to bring all subjects of contention before the heads of their family, the household of the church.
>
> So long, therefore, as they demean themselves as good, industrious citizens of the United States, being geographically separated from other society, with no admiralty causes to adjudicate, and pay their portion of the indirect taxation for the support of the government, *they feel a right to demand confidence enough to be allowed to have persons resident among themselves appointed to administer the laws over them, and fill official stations. And they can well laugh at all attempts to control them otherwise, though they may submit in appearance, to prevent collision.*
>
> And then comes up the question is not this after all a matter of political *etiquette?* and is it wise to make a case of treason on such a point? They acknowledge the binding force of the Constitution, claim

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[27] *Stansbury's Report to the Government of the United States,* 1852, pp. 146-147.

to be American citizens, and also to have a right that this courtesy be allowed them, after so many privations and sufferings endured, to make the wilderness and desert a habitable abode. To enforce rulers over them from aboard, by the power of bayonet, will entail perpetual war, or necessitate the raising a force, and making the expenditure of funds such as has never been called for at one time since our national existence."[28]

These comments were made sometime after the first clash came between the people of Utah and the United States judges, and when the resentment of the people to the impertinence of the judges, was spoken of in some quarters as "treason." But the passage is *a propos* the right of local self-government here discussed.

Attachment of the Saints to their Religious Leaders

Another of the "peculiar circumstances" to which Dr. Bernhisel could not fail to have had in mind would be the attachment the saints would possess for their religious leaders, under whose exclusive jurisdiction they had lived since the expulsion from Illinois, early in 1846. This would be, counting up to the time when the territorial government went into force among them, in the later months of 1851, a period of about five years. In that time they had become "well weaned"[29]—and that through no fault of theirs—from government other than that administered by their own trusted, religious leaders. A broad and enlightened statesmanship would fully have recognized that condition and acted upon it, rather than to have sent "strangers" among them to administer the laws, which could have no other effect than to awaken resentments, and either thwart entirely the ends of government, or, if there was submission to the felt injustice, occasion frequent recurrence of ebullitions of indignation, that, under all the circumstances, it would be too much to expect would always be restrained; and that must result in irritation, and even in serious conflicts.

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[28] Gunnison's *The Mormons*, pp. 154-5.

[29] The Utah colonists after the lapse of those five years, could well have used the language to the administration at Washington that Puritans employed to King James of England when applying for the privilege of planting a largely self-governing colony in America: "With characteristic simplicity and honesty of purpose they represented to him that they were well weaned from the delicate milk of their mother country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land that they were knit together in a strict and sacred bond, by virtue of which they held themselves bound to take care of the good of each other and of the whole; that it was not with them as with other men, whom small things could discourage, or small discontent cause to wish themselves at home again." (*History of the United States*, Marcus Wilson, Appendix to the Colonial History, p. 288).

Nor could it be otherwise. What chance, for instance, would any man have had sent from the eastern states as governor of Utah against Brigham Young? The latter a born leader among men, and founder of the "State of Deseret," possessing the full confidence of his people, what an indignity to the people of Utah it would have been to have appointed any other man governor of the territory! "Intimately connected with them from their exodus from Illinois," remarks Captain Stansbury, "this man (Brigham Young) has been indeed their Moses, leading them through the wilderness to a remote and unknown land, where they have since set up their tabernacle, and where they are now building their temple. Resolute, in danger, firm and sagacious in council, prompt and energetic in emergency, and enthusiastically devoted to the honor and interests of his people, he had won their unlimited confidence, esteem, and veneration, and held an unrivaled place in their hearts. Upon the establishment of the provisional government, he had been unanimously chosen as their highest civil magistrate, and even before his appointment by the president, he combined in his own person the triple character of confidential advisor, temporal ruler, and prophet of God. Intimately acquainted with their character, capacities, wants, and weaknesses; identified now with their prosperity, as he had formerly shared to the full in their adversity and sorrows; honored, trusted, the whole wealth of the community placed in his hands for the advancement both of the spiritual and temporal interests of the infant settlement, he was, surely, of all others, the man best fitted to preside, under the auspices of the general government, over a colony of which he may justly be said to have been the founder."[30] Under such circumstances as these it would have been a wanton political blunder to have appointed any other man governor of Utah; and it was equally a mistake—though varying somewhat in degree—to appoint other officers of the territory outside of the local community, when there were men in the local community of character and ability equal with and even superior to the "outsider" receiving the appointment.

The cause that produced irritations and conflicts was the course events followed in Utah for well-nigh half a century—the direct result of the persistent violation, by the authorities at Washington, of the American principle of the right of local self-government; and this, in large part, through systematic misrepresentation of the facts in the case as we shall see in the unfolding of the history of those years.

On the other hand there was "the stranger" appointed to office in the territory. He could but feel that he was unwelcome, as an officeholder; that he was an "intruder," a "stranger" and a "foreigner" in the commonwealth; sent from a distance to administer its laws, among a people conscious of their ability for self-government; *and who had lost none of their rights as citizens of the United States by reason of their removal to the mountain wilderness over which now the Constitution of their country had been extended, and where, of right, American principles should prevail.* The "stranger" officeholder had little and perhaps no sympathy with the community into which he had intruded. Certainly he was a disbeliever in, and usually opposed to their religious beliefs, worship, and conceptions of life and its duties.

THE MEASURE OF CHARACTER OF THE "FOREIGN" APPOINTEES

With rare exceptions the "foreign" appointees were not men of large character-caliber. That may be determined to some extent by the fact of their seeking the appointment to the offices, which they must know would bring them into antagonistic relations with the people among whom they must live;[31] that they must certainly be regarded as intruders, the instruments through which the violations of the American principle of "home rule" was being effected. And this thankless position they were willing to assume for a very meager salary. These first appointees from the east, for instance, the chief justice, the associate justices, and the secretary of the territory, received each, $1,800 per annum.[32] And for that consideration they would leave the practice of a profession, or other vocation in the east, to accept such a salary, and work under the conditions above described! A deduction from the premises by the writer is not necessary, each reader will make his own.[33]

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[30] *Stansbury's Report*, pp. 146-7.

Moreover, among these "foreign" appointees were adventurers who sought these appointments, not so much to serve the people among whom they were sent; nor to uphold the dignity, and national authority that appointed them; but to make their appointment a stepping stone to some personal advantage, political or otherwise. Others came for mere love of novelty and adventure. Others still in the hope that change of climate would arrest the progress of failing health, if not restore it; others being worn out, political hacks in their own community, accepted the appointment as the last reward for political party service. Others came

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31. *New York Herald* of March 9th, 1852.

32. *Organic Act of Utah*, sec. 11.

33. In a communication to President Fillmore, which was his report of conditions in Utah after the "flight" of Judge Brandebury, Brocchus, *et al.*, from Utah, Governor Young in a fine vein of sarcasm takes the measure of this first group of "foreign" appointees to territorial offices. "In the appointment of new officers, if you will pardon me for making a suggestion, I would propose," the Governor goes on to say, "that such men be selected as will reside within the territory, or have a general and extended knowledge of men and things as well as of the elementary and fundamental principles of law and legislation; men who have lived and practiced outside, as well as indoors, and whose information extends to the duties of a justice of the peace, as well as the well-known passages and districts of the court room." (Governor Young's Letter to President Fillmore, date of September 29, 1851, *Congressional Globe*, new series, vol. xxv, p. 92).

with the idea that there was a mission attachment to their office by which they were authorized and expected to engage in a crusade against the religion and the Church of the Latter-day Saints. All this, however, is said under recognition of the fact that there were honorable exceptions to this classification of the Utah "foreign" appointees, though it must be said in candor, that the exceptions were rare.

THE FIRST GROUP OF FEDERAL APPOINTEES FOR UTAH

Of these several varieties a number were present in the first batch of appointees. The whole group could best be described as politically and in every other respect nonentities.[34] So completely is this the case with reference to the one appointed chief justice that little or nothing is known of him except that he seems to have been the pupil and protege of a "Pennsylvania county court lawyer," whose political influence, it is presumed, being a Whig, was sufficient with the administration to secure his pupil the appointment to the office of chief justice! In Utah the chief justice was known for his unsocial habits, and slovenliness in dress.[35]

Judge Brocchus is spoken of by Bancroft as a "vain and ambitious man, full of self-importance, fond of intrigue, corrupt, revengeful, hypocritical."[36] He represented the class above referred to who came to seek political preferment, being ambitious to be elected delegate to congress from the territory, informing,–*en route* to Utah–the "Mormon" people at Kanesville of his ambition, representing that it was his only purpose in going to Utah, and he really began his campaign there, and continued it across the plains, only to learn, before reaching Salt Lake City, that the people of Utah had elected Dr. John M. Bernhisel to that office.[37] It is only justice to the judge to say that he disclaimed being more than a "receptive candidate."[38]

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[34] "Who of worth," asks the writer of a letter to the *New York Herald*—March 9th, 1852—signed by Jedediah M. Grant, Great Salt Lake City's first mayor—"Who of worth and standing at home would venture out to our distant and undescribed country? Accordingly, the offices went begging among all the small-fry politicians who could be suspected of being fit to fill them." The matter of the offices going begging is emphasized by the fact that even after the office of chief justice was given to Joseph Buffington, of Pennsylvania, he refused to serve. (Ante, p.

[35] *The Grant-signed Letters*, p. 3. (They were published in pamphlet form, now rare). The linen of the judge was matter of jest and he was often referred to as "the great unwashed." (*Ibid*, p. 7, and *passim*).

[36] *History of Utah*, Bancroft, p. 456.

Secretary Harris is described as "a smart youngster from a Vermont printing office."[39] He represented in this first group of United States "foreign" officials, the class that conceived a mission attachment to their territorial office appointment. Mr. Harris soon after his arrival in Utah informed Governor Young "that he had private instructions designed for no eye but his own, to watch every movement and not pay out any funds unless the same should be strictly legal, according to his own judgment."[40]

Whereupon the governor remarked in his communication to President Fillmore:

> "Is it true that officers coming here by virtue of an appointment by the president, have private instructions that so far control their actions as to induce the belief that their main object is not the strict and legal performance of their respective duties, but rather to watch for iniquity, to catch at shadows, and make a man 'an offender for a word;' to spy out our liberties, and, by manifold misrepresentations, seek to prejudice the minds of the people against us? If such is the case, better, far better would it be for us, to live under the organization of our provisional government, and entirely depending upon our own resources, as we have hitherto done, until such time as we can be admitted as a state."[41]

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[37] *The Grant-signed Letters,* p. 8.

[38] The judge "denied that he came here (i. e. to Utah) with the view of being elected delegate to congress, but had expressed his willingness to accept that office, if elected, and that he thought he could do us good in that way." (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.,* entry for 8th Sept., 1851, pp. 61-69). In referring again to the matter, in a letter to the judge under date of Sept. 20th, 1851, Governor Young represented that it was "reported, and on pretty good authority," that Brocchus had said that, "if the citizens of Utah do not send me as their delegate to Washington, by G—d, I'll use all my influence against them, and will crush them. I have the influence and the power to do it, and I will accomplish it if they do not make me their delegate." (The letter from which the above is quoted, with three others by Brigham Young to Judge Brocchus, and two of the judge's to Brigham Young, were published in the *New York Herald,* and reproduced in the *Deseret News* of Oct. 16, 1852).

[39] *Grant-signed Letters,* p. 3.

[40] Governor Young's Report to President Fillmore, Appendix, *Congressional Globe,* new series, vol. xxv, p. 92.

[41] *Ibid,* p. 92.

The Second Group of "Foreign" Appointees

In the second group of "strangers" appointed to office, one, Mr. Benjamin G. Ferris, appointed to be secretary of the territory, admitted that it was merely "a curiosity, long cherished, to visit a portion of the world about which marvelous accounts had been given, that induced" him "to accept the vacant post." He remained six months which he employed in gathering materials for writing his book, *Utah and the Mormons,* which appeared two years later.[42]

The two judges of the second group of "strangers" receiving appointment to office in Utah represent the class of invalids who came to Utah to *recoup* their failing health. Mr. Lazarus H. Reid of New York, who was appointed as chief justice, after remaining in Utah a year returned to his home in Bath, Steuben county, on a visit, where he died, though but forty years of age.[43] Leonidas Shaver, said to be of southern birth, was a sufferer from some affection of the head and died very suddenly.[44] So suddenly in fact that it gave rise to unfounded rumors that he had been poisoned, on account of a supposed difficulty with the governor of Utah, of which difficulty, however, there exists not the slightest evidence; and Brigham Young speaks of the judge in the most complimentary terms, alluding to him as "a straight forward, judicious, upright man."[45] The cause of his death was thoroughly investigated, with the result above stated, *viz.*, that he died "of a disease of the head." The judge was buried at Salt Lake City with "processional honors."

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[42] *Utah and the Mormons,* Ferris, 1854, see Preface.

[43] Waite's *The Mormon Prophet,* p. 25.

[44] *Richards' Ms.,* quoted by Bancroft, *History of Utah,* p. 461. "Judge Shaver, apparently in good health at night was found the next morning dead in his bed." Relative both to the "gossipping" rumor of a supposed difficulty with Governor Young and the poisoning of the judge, Stenhouse remarks, that he "has never seen any ground for such a suspicion." (*Rocky Mountain Saints,* p. 279). Beadle says that the "Mormons" believed him to be an opium eater, and that "he died from suddenly being deprived of that drug." (*Life in Utah,* p. 170). It was Doctors Hurt and French at the inquest who testified that the judge was addicted to the use of opium. (See *Deseret News* of July 4th, 1855. Stenhouse's *Rocky Mountain Saints,* p. 279). The rumor of misunderstanding with the governor rests alone on the gratuitous statement of Waite. (*The Mormon Prophet,* p. 24).

[45] Bancroft's *History of Utah,* p. 461, note. He quotes Richard's *Incidents in Utah History, Ms.,* p. 78. Geo. A. Smith in a public speech said of Judge Shaver that he was "a worthy man and profound jurist, who by his upright course has honored his profession. His studious attention to his duty, his fine intellect, polished education and gentlemanly bearing won for him the universal admiration and respect of this community." (*Deseret News* of July 18, 1855, p. 146). Nor did this esteem rise from any subserviency on the part of the judge to the church leaders. The chief justice

Thus it will be seen that in the first and second group of "stranger" officers, Utah had all the classes represented that are enumerated in preceding paragraphs of this chapter; and quite generally it may be said in truth, the territory from first to last, had present in the personnel of United States officials, the majority of these classes constantly represented. I have already indicated[46] that there were also nearly always some "honorable exceptions" present.

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of the territory, Judge J. F. Kinney, in his eulogy of him at the public funeral services, said: "With judicial ability, was blended the most scrupulous honesty, and that which is equal to either, a firmness of purpose and a moral power, which enabled him to enunciate the law regardless of consequences or the opinions of men. Ability, integrity, firmness and moral courage are qualifications which ever have and ever must adorn the bench, all are necessary, none dispensable. It is but due to the departed to remark that he possessed these to an eminent degree. I have seen all these virtues severely tested. Of the many important cases tried by the lamented judge, involving, as some of them did, the feelings of the entire community, no person, however much interested, has ever been able to detect the slightest bias or prejudice or shrinking from the announcement of a decision adverse perhaps to the wishes of the church and community. And no higher meed of praise can be awarded the memory of our departed brother than this, that, notwithstanding these decisions, the prominent members of the church are among the most ardent admirers of his judicial character." (*Deseret News*, July 4th, 1855, p. 132). Which was a compliment both to the deceased jurist and to the "Mormon" church leaders. Bancroft says the judge's death occurred "soon after his arrival" in Utah. (*History of Utah*, p. 461). A mistake, he was a resident and officer in Utah nearly three years. (*News*, as above).

[46] After referring to what he calls "imbecile appointments from the time of Fillmore until Lincoln's administration," J. H. Beadle, an anti-"Mormon" writer of some repute, records the disgraceful actions of some of the early Utah "foreign" judges as follows: "The first judge, Perry E. Brocchus, was incautious in his attacks upon polygamy; and, having been led to believe that his life was in danger, left the territory. Another official was detected in immorality, and resigned to avoid exposure; another disgraced his office by taking a prostitute upon the bench with him; another impaired his efficiency by secret drinking; and still another allowed himself to be completely entrapped by two of Brigham's (?) 'decoy women.' One of these delinquents was followed into Weber canon by a self-appointed committee of 'Mormon boys,' and received at their hands a severe castigation." (*Life in Utah, or the Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism, an Expose*, National Publishing Co., Phil., 1870, p. 394). Colonel Steptoe, to whom was tendered the office of governor of Utah (of which more later) is supposed to be the victim of "Brigham's decoy women;" Bancroft says, "there is no grounds for such a statement." (*History of Utah*, note, p. 493); but, Steptoe omitted, the list of delinquents among United States officials in Utah, up to the time referred to by Beadle, is long enough, and the nature of their offendings black enough, to awaken the indignation of the people against the persistent violations of the right of local self-government by having such officers sent among them to administer the law. Beadle further remarks of the period beginning with 1854, that "Utah now began to be regarded as the 'Botany Bay' of worn out politicians; if a man was fit for nothing else, and yet had to be rewarded for political services, he was sent to Utah." (*Life in Utah*, p. 171).

CHAPTER XCIII

THE FIRST CLASH BETWEEN UNITED STATES "FOREIGN" APPOINTEES AND THE CHURCH AUTHORITIES

IN THIS chapter I propose to deal with the first incidents of disagreement between the people of Utah and United States officials. Judge Brocchus was the first to bring on a conflict. On the 24th of July, preceding the judge's arrival, Daniel H. Wells had delivered an oration on the Utah Pioneers, recounting the events leading up to the necessity for their journey into the western wilderness, to which oration reference has already been made in a previous chapter.[1] This oration was one of the instances when proper distinctions were not made between the utterances of irresponsible individuals, and mobs, and the United States, represented by the general government; and the statement was made in the aforesaid oration, that the country that could have the *barbarity,* under such peculiar circumstances, to make such a requirement [i. e. for the Mormon Battalion] "could have no other object in view than to finish, *by utter extermination,* the work which had so ruthlessly begun"—i. e., by mobs.

This oration was published in full two days after the arrival of Judge Brocchus.[2] President Young it would appear also, on the same occasion, had made some uncomplimentary remarks about the then late Zachary Taylor.[3]

CLASH OF FEDERAL OFFICIALS AND CHURCH AUTHORITIES

A special conference of the church was held on the 7th, 8th and 9th of September following. On the 7th President

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[1] Chapter xci.

[2] *Deseret News,* weekly, of Aug. 19, 1851.

[3] President Young when he replied to the speech of Judge Brocchus, said: "I know Zachary Taylor, he is dead and damned and I cannot help it." (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.,* Sept., 1851, pp. 61-65). According to Brocchus the remark of President Young was: "Zachary Taylor is dead, and in hell, and I am glad of it." (Utah Officials' Report to President Fillmore, *Congressional Globe,* new series, vol. xxv, p. 87).

Young in addressing the conference referred to the general government of the United States in severe terms for its apparent sanction, from his viewpoint, to the killing of Joseph Smith. The United States was the first nation to which the New Dispensation of the gospel was preached, and they had killed the Prophet that God had sent unto them, and would be under condemnation.[4]

These incidents seemed to furnish Judge Brocchus an occasion to pose as the defender of the government of the United States against a "Mormon attack." Accordingly he asked permission to address the conference. President Young inquired what would be the nature of his remarks, but received no very satisfactory answer. According to Governor Young the Judge's reply was "he did not know;"[5] although in his subsequent correspondence with the governor on the subject, the judge said, "my speech in all its parts was the result of deliberation and care—not proceeding from a heated imagination, or a sudden impulse, as seems to be the general impression. I intended to say what I did say."[6]

It is to be deplored that no full and exact report of the judge's speech is extant, but what is doubtless a very good synopsis of his remarks is to be found in the *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, together with a synopsis of President Young's reply, both of which I give herewith.[7] The speech of Judge Brocchus is thus introduced by President Young:

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[4] *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, Ms.*, entry 7th Sept., 1851.

[5] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, entry Sept. 7, 8, 9, 1851, p. 62.

[6] *Deseret News* of Oct. 16th, 1852, where the whole correspondence appears, copied from the *New York Herald* in which it was first published.

[7] The incident happened during a suspension of the publication of the *Deseret News*, which extended from August 19, 1851, to November 15th, 1851, which explains why the speech or a synopsis of it does not appear in that periodical. Tullidge says the speech of Judge Brocchus is not extant, nor is there to be found any report of that exciting conference, for it was before the existence of the *Deseret News*. (*History of Salt Lake City*, p. 9). Clearly an error, since the *News* began its existence on June 22, 1850, though there is an interval from 19th of August to November 15th, 1851, when no paper was published. Tullidge seems to have overlooked the account of the conference in the *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*; also in *Woodruff's Journal*, an account of the conference is given under the dates it covered, 7th, 8th, 9th of September, 1851.

"On the 7th 8th, and 9th I attended conference in the bowery. The Hon. Perry E. Brocchus, associate justice for the territory, requested the privilege of addressing the assembly. On being asked what would be his subject, he replied that he did not know. The privilege was granted, and on the second day of the conference he appeared in company with Judge Brandebury, Indian Superintendent Day, and several others of his friends, and addressed the congregation.

President Young's Synopsis of Judge Brocchus' Speech

"He expressed his everlasting gratitude for the kindness and hospitality of our people to him when sick and a stranger. He bore testimony to the peacefulness of the inhabitants of the territory, and their submission to the tribunals of their own choice, and prayed to God that all the United States might soon have such tribunals as were in this territory, and then it would always bring peace to the hearts of those who had to be judged. He hoped there would be no litigation. He denied that he came here with the view of being elected delegate to congress, but had expressed his willingness to accept that office, if elected, and that he thought he could do us good in that way. He was an honorable man, or he would not have been appointed to office in the territory. He appeared before his audience, under a commission by the board of managers of the National Washington Monument, to ask the territory to contribute a block of marble towards the erection of that building. He cursorily reviewed the career and character of George Washington. He then referred to the oration of Hon. D. H. Wells on the 24th of July, and objected to some portions of it. The government made no imperative demand for 500 of our best men for service in the Mexican war, and had no evil intentions in asking for them, nor was it responsible for the persecutions in Missouri and Illinois. President Polk expressed decided disapprobation of those deeds, he [Brocchus] felt indignant about them, and he believed the mass of the people, at the time, boiled with rage towards the perpetrators. The federal government had not injured us. The president could not lay a private wrong before congress. To those states [i. e. Missouri and Illinois], we should look for redress. The speaker regretted to hear in our midst such expressions as that the United States were a stink in our nostrils. He was pained to hear it said that the government of the United States was going to hell as fast as possible. He said that if the people of Utah could not offer a block [i. e. of marble] for the Washington Monument in full fellowship with the United States, it were better to leave it unquarried in the bosom of its native mountain. He directed a portion of his discourse towards the ladies, and, libertine as he boasted himself, *strongly recommended them to become virtuous.*"

Governor Young's Reply

"I arose and spoke substantially as follows:—Judge Brocchus is either profoundly ignorant, or wilfully wicked, one of the two.

There are several gentlemen on this platform who would be glad to prove the statements referred to in relation to him, and much more, if I would let them have the stand. His speech is designed to have political bearing. If I permit discussion to arise here, there may be either pulling of hair or a cutting of throats. It is well known to every man in this community, and has become a matter of history throughout the enlightened world, that the government of the United States looked on the scenes of robbing, driving, and murdering of this people and said nothing about the matter, but by silence gave sanction to the lawless proceedings. Hundreds of women and children have been laid in the tomb prematurely in consequence thereof, and their blood cries to the Father for vengeance against those who have caused or consented to their death. George Washington was not dandled in the cradle of ease, but schooled to a life of hardship in exploring and surveying the mountains and defending the frontier settlers, even in his early youth, from the tomahawk and the scalping knife. It was God that dictated him and enabled him to assert and maintain the independence of the country. It is the same God that leads this people. I love the government and the Constitution of the United States, but I do not love the d——— rascals who administer the government.

I know Zachary Taylor, he is dead and damned, and I cannot help it. I am indignant at such corrupt fellows as Judge Brocchus coming here to lecture us on morality and virtue. I could buy a thousand of such men and put them into a bandbox. Ladies and gentlemen, here we learn principle and good manners. It is an insult to this congregation to throw out such insinuations. I say it is an insult, and I will say no more."[8]

THE YOUNG-BROCCHUS CORRESPONDENCE

This conference incident was followed by a correspondence between the governor and the judge that has become historical. The former, on the 19th of September, wrote the judge respectfully inviting him to attend the following Sunday service and address the same people before whom he had spoken on the 8th inst. "And if your honor," said the governor, "shall then and there explain, satisfy, or apologize to the satisfaction of the ladies who heard your address on the 8th, so that those feelings of kindness that you so dearly prized in your address can be reciprocated by them, I shall esteem it a duty and a pleasure to make every apology and satisfaction for my observations which you as a gentleman can claim or desire at my hands."[9]

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[8] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, entry for September 8th, 1851, pp. 61-64. As sustaining the substantial accuracy of the above report, I also give another account of these two speeches which created a great sensation throughout the United States at the time they were reported. The second account is from a separate and independent source of information, *viz.*, the *Journal of Wilford Woodruff*, and not elsewhere published. (See *Note*, end of chapter).

It is very generally held that Judge Brocchus in his address attacked the practice of plural marriage among the people, but if so it was solely by innuendo, as neither in President Young's account, nor in Elder Woodruff's, nor in the correspondence which followed between Governor Young and the judge is there any allusion to that subject, except for the exhortation of the judge to the ladies of the audience in which he expressed "the hope," that they *"would become virtuous."*[10] This expression was most offensive, and aroused great indignation.

If it was the intent of Judge Brocchus in this remark to allude to the marriage relation in question, then his error was a most gross one, for it not only cast opprobrium upon the women present, who had entered into that order of marriage, but it cast reproach upon a principle accepted, under the circumstances and within the limitations fixed by the church, as a profoundly religious institution, and was wholly untainted with sensuality, or immorality in any of its phases.[11]

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[9] Letter of Brigham Young to Judge Brocchus, *Deseret News*, Oct. 16, 1852.

[10] Governor Young's Letter to Brocchus of Sept. 21st, 1851, published in *Deseret News*, Oct. 16th, 1852. On this remark the governor commented as follows: "Let me ask you, most seriously, my dear sir, how could you hope thus? How could you hope that those 'dear creatures,' some of whose acts of benevolence to the stranger drew tears from your eyes while you were yet speaking—how could you hope—what possible chance was there for you to hope—they would become virtuous? Had you ever proved them unvirtuous? If so, you could have but a faint hope of their reformation. But, if you had not proved them unvirtuous, what testimony had you of their lack of virtue? And if they were unvirtuous, how could they 'become virtuous'? Sir, your hope was of the most damning dye, and your very expression tended to convey the assertion that those ladies you then and there addressed were prostitutes—unvirtuous—to that extent you could only *hope*, but the probability was they were so far gone in wickedness you dare not *believe* they ever could become virtuous. And now, sir, let your good sense, if you have a spark left, answer—could you, had you mustered all the force that hell could lend you—could you have committed a greater indignity and outrage on the feelings of the most virtuous and sensible assemblage of ladies that your eyes ever beheld? If you could, tell me how. If you could not, you are at liberty to remain silent. Shall such insults remain unrequited, unatoned for?" (*Deseret News* of Oct. 16th, 1852).

[11] Captain Howard Stansbury, after a year's residence among the saints in Salt Lake and Utah valley, 1849-1850, bears most important testimony upon this point: "If a man, once married, desires to take him a second helpmate, he must

It is only fair to Judge Brocchus to say that he disclaimed any "design to offer indignity and insult"[12] to his audience; and subsequently in the report which he and his associate officers of the territory made to the president of the United States, he declared that his address on the occasion here considered "was entirely free from any allusions, even the most remote, to the peculiar religion of the community, or any of their domestic or social customs. It contained not a single expression of bravado or unkindness or harsh rebuke, or any sentiment that could have been tortured into a design on the part of the speakerly to inflict wantonly a wound

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first, as with us, obtain the consent of the lady intended, and that of her parents or guardians and afterward the approval of the seer or president, without which the matter cannot proceed. The woman is then 'sealed' to him under the solemn sanction of the church, and stands, in all respects, in the same relation to the man, as the wife that was first married. The union thus formed is considered a perfectly virtuous and honorable one, and the lady maintains, without blemish, the same position in society to which she would be entitled were she the sole wife of her husband. Indeed, the connection being under the sanction of the only true priesthood, is deemed infinitely more sacred and binding than any marriage among the Gentile world, not only on account of its higher and more sacred authority, but inasmuch as it bears directly upon the future state of existence of both the man and the woman. * * * *All idea of sensuality as the motive of such unions, is most indignantly repudiated; the avowed object being to raise up, as rapidly as possible, 'a holy generation to the Lord,' who shall build up his kingdom on the earth.* Purity of life, in all the domestic relations, is strenuously inculcated; and they do not hesitate to declare, that when they shall obtain the uncontrolled power of making their own civil laws, (which will be when they are admitted as one of the states of the Union), they will punish the departure from chastity in the severest manner, even by death." (*Stansbury's Report, Executive Document*, No. 3, pp. 136-7). The testimony of Lieutenant Gunnison on the same subject and during the same period of time is not less important: "Infidelity and licentiousness are held up for abhorrence; and when the 'plurality' law shall be promulgated, they will be punished by the decapitation of the offender and the severest chastity inculcated upon one sex, and rigid continence on the other during the gestation and nursing of children. Thus the time of weaning will again become a feast of joy, next to the celebration of the nuptial rite, and patriarchal times return. * * * The addition of wives, after the first, to a man's family, is called a 'sealing to him.' This constitutes a relation with all the rights and sanctions of matrimony. * * * *Thus guarded in the motive, and denounced as sin for other consideration than divine, the practical working of the system, so far as now extended, has every appearance of decorum.* * * * That the wives find the relation often a lonesome and burdensome one, is certain; though usually the surface of society wears a smiling countenance, and to all who consent from a sense of duty or enthusiasm the yoke is easy. * * * We must conclude that the regulation of the new 'plurality' has not yet become perfect, and that the virtues claimed as pertaining to it are not in complete vigor; *but we may add that the community had every appearance of good morals, so that any equal number of persons in the states can scarcely exhibit greater decorum.*" (*The History of the Mormons*, Gunnison, pp. 69-73).

[12] Letters to Brigham Young of Sept. 19, 1851, *Deseret News*, Oct. 16, 1852.

upon the hearts of his hearers."[13] With this theory of the nature of his remarks it is difficult to reconcile the judge's admonition to the ladies of his audience *"to become virtuous."*[14]

Moreover, the whole procedure of Judge Brocchus was out of character and standing for a judicial officer, unwarranted in every way. Whatever misconceptions of historical facts may have been entertained, and whatever radical utterances may have been made by Utah leaders, the sequel proves that it was not the prerogative of Judge Brocchus to call them to task from the platform of their own church conference meetings, nor from any public forum save that of a court room, and in the trial of cases.

THE "RUN-A-WAY OFFICERS" AND THE "GRANT-SIGNED" LETTERS

It is said by some writers upon "Mormon" history that in one or other of their reports in the east, of which it is claimed there were several, these federal officers declared that "polygamy monopolized all the women, which made it very inconvenient for the federal officers to live here" (i. e. in Utah). "Loose as people might suppose frontier life to be," comments Stenhouse in his chronicle of this alleged report, "no one anticipated that representatives of the federal government would thus express themselves."[15] It does indeed seem incredible that such a remark should have been made. Tullidge, however, declares that the "federal officers expected to be applauded by the public, and sustained by the government, their assault being against polygamy;" but that they indiscreetly stated in *"their communication to the government"*[16] the remark attributed to them, and he then quotes the comment above by Stenhouse,

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[13] Report of Messrs. Brandebury, Bricchus, *et al,* to the president of the United States, *Congressional Globe,* new series, vol. xxv, p. 88.

[14] In his letter to Governor Young in answer to one inviting him to apologize to the people for his 8th of September speech, Judge Brocchus said: "My sole design, in the branch of my remarks which seems to be the source of offense, was to vindicate the government of the United States from those feelings of prejudice and that spirit of defection which seemed to pervade the public sentiment. That duty I attempted to perform in a manner faithful to the government of which I am a citizen, and to which I owe a patriotic allegiance, without unjustly causing a chord to vibrate painfully in the bosom of my hearers." (*Deseret News,* Oct. 16th, 1852).

[15] *The Rocky Mountain Saints,* 1873, pp. 277-8.

Again it is only fair to the "run-a-way officers" to say that in their report to the president, the matter of plurality of wives is not made a principal part of that report. It is only mentioned as an incident, and disposed of in a single paragraph of twenty-eight lines in a report covering nearly five of the three column pages of the *Congressional Globe*. The rest of the report deals with Latter-day Saint charges of the responsibility of the general government for persecutions their church had endured; with the apparent spirit of prejudice and defection as a consequence of that attitude; the alleged squandering by Governor Young of $20,000 appropriated by congress for the erection of public buildings;[17] and also the alleged irregularities of Governor Young in the inauguration of the territorial government. As for their alleged indiscreet remark concerning polygamy resulting in an inconvenience to the federal officers, it certainly is *not* found in their official report as claimed by Tullidge. Frankly, I do not think it is of record; and chiefly for the reason that the Utah delegate to congress in his several communications to President Young made no reference to it; nor in the "Grant-signed" Letters to the *New York Herald*,—in which the "run-a-way officers" are most severely handled—is there any allusion made to such a remark, although the writer of those letters refers to "three successive versions" of what is called their "Report;"[18] and when the caustic character of those letters is remembered, I think it utterly impossible that the writers of them would miss a statement of the kind had such an utterance escaped the said officials and become extant.

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[16] History of Salt Lake City in Tullidge's *Quarterly Magazine*, vol. iii, p. 92.

[17] This alleged misuse of money is stated in the official report as follows: "Congress appropriated twenty thousand dollars, to be applied under the direction of the governor and legislature in the erection of public buildings. The governor no sooner received this money than he appropriated and used every dollar of it, or a greater portion of it, in payment of debts due by the Mormon church, and in a few days after its arrival in the valley it was on its way to the United States in other hands. We were not present at its actual payment, but it was a matter of public notoriety and talked of by the gentleman who received it. This occurred about the last of July." (*Congressional Globe*, vol. xxv, new series, p. 88). According to the enabling act this sum of $20,000 was granted by congress to the territory of Utah "to be applied by the governor and legislative assembly to the erection of suitable public buildings at the seat of government." (*Organic Act*, sec. 12). The money was used by Governor Young towards the purchase of the "State House of Deseret," often called the "Council House," until the public buildings at the capital—then designed to be at Fillmore City, Millard county—could be completed. "The State House purchased," remarks the *Deseret News*, "cost $45,000. It consists of two spacious halls, and four offices, two of which are occupied by the books of the Utah library and as reading rooms." The *News* manifests some indignation that there should be a charge of "squandering" the public money connected with this transaction. (See *Deseret News*, impression of 7th February, 1852. An engraving of the Council House accompanies this chapter.

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[18] *Grant-signed Letters*, No. 2. As stated in a previous note the letters were signed by Jedediah M. Grant, Salt Lake City's first mayor; but the internal evidence is overwhelmingly against his authorship of them. Stenhouse, after referring to the fact that Grant was not the author of them, says it was "painful" to him to learn that "two of Pennsylvania's honored sons, already alluded to in this work [i. e., Stenhouse's *Rocky Mountain Saints*]—one no less than an ex-vice-president of the United States, and the other enjoying a military title—were the inspiration and authors of the famous letters" (p. 278). This points directly to ex-Vice-President George M. Dallas and Colonel Thomas L. Kane. There is much of internal evidence that would justify belief in the colonel's part in the authorship. The letters themselves are a rare bit of vigorous English, in masterful, biting style, bold, free, enjoyable, but unfortunately, though they held up to deserved scorn the "run-a-way officials," and made them, for the time, the laughing stock of the nation, the writers did not meet seriously and convincingly the issues presented by the "Report" of those same officials. The "Letters" are three in number, the first of which only was published in the *New York Herald*. The editor said of the first that "the pith of the charges against Governor Young and his community is not answered;" and declined to publish the others, of which he would doubtless hold the same view. The series, however, was completed and published in pamphlet form, and given wide circulation. There was also an Appendix, including a letter to President Fillmore, accompanying copies of the pamphlet to him; extracts of a letter of Judge Brocchus' to parties in the east; an account of the murder of Joseph Smith; the "Mormon" war in Missouri; Haun's Mill Massacre; the Far West troubles, and General Clark's address to the "Mormons" at that place. The whole case for the saints in Utah is presented in three brief and numbered paragraphs in the letter to President Fillmore; and indeed one may catch the spirit of the whole series by those paragraphs, to wit: "We claim," say the writers, "in the broadest sense, the rights of—

1. Religious liberty, including the right of individuals to establish and maintain, as well as to bestow ecclesiastical titles upon, a church hierarchy, as far as themselves judge proper.—Upon which, our stand is with the Roman Catholics.

2. Political liberty, admitting the largest possible power of self-government in the community, and the entire independence of its domestic institutions.—Upon which we stand with the opponents of centralization and advocates of states' rights, and, at the present time, with the south.

3. And for all beyond this, we contradict every single statement of the delinquent officers, and by wage of law or battle will equally rejoice to be brought to prove their falsehood.—We call for the examination under oath.—Of this we put ourselves upon the country.—Our last cry is, *trial!*"

President Young remarks upon these letters: "Elder Jedediah M. Grant wrote me from New York, May 13th, that he had ready for circulation his letters to the *New York Herald* in pamphlet form, a copy of which he was about to send to each member of congress and to the principal editors of the nation. His letters contained a refutation of the charges made by the returned federal officers against myself and the inhabitants of Utah, and were written in a humorous, readable style; *for which they were principally indebted to the versatile pen of our friend Colonel Thomas L. Kane.*" (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, entry for June, 1852, p. 56).

GRIEVANCES OF MR. HARRIS, SECRETARY OF THE TERRITORY

This speech of Judge Brocchus disposed of, the other incidents of the first clash between Brigham Young and the "foreign appointees" is soon told, and chiefly concerns the secretary of the territory, Mr. Harris. He was not satisfied with the proceedings of the governor in taking "the enumeration of the inhabitants of the territory," preceding the first election, required by the organic act, and for the purpose of apportioning the number of representatives and councilors to the several counties. He was not satisfied with the manner of the election; Brigham Young had issued a proclamation designating the election districts, apportioning the number to be elected to each branch of the legislature, also ordering at the same time and at the same places the election of a delegate to congress; and directing that the election be held under the existing laws of the provisional government of the "State of Deseret"—and all this "without the seal of the territory or signature of the secretary!" No notice was given in the proclamation, he further pointed out, "as to the qualification of voters and those who were eligible to office." "The consequence was," according to the secretary's statement, "that unnaturalized foreigners officiated at the elections, voted, and were elected as representatives, and to offices not authorized by the organic act."[19]

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[19] See Utah Officials' Report, *Congressional Globe,* vol. xxv, new series, p. 8. Relative to the election of "officers not authorized by the organic act," it should be said that the election of such officers was not ordered by the governor's proclamation. The officers in question were "Deseret" county probate judges, county recorders, justices of the peace, sheriffs, and constables. As the first territorial election had been appointed to take place on the first Monday in August,—the regular election day appointed by law in the provisional state government,—an editorial in the *Deseret News* urged that these local officers be elected; and accordingly they were elected at the same time and in the same manner as the territorial officers designated in the governor's proclamation. The organic act provided that "the governor may appoint all township, district, and county offices, not otherwise provided for in

The governor's answer to these alleged irregularities in the matter of the elections was that he had been actuated by a desire to hold the first election sufficiently early in the season that "a delegate might be legally returned to congress before the lateness of the season should render the long and arduous journey dangerous if not impracticable." That as the United States census agent he was engaged in taking the census of the "State of Deseret"—the work having been delayed by the miscarriage of blanks, instructions, etc.,—when the act of congress passed, requiring "an enumeration of the inhabitants of the territory" preceding the first election in said territory. The information obtained in taking the above named United States census was so far advanced early in July, 1851, that from the information of that census the governor was able to make the apportionment and order the election. "This being previous to the arrival of the secretary," he explains, "of course his seal and signature was not attached." The governor also calls attention to the fact that nearly a year had elapsed since the appointment of the territorial officers, during which time the people of Utah, nevertheless, were living without authorized government.

As evidence of the governor's disposition to proceed in order under the organic act, it may be observed that on the arrival of a majority of the justices of the supreme court he issued his proclamation designating the judicial districts and appointing the respective judges to take charge of them, which proclamation, the secretary having at last arrived, bore both the signature of Mr. Harris and the impress of the seal of the territory.[20]

EFFORTS TO COMPOSE THE DIFFERENCES THAT HAD ARISEN

Learning that the "foreign appointees" to office in the

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the organic act. * * * Who shall hold their offices until the end of the first session of the legislative assembly." (Sec. 7). Apparently the governor preferred that such officers—"State of Deseret" officers—should be elected by the people instead of appointed by himself.

[20] Young's Letter to President Fillmore, *Congressional Globe*, vol. xxv, new series, p. 91.

territory had determined to leave for the east, in resentment of the conditions prevailing in Utah and the treatment accorded them, Governor Young personally waited upon them and tried to dissuade them from their purpose. But in this he was not successful. Secretary Harris declared his intention to carry back with him all the funds with which he had been entrusted for the payment of legislative expenses, as also the seal, records, documents, etc., pertaining to his office. "I considered this course illegal," said Brigham Young, "wholly unauthorized, and uncalled for by any pretext whatever. I therefore concluded that I would use all legal efforts that should seem practicable for the retention of the property and money belonging to the United States in the secretary's hands, designed for the use of the territory."[21]

The governor's first move in carrying out this expressed determination was to hasten the assembling of the legislature. Although the election had taken place on the first Monday in August, no proclamation had been issued up to mid-September, declaring the result of the election, without which the election itself was incomplete, since the organic act required such proclamation. This delay the governor charges to a misunderstanding with the secretary as to which of them would "make out the declaration of the members elect, and prepare the proclamation."[22] As the secretary did not prepare it, Governor Young did, on the 18th of September, declaring the results of the election and calling the legislature to assemble on the 22nd of that month. This proclamation was sent to the secretary to be signed by him, and was so signed, and received the seal of the territory. So signed, and certified by the seal of the territory, the proclamation was published.[23]

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[21] Governor Young's Report to President Fillmore, *Congressional Globe*, vol. xxv, new series, p. 91.

[22] Young's Report, *Congressional Globe*, vol. xxv, new series, p. 92. The secretary assigns the neglect to Young's inclination to disregard "the plain directions of the organic act in this particular, as in almost all others." (*Ibid*, p. 32).

[23] Here again the governor and the secretary are in disagreement. The latter says, "that proclamation, however, was never published." The governor said: "I caused it to be done (i. e. proclamation of the election made), and sent it to

Any publication of the election results, and a proclamation issuing on the 19th of September, calling the legislature into session on the 22nd of the same month—the extent and scattered condition of the settlements considered—must be conceded to be an inadequate notification and proclamation; but two days before the publication of the election results and of the proclamation, a private notice was sent to each member elect, together with the date and hour when the first session of the legislature was appointed to convene.

Brief as was the notice, at the time appointed every member of the council was present, and all the members of the house but one—the member from Iron county. Secretary Harris did not attend, nor did he furnish the roll of the members. His neglect was made good by the governor. The roll of members was called and they qualified before Judge Snow of the supreme court. The governor's message was next in order, and was accordingly read.[24]

PROCEEDING UNDER THE LAW

Two days later the legislature passed a joint resolution authorizing the United States marshal to take into his custody all papers, records, documents and property of every kind pertaining to said office of secretary, as also all money in his possession belonging to said territory, and safely keep the same until the legislature should order otherwise. This resolution was presented to Mr. Harris together with an order for five hundred dollars to defray the incidental expenses of the legislative assembly. But he flatly refused to comply

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him for his signature and impress of the seal of the territory—intending for him to keep the manuscript thus furnished, and return a copy suitable for publication. Much to my astonishment, he placed the seal and signature to the manuscript thus furnished, not even filing a copy for record. It was published, however." (See Proclamation, No. 4, *Congressional Globe*, vol. xxv, new series, p. 92).

[24] The secretary says this message was "afterwards, for some reason, suppressed," and that none of the officials leaving the territory "were able to procure a copy." (Report, *Congressional Globe*, vol. xxv, new series, p. 89). Yet Brigham Young forwarded a copy to President Fillmore, and refers to it as an accompanying document to his letter, under the title of "No. 5." (*Congressional Globe*, as above, p. 92). The message, however, is not published in the collection of documents in the *Congressional Globe*, nor elsewhere as far as the writer knows.

with either of these requirements, giving his reasons at length in writing for such refusal; and in as much as the marshal by the resolution of the legislature was instructed to arrest the secretary in case he refused to surrender the property, documents, or money demanded by the resolution, "and him safely keep in custody until he shall comply with the foregoing resolution," that gentleman applied to the supreme court for an injunction "forbidding the marshal and others from seizing or intermeddling with the funds and other property of the United States in the custody of the secretary," which was granted.[25] Mr. Harris succeeded in keeping in his possession both the territorial seal and the sum of money in question, and on his arrival in St. Louis deposited the money with the assistant treasurer to the credit of the United States.

When Governor Young heard of the supreme court being in session—the first and only session it ever held under these judges—and then called into session merely to grant the injunction against the procedure of the marshal in taking possession of the above sum of money, and the seal of the territory—he addressed a note to the judges "asking their opinion" in regard to his duty, "having reference to the organic act which requires the governor to see that the laws are faithfully executed, and requiring the secretary to reside in the territory." Having determined to abide the decision of the judges in the case, the governor next directed the district attorney to file a petition which would cause them to give an opinion on the subject; but that day, 28th of September, two of the judges, Brandebury and Brocchus, Mr. Harris, the secretary, and Mr. Day, sub-Indian agent, took their departure for the eastern states.

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[25] From this decision Judge Snow dissented on the grounds: (1) "There was not any law fixing the time and place of holding the supreme court; and (2) The supreme court had not original jurisdiction, and the district court had, which was provided for in the governor's proclamation." (*History of Salt Lake City*, p. 92. The documents in the case will be found in *extenso* in *Congressional Globe*, vol. xxv, new series, pp. 88-91). In the " 'run-a-way officials' ' report is also detailed the arrest of Almon W. Babbitt, who, with his family, had started for 'the states.' " The arrest was made under a warrant issued by a justice of the peace, authorizing the wagons and effects of said Babbitt to be searched for "a sum of money, probably gold, to the amount of $24,000, and for the seal of the territory of Utah. The supposition was that these things had been entrusted to Mr. Babbitt for conveyance from the territory. Copy of the warrant on which Babbitt was arrested and his wagons and effects searched, is included with the documents accompanying the "run-a-way officials' " report to the president. Governor Young states that A. W. Babbitt was arrested and brought back to the city after starting for the states—overtaken two days' journey out—for resisting an officer who was arresting Joseph L. Babbitt for debt, the supreme court released A. W. Babbitt on a writ of *habeas corpus*." (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, entry for Sept. 24th, 1851, p. 98).

THE FLIGHT REGARDED AS A FIASCO

In Utah the episode of the "run-a-way officials" was not taken very seriously. No one seemed to sympathize with their course. Indeed, Mrs. Eliza R. Snow, a local poetess of note, made merry over the incident in her song rendered with great *eclat* at the following 4th of July celebration.[26] In the east, also, while their return and reports created a sensation that it is no exaggeration to call tremendous, still there could be but little sympathy with officers who had run away from their posts of duty, apparently without sufficient cause even if all they reported of the course of Brigham Young and the Utah colonists were true. Nay, if true, all the more need that they should have remained to assert and maintain the honor and dignity of the federal government, and the true American spirit. But they were not men of that caliber. The *St. Louis Republican,* in an editorial review of the course followed by the "run-a-way officials"—and in the main facts these first reports did not materially differ from their official report made to the president of the United States—this editorial, perhaps, best represents what finally became the crystallized public sentiment of the country with reference to the course of these officials, and this, be it observed, upon the basis of accepting all their statements as true. The essential paragraphs of the *Republican* editorial follow:

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[26] The first verse and chorus follow:

"All hail the day Columbia first
The iron chains of bondage burst;
Lo, Utah's valleys now resound
With freedom's tread on western ground.

Chorus
Tho' Brocchus, Day and Brandebury,
And Harris, too, the secretary,
Have gone,—they went—but when they left us,
They only of themselves bereft us."

There are eight verses in all (*Deseret News,* July 10th, 1852). One of the toasts on the same occasion was: *"The officers of the government—both national and state—Uncle Sam expects every man to do his duty, Swartwout, Price, Brocchus & Co., to the contrary, nevertheless, and-also-a-running."* (*Ibid.*)

Editorial Opinion of the "Run-a-way Officers'" Case

"No official statement has yet been made, though this is promised upon the arrival of the officers in Washington; nor are we informed to which of the number the paternity of these defenses is to be ascribed. It is not important for our puropse to know, further than that the facts set forth are the leading and main grounds on which these officers justify their leaving their posts. If there are other and better reasons, we will be prepared to give them due consideration when we know what they are and to what extent they go.

In the first place, the chief justice of the United States court, L. G. Brandebury, Perry E. Brocchus, associate justice, B. D. Harris, secretary of Utah territory, and H. R. Day, sub-Indian agent to the Utah Indians have left their posts and returned to the United States. The public will inquire why and for what reasons. According to the published statements they are these:

The governor of the territory, Brigham Young, and the Mormon elders and community, have been acting very improperly, in the use of abusive and seditious language towards the United States government. They are guilty of polygamy, or having many wives, and exhibiting them in the streets. The governor is further guilty in having squandered $20,000, placed in his hands by the United States; and is guilty of the omission of having appointed county sheriffs, as the organic law requires.

This is the substance of the charges brought against the governor and people of that territory. They are grievous charges: and we are not disposed to defend them nor shield them from the odium due to their acts. On the contrary, if Governor Young has uttered the language ascribed to him, or has encouraged such sentiments towards the United States government as are imputed, he is unworthy of being the governor of the territory, and should be removed from office. As to the immorality of life, profane language, plurality of wives, and such like matters, we presume these are subjects for the territorial legislature to attend to. As yet, we believe congress has passed no statute for the states or territories on these subjects. If the governor is a defaulter, we have no doubt the accounting officers at Washington will know it, and punish him as such, if they can. Of all these charges, so much at war with, and so repugnant to all our feelings of right and propriety, we could not, if disposed, attempt a justification or excuse. We only know their existence through the publication alluded to, and admitting their truth (as at this writing we are compelled to do), we inquire what has been the conduct of the United States officers? and how far is their conduct justifiable? The community will draw the distinction between the evil and bad practices of the governor [Young], and justification of leaving their posts, set up by these officers.

It will, at the first reading, strike everyone that the defense of these returning officers is fatally insufficient in the outset, in this: *there is no overt act or crime charged or alleged to have been committed.* The judges of the United States court go there, are well received, and from the time of their arrival to their coming away, no attempt is alleged to have been made, to infringe upon their jurisdiction, or refuse obedience to their decisions. On the contrary, as far as the statements go, there seems to have been a disposition to submit to their decisions, as in the case of the secretary and the funds in his hands. Threats were made that they should not hold a court—but words are only empty sounds—and no fact is presented, showing an effort to prevent their holding court, and exercising their proper jurisdiction.

What would be thought of a United States judge, who, in times of excitement, deserted his post and fled the state, because the governor thereof, and other persons, in office and out of it, had used intemperate and improper language towards the United States government and her officers. It is at such times, amidst such excitement, when the popular feeling may run riot or wrong, that the judge, with his unsullied ermine, his purity of purpose, his rectitude of character, his freedom from transient or party impulses, his learning and official position, is expected to sit in judgment, above the storm of error or popular prejudice, and enforce the law. If his decisions and orders are set at naught, and not enforced—if, by personal or actual resistance he finds himself powerless—then, and only then would he be justified in leaving his post. How has it been in this case?

The Judge With a Mission Extra Judicial

"But these judges—at least one of them, Judge Brocchus, seems to have considered that new duties were added to his judicial functions. In the states, and well regulated communities, it is considered to be decorus, and the duty of the judges, to keep entirely free from popular excitement—that they may stand forth as the arbiters between the community and the government, and between man and man. Judge Brocchus it seems, summoned the people to assemble: they listen to him respectfully: whilst he made a speech against them and their criminal practices. This may be the province of a territorial judge, but we are at a loss for the statute requiring it. It could hardly be expected, that a fanatical and misled people—such as we all believe the Mormons to be—would not be roused to anger, and indeed to make violent demonstrations, by such an assault upon them and their leaders.

* * * We think the judges should have remained at their posts, proceeded regularly with their courts, kept out of excitement, and when cases occurred requiring the exercise of their official authority, exercised it fearlessly and without favor or affection. If they had done this, and their authority had been resisted, then, and not until then, the public would have been prepared to excuse their retreat.

For Mr. Harris, there is quite as little excuse. So far as the published statements go, he does not seem to have been seriously interfered with in anything except the effort to take money which he had the legal custody of. In all his other acts he had no opposition, and in this case, when the court decided in his favor, the governor and his people submitted.

But, what surpasses our comprehension is, what a subagent of the Utah Indians has to do with the civil or political affairs of the people of the Utah territory, unless they conflict in some way with the Indians. Yet Mr. Day also finds an apology in this seditious language, to leave the Indians to the mercies of these corrupt and seditious people and come back to the states. One would have supposed that he could have discharged his duties to the Indians at least, even if Governor Young had committed treason, and been hanged for it."[27]

This editorial view also seems to have been about the view taken by the administration at Washington, since no action was taken against the governor of Utah, or the other remaining officers of the territory appointed by the president.[28] In fact President Fillmore had been prepared somewhat for this "explosion" in respect of Utah affairs by an incident happening about midsummer of that same year.

A Previous Attack on Brigham Young

A number of eastern papers published a most vicious attack upon Brigham Young's character on the ground of his alleged record both in Illinois and Utah; and asserting that President Fillmore had known of this record and the "immoralities" charged against Utah's governor before appointing him to office. This article President Fillmore sent to Colonel Thomas L. Kane, together with a polite note, reminding him that as president he had relied much upon him "for the moral character and standing of Mr. Young." "You knew him," said the president, and "I doubt not will truly state whether these charges against him are true." To this Colonel Kane made the following answer:

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[27] *St. Louis Republican,* 25th November, 1851, reproduced in *Deseret News* of February 7, 1852.

[28] These were Seth M. Blair, United States attorney; Joseph L. Heywood, United States marshal; and Judge Z. Snow, an associate justice of the supreme court. The last named gentlemen wrote personally to President Fillmore under date of 22nd of September, informing him of the intention of the returning officials to leave the territory within a few days—"for reasons satisfactory to themselves;" and announcing his own intention to remain in the territory unless in the opinion of the president or congress,—in the event of an inquiry into the facts being made,—he ought to return. The judge also states that he used all his influence to bring about a reconciliation between the parties, "but failed." He makes no statement of the causes leading to this "unhappy incident," relying upon the statements of the retiring officials and the Utah delegate, Dr. Bernhisel, to furnish the president with the necessary information. (*Congressional Globe,* vol. xxv, new series, p. 86).

COLONEL KANE'S DEFENSE OF BRIGHAM YOUNG

"Philadelphia, July 11, 1851.

My Dear Sir:—I have no wish to evade the responsibility of having vouched for the character of Mr. Brigham Young, of Utah, and his fitness for the station he now occupies. I reiterate without reserve, the statement of his excellent capacity, energy, and integrity, which I made you prior to his appointment. I am willing to say I volunteered to communicate to you facts by which I was convinced of his patriotism, and devotion to the interests of the Union. I made no qualification when I assured you of his irreproachable moral character, because I was able to speak of this from my own intimate, personal knowledge.

If any show or shadow of evidence can be adduced in support of the charges of your anonymous assailant, the next mail from Utah shall bring you their complete and circumstantial refutation. Meanwhile I am ready to offer this assurance for publication in any form you care to indicate, and challenge contradiction from any respectable authority.

I am, Sir, with high respect and esteem, your most obedient servant,

[Signed] "THOMAS L. KANE."

The president."

This note was accompanied by a letter to the president marked *"personal,"* in which the charges against Brigham Young were more freely discussed. Apart from the charges of levying "high and unjust taxes on men selling property at Salt Lake, to aid them on their journey," the colonel saw nothing new in the accusations against Governor Young. "The other accusations," he remarks. "are a mere rehash of old libels," to which the successor of Joseph Smith had fallen heir. He referred the president to Senator Douglas "for the best account of the charges in Illinois against Mr. Young, which, I presume, may be taken to mean divers bills ignored by different grand juries in the circuit over which Judge Douglas presided, and which included Nauvoo and the Mormon precinct." "I have equal pleasure," the colonel continues, "in directing your attention to the fine refutation of the charge of 'insult to the California emigrants,' afforded by the cards of emigrant companies, published in various western newspapers, thanking the Mormons for hospitality and succor in distress."

The rest of the letter is largely devoted to the defense of the loyalty of Brigham Young to the Union as manifested in the battalion affair, and other circumstances already considered in a previous chapter.[29]

Now to conclude this subject: Judge Snow, the sole remaining justice of the supreme court in the territory was authorized by act of the legislature to hold court in all three districts into which the same act divided the territory, "until a full bench of the supreme court of the United States for the territory of Utah shall be supplied by the president and senate of the United States."[30]

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[29] The only point at which the colonel's defense of Governor Young shows any weakness in the light of subsequent events, is in the matter of the practice of plural marriage by President Young and some other of the Utah colonists. The colonel evades the issue presented, but implies monogamy as the marriage relation maintained by Governor Young; and as it is generally assumed that the colonel's intimacy with the "Mormon" leaders at Council Bluffs, in 1846, must have made him aware of the existence of the plural wife relations among them, he is viciously assailed as a prevaricator in these letters to President Fillmore, by anti-"Mormon" writers. (The letters are published *in extenso* in *Millennial Star*, vol. xiii, pp. 341-344). It is quite within possibility, however, that the colonel was not so far taken into the confidence of the "Mormon" leaders as to be made aware of the plural marriage relations existing among them when he was their guest for some months on the banks of the Missouri, nor made aware of it since their arrival in Salt Lake valley; for it must be remembered that the doctrine of plural marriage had not even yet (1851) been publicly proclaimed as a doctrine of the church. I judge Colonel Kane's lack of knowledge of the matter to be the true solution of his position in the Fillmore letters; and, if he had a share in responsibility for authorship of the "Grant-signed" Letters—as I believe him to have had—then in those letters also; for there the question is discussed very much from the same point of view, except that at one point the argument, and for the sake of the argument, granting the charge of plural marriages to be true,—"whose business is it?" the letter writer asks. "Does the Constitution forbid it? Is there anything in the [organic] act for the government of the territory forbidding it? And where else can we find it written down as a crime?" The subsequent announcement of the institution by the church, as we shall see, did not deprive the Utah colonists of the friendship of Colonel Kane.

At the first session of his court, Judge Snow examined and reviewed the proceedings of the governor of the territory in calling the legislative assembly, "and held them to be legal, though somewhat informal." This was reported to the department of state of which Daniel Webster was then the secretary. "He," says Judge Snow, "sustained Governor Young and myself."[31]

How far this was true may be judged somewhat by the fact that President Fillmore nominated Orson Hyde for one of the vacancies of the supreme court of Utah, but the nomination was not confirmed by the senate, because it appeared that Hyde was not a professional lawyer.[32] This appointment was doubtless made by the president in deference to the petition both of the territorial legislature and of the colonists of Utah. The legislature, in the early days of its first session—on the 29th day of September, 1851, to be exact—petitioned the president that in filling the vacancies occasioned by the departure of the retiring officers, and in order to avoid the recurrence of the inconveniences and embarrassment occasioned by such departure—"to appoint men to fill the aforesaid vacancies who are indeed residents among us."[33]

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[30] The act was approved Oct. 4, 1851, *Utah Legislative Enactments*, 1851.

[31] Excerpt from a letter of Judge Snow's published in Tullidge's *History of Salt Lake*, 1885, p. 94.

[32] "Regular bred lawyer" is President Young's way of putting it in his *History, Ms.* He also adds: "President Kimball could have been appointed if he had been a limb of the law. Dr. Bernhisel regarded the nomination of Elder Hyde by President Fillmore as a great triumph, because it showed the president discredited the report of the fugitive officers and by that act placed the seal of his condemnation upon the same." (*History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, entry for Sept., 1852, p. 80).

[33] *Congressional Globe*, vol. xxv, new series, pp. 92-3. The paragraph dealing with the question is worth reproducing: "Feeling cautious against any possible future removals like those which now embarrass us with the want of the territorial seal and funds to meet constantly accruing expenses, and also the want of a full supreme court of the United States for Utah territory, and desirous to dwell in peace and unfeigned loyalty to the Constitution and general government of the United States—your memorialists do therefore pray our highly-honored chief magistrate to appoint men to fill the aforesaid vacancies, by and with the consent of the senate, who are indeed residents among us, in order that we may

The petition of the people, to the same effect was forwarded in May, 1852, and bore 3,488 signatures.[34]

President Young himself took very strong ground on the issue raised by the action of the "run-a-way federal appointees."

Dr. Bernhisel was disposed to be despondent over the course of events in respect of the territory, whereupon Governor Young wrote him a most noble spirited letter; and as it will materially aid the reader to understand future events to be dealt with in this *History*, and as it throws a strong light upon the character of Brigham Young, and the spirit in which he, at his best worked, and as it has nowhere else been published, so far as I know, I consider it necessary to produce it here, *in extenso*, as it is recorded in the *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*

PRESIDENT BRIGHAM YOUNG'S ATTITUDE ON THE UTAH SITUATION

"*Feb. 22nd* [1852]. The mail arrived from the east on the 22nd. Letters from Dr. J. M. Bernhisel, Washington, were received as to the reported difficulties in Utah between United States officials and the governor and inhabitants of the territory.

On the 28th, I wrote to Dr. Bernhisel that we did not feel anywise alarmed as to the final issue of the matter. The government might, if they saw proper, be so influenced by the returned officers as to take strong ground against us, sending troops to overawe us, and governors and judges to rule us; but the people of Utah would certainly protest against such proceedings, if any such were contemplated.

We had dug our way into these mountains where none but the destitute 'Mormon,' who, being instructed by his past sad experience of the danger of seeking a location on the rich and fertile lands of the United States, sought out and had settled—in the language of Captain Stansbury—that 'God forsaken country in which none but a Mormon could live;' and even preferred these wild and barren wastes to the rich vales of California or the sunny south, for the love of quietness and peace.

I reminded the doctor that we had lived before the territorial charter was extended to us, and that we could do so again, though we would like to have it continued if it could, upon righteous principles;

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enjoy the full administration of every department of government speedily as the prosperity of the territory shall require. And your memorialists, as in duty bound, will ever pray."

[34] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, entry for May 22nd, 1852.

but if not, the people would readopt the provisional government of 'Desert,' and apply again for admission as a free and sovereign state, and recall their delegate.

As for my own feelings I was perfectly assured that all would be right, when matters were explained and considered; but suppose the reverse should happen, and we again were compelled to seek another location to free ourselves from bondage and oppression ,and though many of us might fall into our graves, victims to exposure and hardships thereby encountered, if our work is accomplished, and the Lord wills it, all right; to die is nothing. I should a thousand times rather encounter the 'grim monster' than to have my religion, and the love and adoration which I feel towards God become of secondary consideration with me. And I wished all men, whether presidents, or kings, congressmen or noblemen to know, that I sought first the mind and will of God, and all my acts had to become subservient thereto.

I also reminded Dr. Bernhisel that all the rights and immunities we sought might be enjoyed under the wise and faithful administration of the laws and glorious Constitution of the United States which was designed to shield the sincere worshipper of every religion, and also guaranteed the free expression of sentiments and opinions upon any subject, whether religious or political, that might arise for the consideration of any person. These were privileges of which I was not willing to be denied, and for the enjoyment of which I would seek a shelter in some far distant corner of the earth's surface, where the bleak, barren and inhospitable features should be so apparent, as to cause the cupidity of the most eager aspirant to revolt, and leave this so recently and so ardently sought asylum to its wonted desolation, without an inhabitant to sing the requiem of departed liberty.

I exhorted the doctor not to be afraid to tell the president, nor any other person, whether in or out of congress of our rights as free people, who are not indifferent to the majesty and glory of our common country, and who are and ever have been its true supporters; and that now to be accused of defection, and required to send a block of marble to the Washington Monument as a test of our loyalty, was an insult not to be borne nor easily forgotten."[35]

TRIUMPH OF GOVERNOR YOUNG AND THE PEOPLE OF UTAH VS. THE "RUN-A-WAY OFFICIALS"

The friends of the Utah colonists in Washington at that time, including in the number the powerful secretary of state, Mr. Daniel Webster; ex-Vice-President Geo. M. Dallas, later to be United States Minister to the Court of St. James (1856-1861); Colonel Kane, and, as yet, Senator Stephen A. Douglas, were too strong at Washington for the opponents of the saints in Utah, and this important incident in the history of the territory and of the Church of the Latter-day Saints, was brought to a close by Mr. Webster addressing a letter to the "run-a-way officials" requesting them to repair forthwith to the scene of their duties or resign.[36] They chose the latter alternative and their successors were appointed; and although this second group of appointees were not residents of Utah, they were not known to be unfriendly to the saints. Dr. Bernhisel in announcing the appointments to Governor Young said the new appointees were "gentlemen who were highly recommended for integrity and high, moral character, and as being unprejudiced." The delegate added that "President Fillmore was our friend and had done all he could for the interests of Utah."[37]

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[35] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, 1852, pp. 11-13. A block of Utah stone, oolitic lime stone, was finally sent to be placed in the Washington Monument, namely, in 1853. There was carved upon it the Bee Hive beneath which was the word "Deseret," "Holiness to the Lord," and other emblems cut by a Mr. Ward, and forwarded in compliance with the resolution of the "State of Deseret" referred to in a former chapter. (See *Liverpool Route*, p. 108. Also *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, for 1853, p. 50).

Sometime previous to this—in July—the Utah delegate wrote Governor Young to the effect "that although the returned officers had been beaten at every point, and their libelous report was not noticed by congress, [still] Utah did not stand as well in the eyes of the nation as before the explosion."[38]

NOTE

THE BROCCHUS INCIDENT FROM WILFORD WOODRUFF'S JOURNAL

"Monday morning, 8th [i. e. of September, 1851]: Judge Brocchus requested the privilege of addressing the people. It was granted him. He arose and commenced his speech by testifying of his kind reception among this people. He had been sick among them and been kindly treated; the flies had been brushed from his face by a lady, and he was thankful. He referred to the judiciary and requested the people to sustain it, and professed to be very sorry that he was going to leave it. He then referred to a report in circulation that he came here for the prospect of being returned a delegate to Washington and other things that were reported against him, etc. He then took up the subject of his appointment and said that President Fillmore had appointed him although he [Brocchus] was a Democrat, and said he should not have received his appointment had he not been a capable, virtuous, good man. He then addressed the ladies upon the subject of the Washington Monument, wished them to procure a block and present it to Washington. Also wished them to donate for the building of the monument; talked much about the virtues of Washington and his battles and good deeds. He spoke of the persecution of the saints, considered them badly treated. Sent to Winter Quarters where our dead was buried and had a sprigot of myrtle plucked. He carried it in his bosom; it was now dried up. He showed it to the congregation. In speaking to the ladies said he hoped *they would become a virtuous people.* He did not wish them to send the block of marble unless they could do it in full fellowship with each of the separate states. He had read something casting reflections upon the United States government concerning our persecutions. But he would defend the government as long as he had a tongue to speak or hand to lift. And said the government could not do anything for us as they had no power. But if we wanted redress of our wrongs apply to Missouri and Illinois where we had received our [wrongs] (this part of his speech stirred the blood of the whole congregation). Much was said by the speaker which was calculated to stir the blood of the people and offend them. Then he closed.

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[36] *Deseret News* of June 12, 1852.

[37] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, entry for September, 1852, pp. 80 and 81.

[38] *History of Brigham Young, Ms.*, entry for July, 1852, p. 62. "This," continues President Young's narrative, "the Dr. regretted the more as it would seriously affect us in obtaining needful and desirable appropriations for our distant and dependent territory." (*Ibid*).

President Young then arose and said that Judge Brocchus was either profoundly ignorant or wilfully wicked, in presenting some sentiments which he had to the assembly that day; and had he supposed for a moment that he was going to throw out a challenge upon that stand in a religious meeting and present such sentiments as he had he should not for a moment have given his consent to have had him speak on that occasion. He said several stood by and wished to take up the challenge given by the judge. But he would not permit of it, for some might get their hair pulled if not their throats cut. And he would not have it. He wished this meeting to adjourn until afternoon and present business in the capacity of a conference for which the meeting was called. Meeting adjourned."

END OF VOLUME III

Addenda Volume III

THE
LATTER-DAY SAINTS'
EMIGRANTS' GUIDE

BEING A

TABLE OF DISTANCES

SHOWING ALL THE

Springs, Creeks, Rivers, Hills, Mountains, Camping Places, and all Other Notable Places,

FROM COUNCIL BLUFFS

TO THE

VALLEY OF THE GREAT SALT LAKE

ALSO, THE

LATITUDES, LONGITUDES AND ALTITUDES
OF THE PROMINENT POINTS ON THE ROUTE

Together with Remarks on the Nature of the Land, Timber, Grass, &c.

The whole route having been carefully measured by a Roadometer, and the distance from point to point, in English miles, accurately shown.

BY W. CLAYTON

ST. LOUIS:
MO. REPUBLICAN STEAM POWER PRESS—CHAMBERS & KNAPP.
1848.

This little book is an exact reproduction of one of the original Guides. The copy from which it was reproduced belonged to Governor Brigham Young.

PREFACE

When the author first compiled the following work, it was not with a design to publish it, although well aware of the advantages which emigrants, traveling to the VALLEY OF THE GREAT SALT LAKE, would continually realize by having it in their possession. However, there were so many who applied for copies of it—and the labor of writing a copy being considerable, as well as requiring much time—it was concluded to publish it in its present form, by which means it can be afforded at a price which will bring it within reach of any person wishing to have it.

Many works have been published, and maps exhibited for the instruction of emigrants, but none which ever pretended to set forth the particulars contained in this work, so far as regards the route from Council Bluffs to the Great Salt Lake. The distances from point to point are shown as near as a *Roadometer* can measure; and by this means the traveler can know, each day, the kind of country lying before him, and how far he must go in order to find a suitable place to camp at night.

Emigrants have lost many of their teams in the neighborhood of the *Alkali lakes,* in consequence of not knowing the distance from any one of these lakes to good water. By paying attention to the *remarks* in this work, a person need run *no risk,* inasmuch as all the Alkali lakes, which are near the road, are mentioned—and, also, the places where an encampment can be formed with safety.

The author feels a delicacy in saying much in favor of the *"Guide,"* but is well aware that, when its merits have been tested by experience, no person will repent of having purchased it. It is, therefore, submitted cheerfully to the consideration of an intelligent public.

AUTHOR.

St. Louis, Mo., 13th March, 1848.

EXPLANATION

In the following table, the *large type* shows the prominent points and places which will naturally be noticed by the emigrant. The *first* column of figures shows the distance from point to point, in English miles. The *second* column of figures shows the total distance of each point to Winter Quarters; and the *third* column, the total distance of each point to the Temple Block in the CITY OF THE GREAT SALT LAKE. As, for example:

How far is it from Winter Quarters to Pappea?
Answer. (page 5, second line) 18 miles, &c.
How far from Pappea to the Elk Horn river?
Answer. (page 5, second and third lines) 9 miles, &c.
Again: How far is it from Raw Hide Creek to Fort John?
Answer. (page 11, last line) 12 miles.
How far is Fort John from Winter Quarters?
Answer. (p. 12, first line) 522 miles.
How far is Fort John from the City of the Great Salt Lake?
Answer. (p. 12, third column of figures) 509 miles.

The *small type*, in this table, contains the various *remarks* touching the nature of the road, lands, and its adaptation for camping purposes, &c. For example:

What is said concerning the "La Bonte river?" Page 13, second line.

Answer. "It is a good place to camp—being plenty of timber, grass and water"—the necessaries for camping purposes, and consequently can be depended on. But, if thought advisable to go a little further, "there is a good camping place a mile further," consequently you have choice of the two good places, within one mile of each other.

What is said of a branch of the La Bonte? Page 13, third line.

Answer. "Doubtful about water;" consequently not safe to depend on for a camp ground. It is also said that the "banks are steep," which shows that it is not very good to cross, &c.

EMIGRANTS' GUIDE

PROMINENT POINTS AND REMARKS	Dist. miles	From W. Qrs. miles	From C. of G. S. L. miles
Winter Quarters, Lat. 41° 18′ 53″ -			1031
The road good, but very crooked, following the ridges and passing over a continual succession of hills and hollows.			
Pappea, ten feet wide, high banks. -	18	18	1013
Some timber on the creek, but it is difficult to water teams. After this, the road is crooked and uneven to the Elk Horn.			
Elk Horn, nine rods wide, three feet deep.	9	27	1004
Current rather swift, and not very pleasant to ferry. Plenty of timber on its banks. (See Note 1.)			
Creek, ten feet wide, steep banks. -	¾	27¾	1003¼
This creek has a good bridge over it, but little timber on the banks. There is a high post, erected near the bridge, for a guide to it.			
Platte river and Liberty Pole. - -	11¼	39	992
Plenty of timber, but you will probably have to go to the river for water—distance about a quarter of a mile. The nearest and best road to water is round the east point of the timber.			
Small Lake (narrow) south side the road.	3½	42½	988½
No timber on the Lake.			
Circular Lake, or pond, close to the road. (south.) - - - - - - -	¾	43¼	987¾
No timber. In the neighborhood of this, the road runs alongside a number of small lakes, or ponds, for two miles; but there is little timber near them.			
R. R. and T., road joins the river, Lat. 41° 27′ 5″ - - - - - - -	9	52¼	978¾
This is a point where a branch of the river runs round an island, on which is plenty of timber. Not much water in the channel, but plenty for camping purposes.			
Indian Grave, north side the road. -	7½	59¾	971¼
This is a large pile of earth, about eighty yards north of the road.			
R. R. and T., road joins the river. -	½	60¼	970¾
Plenty of timber and water, without leaving the road.			
Shell creek, 12 feet wide, three feet deep.	2	62¼	968¾
This creek is bridged, and a few rods lower is a place to ford. Plenty of timber on it. After this you will probably find no water for twelve miles, without turning considerably from the road.			
Small lake, south side of the road. -	5¾	68	963
Plenty of water in the spring season, but none in summer. It was entirely dry, October 18, 1847.			

PROMINENT POINTS AND REMARKS	Dist. miles	From W. Qrs. miles	From C. of G. S. L. miles
R. and R., road joins the river. After this point you will have four or five miles of heavy, sandy road.	6½	74½	956½
Long Lake, south side the road. There is a little timber where this lake joins the river, and it is a good camping place.	½	75	956
Forks of road to new and old Pawnee villages. The left hand road leads to the Pawnee location of 1847; the other to the old village. The latter is your route.	5½	80½	950½
Lake, south of the road. Plenty of timber close to the road. The banks of the lake are high, but there is a small pond near, where teams can water.	½	81	950
Loup Fork—lake and timber. Opposite to where the Pawnees were located, in the spring of 1847, and is a good place to camp.	5	86	945
Lake and timber, south of the road.	8¼	94¼	936¾
Looking-glass creek, 16 feet wide, 2 deep. There is a poor bridge over this creek. It is, however, not difficult to ford. Plenty of timber on and near it.	1	95¼	935¾
Long Lake, south side the road. Some timber on the south bank, but none on the north side.	2	97¼	933¾
Beaver river, 25 feet wide, 2 feet deep: Lat. 41° 25′ 13″; Long. 98° 0′ 15″. Plenty of good timber on both sides. There are two fording places. The upper one is good going in, but steep on the opposite side. The lower one not good going down, but good on the other side.	6½	103¾	927¼
Plumb creek, five feet wide: Lat. 41° 24′ 29″; Altitude, 1,090 feet. On this creek the old Pawnee mission station stands, but is not a very good place to camp, being near the Pawnee cornfields. The creek was dry, October 16, 1847.	6¾	110½	920½
Ash creek, 12 feet wide, one foot deep. Some timber, but not a very good chance to camp.	2½	113	918
Ford of the Loup Fork: Lat. 41° 22′ 37″; Long. 98° 11′ 0″. This is the pioneer's ford, but is considered not so good as the upper ford. River about 300 yards wide.	1¼	114¼	916¾
Old Pawnee village Formerly occupied by the Grand Pawnee and Tappas bands; but burned by the Sioux, in the Fall of 1846.	½	114¾	916¼
Cedar creek, 8 rods wide, 2 feet deep. Some timber, and plenty of willow. After this, the road runs on the bottom through high grass for some distance, and gradually rises to higher land.	1½	116¼	914¾

PROMINENT POINTS AND REMARKS	Dist. miles	From W. Qrs. miles	From C. of G. S. L. miles
Road descends to low land again. -	3	119¼	911¾
You will now find some deep ravines to cross, but none difficult.			
Road leaves the river, and turns up a ravine. - - - - - - - -	1¾	121	910
After ascending the higher land, the road is good and level, except crossing the deep, dry ravines.			
Road descends into a ravine. - -	½	121½	909½
You travel up this ravine a quarter of a mile, mostly through high grass.			
Old Pawnee village, south side the road.	5½	127	904
On the banks of the Loup Fork, but mostly destroyed.			
Road descends from the bluffs. - -	½	127½	903½
After descending here, you cross a creek twelve feet wide, and one foot deep—banks soft, but not difficult. You then travel through high grass and small bushes.			
Road ascends the bluffs. - - -	¼	127¾	903¼
After traveling about four miles, then turning left from the road, so as to strike the timber you see ahead where it meets the river, the road can be shortened at least a half mile.			
Upper ford of the Loup Fork. - -	6	133¾	897¼
You will find the water in some places near 3 feet deep, and will have to travel down the river about half a mile, to avoid deep holes, and find a good place to get out. (See Note 2.)			
Road ascends the bluffs. - - -	5¾	139½	891½
After ascending the bluffs you will find a heavy, sandy road for five or six miles.			
Prairie creek, 12 feet wide, 1½ feet deep.	18	157½	873½
Plenty of water and grass, but no timber. Banks, some soft and miry. By taking a south-west course from this creek, you would strike Wood river six or eight miles above the old crossing place, and thence crossing to the Platte, by a course a little west of south, the road may be shortened at least five miles.			
Dry creek. - - - - - - - -	1	158½	872½
" " - - - - - - -	½	159	872
Main Platte river. - - - - - -	6¾	165¾	865¼
You do not come within two miles of the river, until you arrive at Wood river.			
Wood river, 12 feet wide, one foot deep.	3½	169¼	861¾
Plenty of timber, and a good place to camp. Banks descending, steep, and some soft—but good going out. The road now generally runs from one to two miles distant from the main Platte.			
Road descends to lower land. - -	14	183¼	847¾
The road now runs near the timber for two miles. The grass is high, and a good chance to camp, without turning off the road.			

PROMINENT POINTS AND REMARKS	Dist. miles	From W. Qrs. miles	From C. of G. S. L. miles
Road ascends to higher land.	2	185¼	845¾
You will probably have to turn off the road some, for the next camping place.			
Deep ravine—steep descent.	22¾	208	823
" "	¼	208¼	822¾
Two and a quarter miles beyond this, is a good place to camp, there being plenty of grass and water, on a low bench, about twenty rods south of the road. There is, however, no timber but willow.			
Deep, dry creek.	3½	211¾	819¼
No timber on it.			
Creek or slough, south side the road.	1¾	213½	817½
Plenty of willows and grass, but doubtful for water.			
Deep, dry creek.	4½	217¾	813¼
The head of Grand Island is about opposite to this creek, but the road now runs so far from the river, we could not ascertain exactly.			
Elm creek.	3¼	221	810
Deep banks, plenty of timber, but no water, October 9, 1847.			
Road leaves the river near timber.	6¾	227¾	803¼
This is a pretty good camping place.			
Buffalo creek, south side the road.	½	228¼	802¾
A wide creek, with deep banks, but no timber except a few willow bushes. The road runs longside this creek for three and a half miles.			
Crossing of Buffalo creek.	3	231¾	799¼
R. and R., road runs near the river.	7	239¼	791¾
Pretty good chance to camp.			
R. R., road runs near the river.	5¼	244½	786½
Plenty of buffalo-grass, and short prairie-grass. Plenty of timber on an island, close by.			
Willow Lake, south of the road.	7	251½	779½
Good place to water teams, but no timber for camping purposes.			
Ptah Lake, south of the road.	7¼	259¼	771¾
The lake is long and very crooked. About a mile before you arrive at it, the road runs near the river a little piece, then leaves it again.			
Deep, dry creek.	2½	261¾	769¼
Low, sandy bluffs, extending to the river.	14	275¾	755¼
R. and R., near the Sandy Bluffs: Latitude 41° 0′ 47″.	3	278¾	752¼
After leaving this place, the road leaves the river, and runs near the foot of the bluffs, to avoid a bad swamp. You will not strike the river for sixteen miles, but will have no difficulty in finding feed and water.			
Skunk creek, six feet wide.	2	280¾	750¼
Crossing of Skunk creek.	5	286¼	744¾
Banks some soft, but not difficult. No timber.			

PROMINENT POINTS AND REMARKS	Dist. miles	From W. Qrs. miles	From C. of G. S. L. miles
Lake or marsh, south of the road.	1	287¼	743¾
Lake, south of the road.	1	288¾	742¼
Plenty of grass and water, but no timber nearer than five or six miles.			
Good spring of cold water.	4¼	293	738
At the foot of the bluffs, north of the road, and at the head of the Pawnee swamps.			
Low, sandy bluffs.	1¼	294¼	736¾
This is opposite to the junction of the north and south forks of Platte river. Lat. 41° 7′ 44″; Long. 100° 47′ 15″; Altitude, 2,685 feet.			
Carrion creek, 10 feet wide, one foot deep.	3½	297¾	733¼
Good place for grass, but no timber near.			
R. R. and T., road, river and timber.	4¾	302½	728½
Good place to camp.			
Last timber on north side the river.	3¾	306¼	724¾
You will find no more timber on the north side the river for two hundred miles, except one lone tree. Your only dependence for fuel will be buffalo chips and drift wood.			
Wide, deep creek.	2¼	308½	722½
Plenty of water, October 4, 1847. The banks are high but not bad to cross.			
R. R. and lake, road and river near a bayou.	1¼	309¾	721¼
Opposite to this place are several islands, covered with willow bushes, which will answer for fuel, and there is little difficulty in getting to it.			
Black mud creek.	2	311¾	719¼
Plenty of water, October 3, 1847, but little feed for teams.			
R. and R., road joins the river.	2	313¾	717¼
After this, the road again leaves the river, until you arrive at the north Bluff Fork. Road good, but poor feed.			
Small creek.	3½	317¼	713¾
Steep banks, but very little water.			
North Bluff Fork, 6 rods wide, 2 feet deep.	3½	320¾	710¼
Swift current, muddy water, low banks, quicksand bottom, but not bad to cross. Poor place for grass.			
Sandy Bluffs, east foot.	1½	322¼	708¾
The road over these bluffs is very crooked, but not bad. If a road can be made up the bed of the river, it would save at least two miles travel.			
Sandy Bluffs, west foot.	4½	326¾	704¼
By following the foot of the bluffs, after this, the road may be shortened at least a mile, and be equally as good a road as to follow the river.			
2d. Sandy Bluffs, east foot.	4	330¾	700¼
These bluffs are hard on teams, being mostly soft sand.			

PROMINENT POINTS AND REMARKS	Dist. miles	From W. Qrs. miles	From C. of G. S. L. miles
2d. Sandy Bluffs, west foot.	1¼	332	699
Bluff creek, 4 feet wide, 1 foot deep.	¼	332¼	698¾
After this, the road may be made considerably shorter, by following the foot of the bluffs.			
3d. Sandy Bluffs, east foot.	6¼	338½	692½
These bluffs are sandy, and heavy on teams. Near the west side you will find several steep places to descend, but not difficult, the sand being soft.			
Small creek, running between the bluffs.	¼	338¾	692¼
Many small Lizards on the sandy places, but they appear to be perfectly harmless.			
Sandy Bluffs, west foot.	2	340¾	690¼
Bluff Spring and small creek 200 yards, and one a quarter of a mile.	¼	341	690
In the neighborhood of these creeks the land is swampy and soft. The road was made close to the bluffs, to avoid the swamps.			
Petite creek, 4 feet wide, 9 inches deep.	1	342	689
Plenty of water, some muddy, October 1, 1847. Latitude 41° 12′ 50″.			
Picanninni creek, 3 feet wide.	1¼	343¼	687¾
Good spring water, and plentiful, October 1, 1847.			
Goose creek, 30 feet wide, 3 inches deep.	¾	344	687
After crossing this, you pass over a low range of bluffs, very sandy, but only a quarter of a mile wide; then you descend on the bottom land again, but will find it soft and springy.			
Small spring creek.	1¼	345¼	685¾
Many springs of cold water at the foot of the bluffs.			
Small creek, 4 feet wide.	1¼	346½	684½
Plenty of clear cold water, October 1, 1847.			
Duck-weed creek, 10 feet wide.	¼	346¾	684¼
Abundance of good, cold spring water, Oct. 1, 1847.			
Shoal stream, 3 feet wide.	2	348¾	682¼
Dry, October 1, 1847.			
Rattlesnake creek, 20 feet wide, 1½ ft. deep.	3¾	352½	678½
Swift current, sandy bottom, but not bad to cross.			
Cedar Bluffs.	1½	354	677
On the south side the river. Lat. 41° 13′ 44″. Long. 101° 52′.			
Creek, six feet wide.	5	359	672
Water plenty, September 30, 1847. Land, in this neighborhood, sandy.			
Creek, four feet wide.	½	359½	671½
Plenty of water, September 30, 1847.			
Crooked creek, five feet wide.	¼	359¾	671¼
Plenty of water, September 30, 1847.			

PROMINENT POINTS AND REMARKS	Dist. miles	From W. Qrs. miles	From C. of G. S. L. miles
Camp creek, eight feet wide. Two creeks here, about the same size, but a few rods apart—water cold and plenty, September 30, 1847. No doubt they rise from springs.	4	363¾	667¼
Creek, three feet wide. Plenty of water, May 20, but dry, September 30, 1847.	4	367¾	663¼
Pond creek, four feet wide. Dry, September 30, near the river, but further north many ponds and tall grass.	¼	368	663
Wolf creek, 20 feet wide. At the east foot of Sandy Bluffs, which are bad to cross, you will probably have to double teams, if heavy loaded.	1½	369½	661½
Sandy Bluffs, west foot. Two hundred yards further, is a creek five feet wide.	¾	370¼	660¾
Watch creek, 8 feet wide, and 2 feet deep. After this, the road runs pretty near the river banks, to avoid some swamps near the bluffs.	3½	373¾	657¼
"Lone Tree," north side the river. About three hundred yards south from the road.	4¼	378	653
Castle creek, 6 rods wide, 2 feet deep. So named from a grove of Ash timber growing on it. It occupies a space of about fifteen or twenty acres, and is surrounded by high bluffs.	3	383¾	647¼
Castle creek, 6 rods wide, 2 feet deep. Swift current, quick-sand bottom, water muddy. Low banks, but not good to cross, on account of quick-sands.	3	383¾	647¼
Castle Bluffs, south side the river. You cross no more creeks of water, until you arrive at Crab creek, twenty-five and a half miles from here. The road good, except in one place, where you travel three-fourths of a mile over sand.	4¼	388	643
Sand Hill creek, 12 feet wide, south side the road. Near some sandy mounds, on the north side the road.	¾	388¾	642¼
Creek or slough. Dry.	1½	390¼	640¾
Creek or slough. Dry.	7½	397¾	633¼
Sandy Bluffs, east foot.	3	400¾	630¼
Sandy Bluffs, west foot.	½	401¼	629¾
Dry creek.	¼	401½	629½
Dry do.	¾	402¼	628¾
Dry creek, 30 feet wide. The road runs near the river, from here to Crab creek.	4	406¼	624¾
Crab creek, 20 feet wide, very shoal. Two miles further you will see some high bluffs	3	409¼	621¾

PROMINENT POINTS AND REMARKS	Dist. miles	From W. Qrs. miles	From C. of G. S. L. miles
on the right. By ascending one of the highest you will see Chimney Rock, to the west.			
Small lake, south of the road. - -	1¼	410½	620½
Good chance to camp, without turning from the road.			
Cobble Hills, east foot. - - -	5	415½	615½
You cross three dry creeks before you arrive here and then you travel over another range of sandy bluffs—ascent pretty steep, but not very sandy.			
Cobble Hills, west foot. - - -	2¼	417¾	613¼
After you descend on the low land, you will find it mostly sandy for ten miles, and in some places very heavy drawing.			
"Ancient Bluff Ruins," north side the road. Latitude 41° 33′ 3″. -	1¼	419	612
Resembling the ruins of ancient castles, fortifications, &c.; but visitors must be cautious, on account of the many rattle-snakes lurking round, and concealed in the clefts of the bluffs.			
R. and R., road joins the river. - -	10½	429½	601½
Good place to camp. After this, the road runs near the river, until you arrive at the next low sandy ridges.			
Low sandy bluffs, east foot. - -	7½	437	594
Low sandy bluffs, west foot. - -	1	438	593
After this, the land for several miles, is soft in wet weather, but good traveling in dry weather.			
"Chimney Rock," (meridian) south side the river. - - - - -	14½	452½	578½
The higher land now begins to be sandy and barren. Many Prickly-pears and Wild Sage, which continue mostly through the remainder of the journey.			
Scott's Bluffs, (mer.) south side the river.	19½	472	559
The road here is near enough to the river to camp. Lat. of meridian 41° 50′ 52″; Long. 103° 20′.			
Spring creek, 10 feet wide, 8 inches deep.	4	476	555
South of the road. You do not cross it, but travel half a mile alongside. Good water, and many trout in it.			
R. and R., road runs near the river. -	12½	488½	542½
Good chance to camp.			
Low sandy bluffs, north side the road.	2¾	491¼	539¾
You travel at the foot of these bluffs, but will find the road sandy and heavy on teams.			
Creek, about 200 yards south of road. -	2	493¼	537¾
By ascending one of the highest bluffs near, you have a view of "Laramie Peak" in the Black Hills.			
Timber, north side the river. - -	11½	504¾	526¼
Road here about a quarter of a mile from the river—after this, generally from one to two miles distant. The road, to Laramie, very sandy.			

PROMINENT POINTS AND REMARKS	Dist. miles	From W. Qrs. miles	From C. of G. S. L. miles
"Raw Hide" creek, 1 rod wide. Plenty of water, June 1st, but dry, Sept. 15, 1847.	5¼	510	521
"Fort John" or Laramie ford. The fort lays about one and a half miles west from the river. The ford is good in low water. River 108 yards wide. (See Note 3.)	12	522	509
Steep hill to descend. The descent being over rock, and very steep, makes it dangerous to wagons, but it is not lengthy.	7¼	529¼	501¾
Steep hill to ascend and descend. In traveling over this hill, you will find the road rocky in places, and about half-way over there is a sudden turn in the road over rough rocks, which is dangerous to wagons, if care is not taken.	4½	533¾	497¼
Road leaves the river. At this point, the road bends to the south-west, leaving the river. You will not come to the river banks again for eighty miles.	¾	534½	496½
"Warm Springs," Lat. 42° 15′ 6″. This is a very strong spring of clear water, but it is warmer than river water, at all seasons of the year.	1¾	536¼	494¾
Very steep bluff, half a mile up. Before arriving at this, you pass through a narrow ravine, between bluffs. The ascent is unpleasant, on account of cobble stones.	1¼	537½	493½
"Porter's Rock," left of the road. A mile beyond this, you descend to the lower land again. The descent is steep, lengthy and sandy.	4¾	542¼	488¾
Bitter creek and Cold Spring. This was dry, September 13. Here is plenty of timber, and if there is no water, you will find plenty three and a half miles further.	4¼	546½	484½
Bitter creek—second crossing.	¾	547¼	483¾
Bend in the road. Road turns south about two hundred yards, to avoid a deep ravine, then back again the same distance.	2	549¼	481¾
Dead Timber creek, 10 feet wide. Plenty of timber, grass and water.	¾	550	481
Creek, south side the road. You don't cross this creek, but go just above it. It is a good chance to camp.	1½	551½	479½
Small creek and spring: Lat. 42° 21′ 51″. Not safe to depend on for a camping place. Little grass and not much water—dry, September 13, 1847.	7¾	559¼	471¾
Steep hill, quarter mile up. Pleasant view of the surrounding country from the summit. The descent steep in several places, and many cobble stones in the road.	¼	559½	471½

PROMINENT POINTS AND REMARKS	Dist. miles	From W. Qrs. miles	From C. of G. S. L. miles
"Horse creek" and Heber's Spring. The spring lays a little to the right of the road, at the edge of timber. If it is dry, there is water in the creek, about one hundred yards north from this spring.	5½	565	466
Bluff ¾ths of a mile to the summit. Difficult to ascend on account of six or seven steep places, where you will probably have to double teams.	2½	567½	463½
Small creek: Lat. 42° 29′ 58″. After crossing this, you cross five others, about a mile apart, but none of them safe to depend on for a camping place, being little grass, and less (if any) water.	2¼	569¾	461¼
5th small creek from the last. After crossing this, you ascend a high bluff, the top of which is a succession of hills and hollows for five miles. The road is good, but crooked.	4¾	574½	456½
"La Bonte" river, 30 feet wide, 2 ft. deep. Good place to camp—plenty of timber, grass, and water. There is also a good chance, a mile further. Plenty of wild mint on the creek.	8¼	582¾	448¼
Branch of La Bonte, 10 feet wide, 18 inches deep. Doubtful about water. Steep banks. You have now traveled near a mile over this dark, red sand, and will find it continue three and a half miles further.	5	587¾	443¼
Very small creek. Little chance for grass, and less for water. One mile beyond this, you ascend another bluff, but the road is tolerably straight and good. Look out for toads with horns and tails.	6¼	594	437
Very small creek. Very poor chance for camping.	6¼	600¼	430¾
Very small creek. The road runs down the channel of this creek, near two hundred yards, but there is little grass on it.	½	600¾	430¼
A La Prele river, one rod wide, 2 ft. deep. Current rapid—good place to camp. Land between creeks mostly sandy and barren. Road from here to the Platte very uneven, being a succession of hills and hollows.	1½	602¼	428¾
Small creek. No place to camp—doubtful for water.	4¼	606½	424½
Box Elder creek, 5 feet wide. Clear water, and plenty—but not much grass. Not very good to cross, banks being steep. Some timber on it.	1	607½	423½
Fourche Boise river, 30 feet wide, 2 feet deep: Lat. 42° 51′ 5″. Current rapid. Plenty of good grass and timber.	3¼	610¾	420¼

PROMINENT POINTS AND REMARKS	Dist. miles	From W. Qrs. miles	From C. of G. S. L. miles
North fork of Platte river. - - - -	4	614¾	416¼
Not much grass here. You will now find a sandy road and heavy traveling.			
"Deer creek" 30 feet wide, two feet deep: Lat. 42° 52′ 50″: Altitude, 4,864 feet. - - - - - - - -	5	619¾	411¼
Lovely place to camp. Swift current, clear water, and abundance of fish. Nice grove of timber on the banks, and a coal mine about a quarter of a mile up, on the east side. After this, you will find sandy roads for nine miles, but not much grass.			
Deep hollow, or ravine—steep banks. -	2½	622¼	408¾
Sudden bend in the road. - - -	5¾	628	403
To avoid a deep ravine.			
Grove of timber on the banks of the river.	1	629	402
Good chance to camp. Lat. 42° 51′ 47″.			
Crooked, muddy creek, 12 ft. wide, 1 deep. - - - - - - -	1	630	401
Not good to cross—steep banks. Plenty of grass, but no wood.			
Muddy creek, 3 feet wide. - - -	5¾	635¾	395¼
Soft banks and bad to cross. Considerable small timber, but little grass. After this, good but crooked road.			
Deep gulf. - - - - - - -	2¾	638½	392½
Creek, two feet wide. - - - -	1½	640	391
No place to camp.			
Muddy creek, 5 feet wide, 1½ feet deep.	1	641	390
No chance to camp.			
2 ravines, near together: Lat. 42° 51′ 44″.	3	644	387
Opposite here there is a fording place, where companies generally have forded the river.			
Creek, five feet wide. - - - -	3	647	384
Abundance of fish, early in the season, but little grass and no timber.			
Upper Platte ferry and ford. - -	1½	648½	382½
Plenty of feed and some timber on both sides the river. (See Note 4.) Lat. 42° 50′ 18″. Altitude 4,875 feet.			
Road turns south, and rises a long hill.	7	655½	375½
Ascent gradual. Many singular looking rocks on the south side. Descent rough and crooked. Towards the foot road very uneven.			
Mineral spring and lake. - - -	5½	661	370
Considered poisonous. No bad taste to the water, unless the cattle trample in it. In that case it becomes black, and is doubtless poisonous. No timber near.			
Rock avenue and steep descent. - -	7½	668½	362½
The road here passes between high rocks, forming a kind of avenue or gateway, for a quarter of a mile.			

PROMINENT POINTS AND REMARKS	Dist. miles	From W. Qrs. miles	From C. of G. S. L. miles
Alkali swamps and springs. - - This ought to be avoided as a camping ground—it is a small valley, surrounded by high bluffs. The land exceeding miry, and smells bad. There is a creek of good water north-west. No timber and little grass. Next mile, rough road.	2	670½	360½
Small stream of clear spring water. - Good camping place. Plenty of grass, but no wood.	4	674½	356½
"Willow Spring." - - - - - About three rods west of the road, at the foot of willow bushes. Water cold and good—grass plenty, but creek some miry.	2¾	677¼	353¾
"Prospect Hill," (summit.) - - Pleasant view of the surrounding country, to the Sweet Water mountains.	1	678¼	352¾
Bad slough. - - - - - - - Plenty of grass, but little water. A mile further is a hill, both steep ascending and descending.	3¼	681½	349½
Creek, 300 yards south of road. - - Plenty of grass, but no wood.	1¾	683¼	347¾
Small creek, left of the road. - - Grass plentiful, but doubtful for water, and no wood. The road runs alongside this creek for half a mile.	2½	685¾	345¼
Grease-wood creek, 6 feet wide, 1 ft. deep. Very little grass, and no fuel but wild sage. Road from here to the Sweet Water sandy, and very heavy.	1¾	687½	343½
Alkali springs and lakes. - - - Here gather your Salerætus from a lake, west of the road. Land swampy, and smells bad. Water poisonous.	6¼	693¾	337¼
"Sweet Water river," 8 rods wide, 2 ft. deep. - - - - - - - - Swift current—good water. Grass plentiful, but little timber. (See Note 5.)	4¼	698	333
Independence Rock and ford. - - On the north side of the river—about six hundred yards long, and a hundred and twenty wide, composed of hard Granite. (See Note 5.)	¾	698¾	332¼
Devil's Gate. - - - - - - A little west from the road. The river here passes between perpendicular rocks four hundred feet high.—This is a curiosity worthy of a traveler's notice.	5¼	704	327
Creek two feet wide. - - - - - Not good to cross. The road runs near the river banks for ten miles after this.	½	704½	326½
Creek, 6 feet wide. - - - - - Good to cross. Water and grass plenty, but lacks timber. You will find grass all along on the banks of the river, but very little wood.	½	705	326
Deep ravine and creek. - - - - Plenty of grass and water, but no wood.	6¼	711¼	319¾

PROMINENT POINTS AND REMARKS	Dist. miles	From W. Qrs. miles	From C. of G. S. L. miles
Deep ravine and creek. - - - - - Doubtful for water.	¾	712	319
Road leaves the river: Lat. 42° 28′ 25″. Road after this, sandy and heavy, and passes over a high bluff. Land barren for seven and a half miles. (See Note 6.)	3	715	316
Alkali Lake. - - - - - - - - On the left of the road.	½	715½	315½
Sage creek. - - - - - - - - No grass. High banks. Doubtful for water, but Wild Sage plentiful. One and three-quarter miles further you arrive on the river banks again.	4¾	720¼	310¾
Creek, three feet wide. - - - - - Doubtful for water, but the road runs close to the river.	4	724¼	306¾
High gravelly bluff. - - - - - Left of the road, and a very good place to camp.	1¼	725½	305½
Bitter-cotton-wood creek. - - - Doubtful for water and grass. Some timber on it. After this, the road leaves the river for six miles.	1½	727	304
Road arrives at the river. - - -	6¼	733¼	297¾
Leave the old road and ford the river. - By fording here, the road is shorter, and you avoid much very heavy, sandy road. Lat. 42° 31′ 20″.	¼	733½	297½
Road turns between the rocky ridges. - After this, you ford the river twice—but it is easily forded. Then the road leaves the river again.	1½	735	296
Ford No. 4—good camping place. - After this, the road leaves the river again, and you will probably find no water fit to drink for sixteen and a half miles.	8	743	288
Ice Spring. - - - - - - - This is on a low, swampy spot of land on the right of the road. Ice may generally be found, by digging down about two feet. There are two alkali lakes a little further.	5¾	748¾	282¼
Alkali springs. - - - - - - - - On the left of the road.	¼	749	282
Steep descent from the bluffs. - -	9½	758½	272½
Ford of Sweet Water, No. 5. - - Plenty of good grass and willow bushes. River about three rods wide, and two feet deep.	1	759½	271½
Creek a rod wide. - - - - - - Doubtful for water.	¼	759¾	271¼
Bluff or hill, 1½ miles to summit. - The ascent gradual, though steep in some places.	¼	760	271
Road joins the river, and fords it. - The river is forded here, to avoid crossing the next high, sandy ridge, making the road much better, and some shorter.	3½	763½	267½
Ford back. - - - - - - - -	½	764	267

PROMINENT POINTS AND REMARKS	Dist. miles	From W. Qrs. miles	From C. of G. S. L. miles
River banks and stream, 25 feet wide. This appears to be a branch of the river, running round a piece of land, about a quarter of a mile wide.	½	764½	266½
Creek, two feet wide: Lat. 42° 28′ 36″. A good cold spring, a little to the right of the road and a soft swamp just below, but it is a good place to camp.	3	767½	263½
Road leaves the river. Good camping place. After this, the road winds around and over a succession of hills and hollows, for three miles.	2	769½	261½
Rough, rocky ridges. Dangerous to wagons, and ought to be crossed with care.	2½	772	259
Soft swamp and very small creek. No place to camp.	3	775	256
Creek, a foot wide.	1¾	776¾	254¼
Creek, two feet wide.	¼	777	254
Strawberry creek, five feet wide. Plenty of grass and water, and some willows. Good place to camp. There is a poplar grove about a mile below.	2	779	252
Quaking-aspen creek. This rises in a small grove of timber on the south side the road, but is not safe to depend on for water.	1	780	251
Branch of Sweet Water, 2 rods wide, two feet deep. Good place to camp. Water good and cold. Grass and willows, plenty.	2¾	782¾	248¼
Willow creek, 8 feet wide, 2 feet deep. Good camping place for grass, water and willows. The ford is near three rods wide.	2¼	785	246
Sweet Water, 3 rods wide, 3 feet deep. Good place to camp. After traveling seven miles beyond this, and passing between the Twin mounds, you will find a good camping place a quarter of a mile north of the road.	4¾	789¾	241¾
South Pass, or summit of dividing ridge. This is the dividing ridge between the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific. Altitude 7,085 feet.	9¾	799½	231½
Pacific creek and springs. Abundance of grass anywhere for a mile. Good water, and plenty of Wild Sage for fuel.	3	802½	228½
Pacific creek (crossing) three feet wide: Lat. 42° 18′ 58″: Long. 108° 40′ 0″. Not good to cross. Pretty good place to camp, except for wood. After you leave here you will find a good road, but very little water.	1½	804	227
Dry Sandy. The water brackish, and not good for cattle. Very little grass, but no wood.	9	813	218

PROMINENT POINTS AND REMARKS	Dist. miles	From W. Qrs. miles	From C. of G. S. L. miles
Junction of California and Oregon roads. Take the left hand road. Good road a few miles, afterwards sandy and heavy.	6	819	212
Little Sandy, 20 feet wide, 2½ feet deep. Muddy water—swift current. Plenty of willows and wild sage. Abundance of grass down the stream. After this, barren and sandy land.	7¾	826¾	204¼
Big Sandy, 7 rods wide, 2 feet deep: Lat. 42° 6' 42". - - - - - - Good chance to camp. A few miles further, you will find a short piece of rough road, over rocks and cobble stones. No grass or water after this for near 17 miles.	8¼	835	196
Big Sandy. - - - - - - - Good chance to camp. After this, barren, sandy land and heavy road till you arrive at Green river.	17	852	179
Green river ford, 16 rods wide. - - Good camping anywhere on the banks, and plenty of timber. It is not difficult fording in low water, but if too high to ford, the best crossing place is upstream. Latitude—2 miles above—41° 52' 37"; Long. 109° 30'. Alt. 6,000 feet.	10	862	169
Good camping place on Green river. - Plenty of grass here. But no other very good chance to camp on this side the river.	1½	863½	167½
Road leaves Green river. - - - No grass nor water after this for fifteen and a half miles. Land rolling, barren—mostly sandy, and several steep places to pass.	3½	867	164
Black's fork, 6 rods wide, 2 feet deep. - Good chance to camp, and a nice place, though not much timber.	15½	882½	148½
Ham's fork, 3 rods wide, 2 feet deep. - Rapid current, cold water, plenty of bunch grass and willows, and is a good camp ground.	3¾	886¼	144¾
Black's fork again. - - - - - - Not much grass, but plenty of willows. You will now have some uneven road, with many ravines.	1¾	888	143
Small creek, 2 feet wide. - - - No grass, and probably no water.	10¾	898¾	132¼
Black's fork, third time. - - - After crossing you will find a good camping place. Plenty of bunch grass; also, wild flax.	2	900¾	130¼
Black's fork, fourth time. - - - You ford again at a good camping place.	2¼	903	128
Stream, 2 rods wide, 2 feet deep. - Very swift current, and plenty of bunch grass. Road pretty rough after this.	2¾	905¾	125¼
Stream—good camping place at a bend. You do not cross the stream, but there is a good camping place, where the road passes a bend of the creek.	3½	909¼	121¾
"Fort Bridger:" Lat. 41° 19' 13"; Long.			

PROMINENT POINTS AND REMARKS	Dist. miles	From W. Qrs. miles	From C. of G. S. L. miles
110° 5′; Altitude, 6,665 feet. - You cross four rushing creeks, within half a mile, before you reach the Fort, and by traveling half a mile beyond the Fort, you will cross three others, and then find a good place to camp. The Fort is composed of four log houses and a small enclosure for horses. Land exceeding rich—water cold and good, and considerable timber.	8¼	917½	113½
Cold Springs, on the right side the road. There is timber here, and it is a pretty good camping place.	6¼	923¾	107¼
Small creek and springs. - - - No feed here, and no place to camp.	1¼	925	106
Summit of High Ridge: Lat. 41° 16′ 11″. After this, you travel several miles on tolerably level land, then you descend to lower land by a steep, tedious route.	1	926	105
Muddy Fork, 12 feet wide. - - - Plenty of bunch grass and willows. Water clear, and not bad tasted. After this, you will probably find no good water for eleven miles.	4½	930½	100½
Copperas, or Soda Spring. - - - Left of the road at the foot of a hill. The road now begins to ascend another high ridge.	3¾	934¼	96¾
Summit of Ridge: Altitude 7,315 feet. The descent is lengthy, and some tedious. About half way down you pass over rough rocks, and the pass being narrow, makes it dangerous to wagons.	1¾	936	95
Copperas, or Soda Spring. - - - Cattle will drink this water, and there is plenty of grass around it. A little further the road turns to the left and passes down a narrow ravine.	1	937	94
Spring of good water, south side the road. This is surrounded by high grass, close to the creek side. There is another spring a little further on the north side the road, which will probably be the last water you will find till you arrive at Sulphur creek.	4½	941½	89½
East foot of dividing ridge. - - Dividing ridge between the waters of the Colorado and Great Basin. Ascent very steep and crooked—narrow summit and steep descending. After this, crooked road between mountains. Altitude of ridge, 7,700 feet.	1	942½	88½
Sulphur creek, 10 feet wide. - - - Plenty of grass and some willows; also, small cedar at the foot of the mountain. (See Note 7.)	6	948½	82½
Bear river, 6 rods wide, 2 feet deep. - Swift current—clear cold water; plenty of timber and grass. Altitude at ford, 6,836 feet.	1¾	950¼	80¾
Summit of Ridge. - - - - - Half a mile further you cross a small ridge, then descend into, and travel down a nice narrow bottom, where is plenty of grass.	2¾	953	78

PROMINENT POINTS AND REMARKS	Dist. miles	From W. Qrs. miles	From C. of G. S. L. miles
Spring of clear, cold water. - - - On the south side the creek, about two rods from the road. The spring is deep—water clear, cold and good. Perhaps it will not be easy to find, being surrounded by high grass.	1¾	954¾	76¼
Yellow creek, cross at foot of rocky bluffs. [The Utah-Wyoming state line here crosses over and along Yellow Creek—east boundary of Utah] You will soon cross this again, and about a mile further you ascend another long ridge, the ascent being pretty steep and tedious.	4¾	959½	71½
Summit of Ridge. - - - - - - Descent pretty steep. About three-fourths of a mile down from the summit, is a spring of good cold water, on the left of the road.	1¾	961¼	69¾
Cache Cave and head of Echo creek: Altitude, 6,070 feet. - - - - - Cave in the bluffs north. Several springs along the road before you arrive here, and one, a quarter of a mile south from the Cave. Plenty of grass, and a good place to camp.	3¾	965	66
Cold spring, on the right of the road. - This also is a good place to camp, being plenty of grass.	2	967	64
Cold spring, south side the road. - At the foot of a high hill. Good place to camp. After this, you travel down a narrow ravine, between high mountains, till you arrive at Weber river. Not much difficulty for camping down it.	2¼	969¼	61¾
Deep ravine. - - - - - - - Steep on both banks. After this, you will cross Echo creek a number of times, but in no place very difficult.	1¼	970½	60½
Red fork of Weber river: Alt. 5,301 feet. There is a good camping place a mile before you arrive here. Also, almost anywhere on the banks of the river. Plenty of timber. The stream abounds with spotted trout.	16	986½	44½
Weber river ford, 4 rods wide, 2 ft. deep. Good to ford. Plenty of grass and timber on both sides the river.	4	990½	40½
Pratt's Pass, to avoid the Kanyon. - The Kanyon is a few miles below, where the river runs between high mountains of rocks. Some emigrants have passed through, but it is dangerous.	½	991	40
East foot of Long hill. - - - - There is a small creek descends down the hollow up which the road is made. There are several springs near the road.	1	992	39
Bridge (over the creek). - - - - Not a bad place to camp.	2¼	994¼	36¾
Summit of Ridge - - - - - - The country west looks rough and mountain-	2½	996¾	34¼

PROMINENT POINTS AND REMARKS	Dist. miles	From W. Qrs. miles	From C. of G. S. L. miles
ous. The descent is not pleasant, being mostly on the side hill.			
Small creek, left of the road. Good place to camp. Plenty of grass, water and willows. The road here turns north a quarter of a mile, then west and ascends a steep hill.	1¾	998½	32½
Kanyon creek, 1 rod wide, 1 foot deep: Lat. 40° 54′ 7″. You have to cross this creek thirteen times, besides two bad swamps. The road is dangerous to wagons, on account of dense, high bushes, trees, and short turns in the road. Good place to camp. (See Note 9.)	2¾	1001¼	29¾
Leave Kanyon creek. Here you turn to the right, and begin to ascend the highest mountain you cross in the whole journey. You travel through timber, some on side hills, and cross the creek a number of times.	8	1009¼	21¾
Small spring, left of the road. You will probably find water in several places, but it is uncertain where, as it runs but a little way in a place, and then sinks in the earth.	3	1012¼	18¾
Summit of mountain. Altitude 7,245 feet. You have now a view of the south part of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake. The descent is steep, lengthy and tedious on account of stumps in the road.	1	1013¼	17¾
Bridge over a deep ravine. This is dangerous to cross, and a wagon may be easily upset. The road lays through a forest of small timber, and is unpleasant traveling.	¾	1014	17
Brown's creek and spring. Not a bad place to camp, but there is a much better one, half a mile lower down.	¾	1014¾	16¼
Cold spring on Brown's creek. Within a rod of the road, on the east side, under a grove of Black Birch bushes. Good place to camp, but some miry. Good camping anywhere for two miles lower.	2¾	1017½	13½
Leave Brown's creek. You now ascend another high mountain, by a steep and crooked road. On both sides this mountain, there are many Serviceberry bushes.	1¾	1019¼	11¾
Summit of last ridge. The descent is very steep, all the way, till you arrive on the banks of Last creek.	1	1020¼	10¾
Last creek. You cross this creek nineteen times. Several of the crossings are difficult. There are several side hills which require care in teamsters. Three camping places on it, but the road is rough.	¾	1021	10
Mouth of the Kanyon. You now enter the Valley of the Salt Lake. The road at the mouth of the Kanyon bad, and rough with stumps. Afterwards, descending and good.	5	1026	5
CITY OF THE GREAT SALT LAKE.	5	1031	

The city is located within three miles of the mountains, which enclose the east side of the valley—within three miles of the Utah Outlet, and twenty-two miles of the Salt Lake. The land is gradually sloping, from the mountain to within a mile of the outlet, and is of a black, loose, sandy nature. A stream of water rushes from the mountains east of the city. and, at the upper part, it divides in two branches, both of which pass through the city to the outlet. The water is good, and very cold, and abundance for mill purposes, or for irrigation. The air is good and pure, sweetened by the healthy breezes from the Salt Lake. The grass is rich and plentiful, and well filled with rushes, and the passes in the mountains afford abundance of good timber, mostly *balsam fir*.

The valley is about forty miles long, and from twenty to twenty-five miles wide. It is beautifully surrounded on the west, south, and east by high mountains. Salt Lake extends from a point a little south of west, from the city, to about eighty miles north, forming the northwestern boundary of the valley. There are two sulphur springs a mile and a half north from the *TEMPLE BLOCK; the water is salt, and a little warmer than blood: two miles further north there is a sulphur spring of boiling water. There is not much land on the north part of the valley fit for cultivation; but the east side is well adapted for farming, being well watered by several large creeks, and the soil beautiful. The land on the west of the Utah Outlet, is also good for farming, and easily irrigated from the south end of the outlet.

The latitudes, longitudes, and altitudes are copied from the observations and calculations made by ELDER O. PRATT.

The variation of the magnetic needle, at the City of the Great Salt Lake, 15° 47′ 23″ east, as determined on the 30th July, A. D. 1847, by the mean of several observations, and calculations of the Sun's Azimuths and Altitudes.

NOTES

NOTE I. If the Elkhorn river is fordable, you leave the main road a mile before you strike the river, and turn north. After leaving the road *three-fourths* of a mile, you will cross a very bad creek or slough, being soft and miry; but, by throwing in long grass, it will be good crossing. You then travel three-fourths of a mile further, and arrive at the ford. You will go upstream when fording, and gradually come nearer to the opposite shore, till you strike a piece of low land on the west side; you then pass by a narrow, crooked road, through the timber, till you arrive on the open prairie. You will then see a post erected in near a south direction, about a mile distant. Go straight to that post, and you will find a good bridge over the creek—and there, again strike the main road. From here, you have

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*Latitude of northern boundary of Temple Block, 40° 45′ 44″.
Longitude of do. do. do. 111° 26′ 34″.
Altitude of do. do. do. 4,300 feet.
See Orson Pratt's Journal, *Millennial Star*, vol. xii, p. 180.

before you near five hundred miles travel over a flat, level country, and a good road, with the exception of several sandy bluffs mentioned herein. The road generally runs from one to two miles from the Platte river, but not too far to turn off to camp in case of necessity. All camping places, which lay near the road are mentioned in this work. You will find near two hundred miles without timber, but in that region you will find plenty of buffalo chips, which are a good substitute for fuel. Buffalo are numerous after you arrive at the head of Grand Island, and continue two hundred miles.

NOTE II. The descent to the ford is steep, and at the bottom very sandy. Your best chance to ford will, probably, be to enter the river opposite to where you descend from the bluff; then go near a straight course, but inclining a little down stream, till more than half way over, when you will find a sand-bar. Follow this, down stream near half a mile, and you will then see a good place to go out on the south side. In this river the channels often change—the old ones fill up and new ones are made—hence, the wisdom and necessity of having several men go across on horses, to find the best route, before you attempt to take wagons over. If this precaution is not taken, you may plunge your wagons from a sand-bar into a deep hole, and do much damage. If you ford up stream, and come out higher than where you enter, after crossing, strike for the bluffs, in a direction a very little west of south, till you arrive on the old road.

On arriving at Prairie creek, if you take a southwest course, a short day's drive will bring you to Wood river, six or eight miles above where the old road crosses; and by keeping the same course after crossing Wood river, you will strike the Platte ten or twelve miles above where Wood river empties into it. By this means the road would be shortened at least five miles, and probably much more.

NOTE III. Fort "John, or Laramie," lays about one and a half miles from the river, in near a southwest course, and is composed of a trading establishment, and about twelve houses, enclosed by a wall eleven feet high. The wall and houses are built of adobes or Spanish brick. It is situated on the Laramie Fork, and is a pleasant location: the latitude of the Fort is 42° 12′ 13″; longitude 104° 11′ 53″, and altitude above the sea, 4,090 feet. After leaving here you begin to cross the "Black Hills," and will find rough roads, high ridges, and mostly barren country. There is, however, not much difficulty in finding good camping places, each day's travel by observing the annexed table.

There is a road follows the river, instead of crossing the Black Hills, and it is represented as being as near, and much better traveling if the river is fordable. By following this road you have to cross the river three times extra, but will find plenty of grass, wood, and water. If the river is fordable at Laramie, it is fordable at those three places, and you can go that route safely.

NOTE IV. The best place to ford will probably be a little below the bend in the river. After this you have fifty miles to travel, which is dangerous to teams, on account of Alkali springs. Great care should be taken to avoid them, by selecting a camping place where none of these springs are near.

NOTE V. In low water the river is easily forded opposite to the Rock Independence; but, if not fordable here, a good place can be found a mile higher up the river.

Independence Rock is one of the curiosities to be seen on the road, mostly on account of its peculiar shape and magnitude. There are many names of visitors painted in various places, on the southeast corner. At this corner most travelers appear to have gone up to view the top; but there is a much better place on the north side, about half way from end to end. Latitude 1½ miles below 42° 30′ 16″.

The road along the Sweet Water is mostly sandy and heavy traveling. You will find many steep places, and as you approach the Rocky Mountains, you will find some high hills to travel over.

After crossing the mountains the country is level, but still barren, and, if possible, more sandy. You will have to make some long drives to obtain water for camping. There is great lack of timber, from the upper Platte ferry to Fort Bridger, and in fact scarcely any kind but willows. In all this region the willows and wild sage form your chief ingredient for fuel.

NOTE VI. It is supposed that a good road can be made here by following the banks of the river. If so, these high bluffs, and much sandy road, would be avoided.

NOTE VII. At the foot of the mountain, on the south side the road, and at the edge of the creek, there is a strong sulphur spring. A little above the spring, on the side of the mountain, is a bed of stone coal. At the foot of the bluff, west of where you cross the creek, is a noble spring of pure, cold water; and about a mile from this place, in a southwest course, is a "Tar," or "Oil Spring," covering a surface of several rods of ground. There is a wagon trail runs within a short distance of it. It is situated in a small hollow, on the left of the wagon trail, at a point where the trail rises a higher bench of land.

When the oil can be obtained free from sand, it is useful to oil wagons. It gives a nice polish to gun-stocks, and has been proved to be highly beneficial when applied to sores on horses, cattle, &c.

NOTE VIII. From a summit of this ridge, you will see to the west, a ridge of high, rough, peaked rocks. The road runs at the south foot of that ridge, and there crosses Yellow creek. From the place where you now stand, the road runs through a beautiful narrow valley, surrounded by gently rolling hills, and is pretty straight and pleasant traveling, till you arrive at that ridge of rocks. There is little difficulty in finding a good camping place, between here and the ridge in view, except for fuel, which is scarce. There are several springs of good water along the creek.

NOTE IX. On this creek is a very rough piece of road; the bushes are high, and road narrow, in consequence of which wagon covers are liable to be torn, and bows broke. There are many short turns in it, where wagon tongues are liable to be broke. Some of the crossing places are bad. There is a good camping place where first you strike the creek—one about half-way up, and one a quarter of a mile before you leave the creek.

The ascent up the next mountain is both lengthy and tedious, mostly through high timber, and there are many stumps in the road. It is a chance whether you will find any water till you descend on the west side.

From this creek to the valley is decidedly the worst piece of road on the whole journey, but the distance is short, and by using care and patience, it is easily accomplished.

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